WORKERS VANGUARD

Volume No. 3

3 January to 19 December 1975
(Issues Nos. 59-89)

Published by: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2016 with funding from
Prometheus Research Library

https://archive.org/details/workersvanguard03spar

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 59 3 January 1975

Down with the CIA/FBI!

WALTER BENNETT
CIA director William Colby

DECEMBER 31—Last week Seymour Hersh, the *New York Times'* CIA expert, revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency had been involved for years in massive illegal spying aimed at U.S. antiwar dissidents. That the CIA carried out such domestic operations was widely known. The news was the reported scope of the undercover activities—files on 10,000 U.S. citizens, widespread surveillance of liberals and radicals, "penetration" of antiwar groups—and the authority of the *Times* behind the allegations. Further reported were "dozens of other illegal activities by members of the CIA inside the United States, beginning in the nineteen-fifties, including break-ins, wiretapping and surreptitious inspection of mail" (*New York Times*, 22 December).

The latest round of charges against the main U.S. spy agency are a spin-off of the Watergate investigations. It was learned more than a year ago that CIA equipment and former agents were involved in the original Watergate incident, as well as in various "bag jobs" including the burglary of the office of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist.

It also became clear that the Nixon administration was using the CIA to monitor a host of its "political enemies," broadly defined. Senator Sam Ervin, one of the "heroes" of Watergate, reported running across evidence of CIA domestic dirty tricks, but deliberately did not follow up his leads. Richard Helms, ex-director of the CIA, claimed during the investigations that the agency was "duped" into Watergate involvement by the White House. But the Nixon tapes give us the U.S. President saying to Haldeman (on 23 June 1972): "Well, we protected Helms from one hell of a lot of things."

The *New York Times'* information purportedly originates with lower-level CIA loyalists attempting to reform the wasteful and embarrassing "excesses" of officials in clandestine operations. One of their particular targets was James Angleton, an old-line cold warrior who ran the nearly autonomous counterintelligence branch. Angleton, who was convinced that the antiwar movement was run by the Soviet Union's KGB, "resigned" immediately after the release of the recent allegations.

There are several current or planned official investigations of the CIA, involving at least four different congressional sub-committees. Clark Clifford, who was defense secretary during the Vietnam war, is now calling for yet another investigative committee for the purpose of studying domestic CIA activities. Even Vietnam butcher General Maxwell Taylor is bemoaning illegalities by the intelligence agency.

Why this sudden concern? Like the Watergate investigations, although on a less spectacular scale, the CIA inquiries spring from a desire to shore up the authority of the widely discredited government, as well as a concern that the CIA has "overstepped its authority." Since even many officials inside the agency do not know what it is doing, much less Congress, the fact that the CIA was muscling in on FBI territory may only be the tip of the iceberg.

What Ray Cline, former CIA deputy director for intelligence, calls "the

continued on page 10

Racist Offensive Continues Despite

Impotent Liberal Protest Rally in Boston

WV PHOTO
Spartacist contingent marches in Boston on December 14.

YAWF Plays at Confrontationism

BOSTON, December 27—Month by month the black/white polarization over school desegregation draws this city ever closer to full-scale race riots. The legal moves and countermoves by liberal and right-wing bourgeois politicians are being played out against the backround of increasingly violent racist mobilizations against court-ordered busing. These culminated in the besieging of South Boston High School by a bloodthirsty mob of whites on December 11.

As the events of the last four months have made abundantly clear, reliance on the capitalist politicians and their armed forces will only lead to disaster for black people fighting for the right to equal education. The independent political intervention of significant sections of the labor movement and the organization of effective defense of the school children by unions and black organizations are essential in order to guarantee implementation of the busing plan and to put a stop to the racist violence.

The necessity for mobilizing the forces of the labor movement and black community against the racists has never been more apparent than in the first weeks of December. The fascist, white-supremacist propaganda emanating from the recently opened South Boston office of the American Nazi Party points ominously to the direction which the reactionary anti-busing movement could take.

As certain elements in the School Committee pour their efforts into legal maneuvers, including a national campaign for a constitutional amendment against "forced busing," others continue to organize mass assualts on the democratic rights of black people. A highly organized and successful Thanksgiving week boycott of the city schools by whites was capped by the transformation of the traditional East Boston-South Boston football game into a frenzied anti-integration rally. Pouring abuse on effigies of liberal politicians, the crowd roared approval as a full-scale replica of a school bus was burned during halftime.

For two weeks alterwards, "Southie" High was the scene of daily clashes between groups of black and white students. The December 11 incident followed the stabbing of a white student by a black youth and saw some 140 black students trapped inside as a racist mob outside the locked doors screamed for blood. Only after four hours of this lynch-mob terror did police rescue the students.

To combat this virulently racist movement requires independent working-class action. However, the reformist Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party call instead for reliance on the bourgeois state, through the slogan "Federal Troops to Boston Now!" The most that can be expected from the guardians of capitalist law and order was shown on December 11. Earlier, in September, the Boston police had brutally occupied the overwhelmingly black Columbia Point Housing Project in response to requests for protection against racist nightriders. The patrolmen's association recently made a substantial donation to ROAR, the main anti-busing organization.

As in all serious social crises the key question is the leadership of the working class. Boston's labor bureaucrats either directly support the anti-busing movement (as in the case of the reactionary cralt construction unions), or capitulate to it by doing nothing. The Boston Teachers Union, which calls for discipline in the schools and criticizes the "inequities" of the busing plan, has never said a word against the mob attacks on black children. Leaders of the Meatcutters union speak in favor of integration, but have not lifted a finger even to defend their own union hall in South Boston, which has been attacked by the racists.

In recent weeks certain fake-socialist organizations have leapt into the fray with their eyes looking back to the civil rights movement of the 1960's and their feet firmly planted in the muck of the liberal bourgeois politics of today. On November 30 the Communist Party-backed Committee for Quality Integrated Education led 4,000 people, marching to the strains of "We Shall Overcome," to a rally in front of City Hall addressed by the usual collection of Democratic Party politicians, preachers and pacifist civil rights leaders. The message of the event was clear: pressure on the Democratic Party—the party of Wallace, Hicks and Kerrigan—and calls for more protection from the racist police.

The December 14 "March for Freedom" in Boston was considerably larger than previous pro-busing demonstrations and represented a different configuration of political tendencies. The two principal left groups involved were Sam Marcy's Workers World Party/Youth Against War and Fascism and the Socialist Workers Party. YAWF functioned as water boy for Democratic state senator William Owens in the Emergency Committee for a National Mobilization Against Racism, seeking to win influence by organizing the buses, providing marshalls, etc. The SWP, frozen out of the Emergency Committee, launched a parallel Student

continued on page 8

SWP Renounces Revolution in Court/6

IT Expels Left Oppositionists for Demanding

"Break with the SWP"

Over the weekend of October 12-14, the Internationalist Tendency (IT) held a plenum of its Steering Committee in Chicago. This was the first national meeting of the IT since its expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) last July 4.

The plenum's first order of business was a purge of the IT's own left wing, two comrades from the Houston branch. Both had a history as active militants of the SWP/YSA and IT: one had joined the YSA in 1970, the other in 1972; both comrades had been elected members of the IT's leading committee, one as full and the other as alternate; one of the comrades had in fact been the organizer of the Houston IT branch.

The plenum was an attempt to reconcile the IT to the "perspective" dictated to it by its mentors, the Pabloist heads of the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the United Secretariat, with whom the IT has allied itself in its fight against the SWP. The IMT wheelers and dealers, abetted by the IT leaders amid some feeble whimpers of protest, had doomed the Internationalist Tendency to demoralization and decay within the bureaucratic stranglehold of the SWP. At the May 25-27 national IT meeting the IT leadership rammed down the throats of the ranks the policy of remaining in the Socialist Workers Party, simultaneously backtracking from earlier harsh denunciations of the SWP. The maneuver was unavailing; the IT was soon after summarily expelled from the SWP (see *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974).

The purpose of the October plenum was to adopt the IMT's demand that the IT seek "reintegration" into the SWP, justified by an "analysis" that the SWP is still a revolutionary organization. The precondition for this capitulation was the expulsion of members of the IT leadership who sought to deduce tactics from a principled consideration of the nature of the SWP, rather than vice versa.

The pretext for the exclusion was the expelled comrades' expressed solidarity with an oppositional tendency within the Revolutionary Marxist Group, Canadian affiliate of the IMT. The real motive, however, was a document submitted in August (reprinted below) which characterized the SWP as reformist. Although substantial sections of the IT had in the past rejected the IMT's view of the SWP and opposed remaining within it, the open expression of such a view within the IT was deemed so dangerous that the IT leadership completely suppressed the document, just as they appear to have suppressed the motion made by the expelled comrades at the plenum.

The main agenda point scheduled for the plenum was the nature of the SWP and the IT's perspectives toward it. But first things first: after counterposed reports and a brief discussion, the motion was made to expel the dissidents, who made the countermotion that "The SWP is finished as a revolutionary force." The motions were voted: one full and one alternate member of the IT Steering Committee found themselves driven out; and the IT was on record for the position that the SWP is revolutionary—even before the main discussion!

In the period since the expulsion, the situation of the IT has gone from bad to worse. Many of the ranks, in open revolt against the suicidal "perspective" of crawling back to the SWP, are solidarizing around the worst aspects of the IMT's petty-bourgeois "third worldist" line. Only a clear perspective based on the struggle for the Trotskyist program and against both the centrist IMT and reformist SWP wings of the "United" Secretariat could have opened for the IT a future as a component of a proletarian vanguard party. The IT leadership has instead chosen backroom maneuvers, SWP-style purges and the duping of its own membership—a course which can lead only to disintegration.

Our attitude toward and our evaluation of the SWP has been a political question that has racked our tendency for over a year. A number of differing opinions have been expressed: the SWP is centrist; it's not quite centrist yet; the SWP is a right opportunist sect; it's not quite a right opportunist sect yet. These differences are quite serious, because they should, for principled Marxists *determine* our policy toward the SWP. But to date we have yet to undertake any serious attempts to resolve this question. The seriousness of this question has increased greatly in our relationship with the IMT, which has always had an incorrect analysis of the SWP, and has led to completely inadequate practical conclusions on their part for us and our relation to the SWP.

To date the debate has mostly been a tactical one, the point of departure has been how many recruits we can get and from where. This is insufficient. There are fundamental political issues at stake. If we are serious about winning the proletariat to Trotskyism we will not stand before them and tell them they must join an SWP that is *rotten and reformist*. We were wrong to think this in the past and it would be criminal to continue to function with this position.

If we purport to be Trotskyists we cannot tell workers, we cannot tell any politicized elements we are in political contact with, to join a party of betrayers. The SWP has not merely failed to carry out its revolutionary responsibilities in every arena it intervenes in, not just recently, but for a number of years. Its approach to work in the anti-war, women's and Black movements, its trade union work, work in CLUW [Coalition of Labor Union Women], its election campaigns, etc., reflects not tactical, secondary political differences, but fundamental political differences of a principled character in each arena. The SWP has functioned as shameless attorneys, defending every kind of bourgeois liberal and mainline trade union bureaucrat.

That Comrade Charles can come here and tell us, as the IMT's representative, that we should "recruit organizationally to the SWP, but politically to the IMT (or FI) [Fourth International, i.e., the United Secretariat]" indicates major political disorientation on the part of the IMT itself, or worse, simply cynicism. There is but one correct political answer to the reformism of the SWP. To build a Trotskyist party in the U.S. it is necessary to counterpose ourselves politically and organizationally to the SWP, whose concrete politics are the antithesis of everything the Fourth International stood for under Trotsky. It is necessary to break completely from the SWP and break now. It might be argued that the SWP expelled us, we want to expose them and their organizational degeneration. In reality, this is a trivial point. The SWP's degeneration is also and *primarily* political. A complete political break is both politically justified and necessary.

It has been our (the authors') position for quite some time that the SWP is a reformist party. It constitutes a roadblock to the socialist revolution in this country. It is not a question of centrist confusion or of occasional opportunist deviations on the SWP's part. The politics of the SWP are consistently and fundamentally counter to those of the Transitional Program and the heritage of Leninism. The IMT leadership has long claimed ignorance of what the SWP's policies really are (even though it is their political responsibility at all times to know)—we cannot. We have been implementing their reformist policies for years. We will cite just a few examples.

For many years the SWP pursued a class-collaborationist policy in its anti-war work. This was not primarily because of Vance Hartke's presence in NPAC [National Peace Action Coalition], though this was indicative. In the earlier days of the movement the SWP toyed around with a bloc around "Peace Now", they went through a "Bring the Boys Home" phase. Their call to bring the troops from Vietnam to enforce law and order in Mississippi was despicable as was their publicizing of the slogan "Bring Our Black GI's Back Home".

It's been said many times in our tendency that there were two tasks for revolutionaries on the Vietnam question: 1) to build a mass anti-war movement; and 2) build a left wing within this movement. It's been further stated that the SWP did an admirable job in one respect and failed dismally in the other; then somehow we conclude since they carried out one they can't be so bad. This approach is wrong, comrades, terribly wrong. What were the politics of this mass anti-war movement? They were bourgeois pacifism and bourgeois defeatism.

The two cannot be separated. On what basis do we build the anti-war movement, except upon the same basis that we would build the left wing—upon class struggle politics? How do we put the mass movement together, to have something in which to build our left wing? Do we have demands for the movement and separate demands for a left wing?

The demand of "Out Now", outside the context of a revolutionary program, was easily twisted in the hands of the "dove" bourgeoisie. The SWP lent itself to this end. It's often been said that "Out Now" was a principled demand. That is true in the abstract, but that's not how we approach the question. There are instances where the demand for a constituent assembly will be a principled demand. But if a party in a revolutionary situation in a colonial country raised this "principled" demand and failed to raise all the other demands flowing from the concrete situation we would hardly praise their actions as exemplary. They would be betrayers despite their raising of one isolated "principled" demand.

The SWP blocked with any and all and raised no politics. This wasn't just a mistake of a secondary nature. It was a conscious political act on their part, they raised no politics precisely to create such a bloc. This is where their class collaboration really came out. Because NPAC openly sought an ongoing class bloc with the bourgeoisie on its terms it lent itself to the subversion of the anti-war movement. This is why the ruling class by pulling American troops out of Vietnam could completely undercut the mass anti-war movement. Yet American imperialism's counterrevolutionary struggle against the Vietnam revolution has not ceased and the question of the Vietnamese revolution retains all its significance for revolutionaries today, even if the SWP's "defense" of the revolution has ceased.

If we have learned anything from Lenin and Trotsky, it is that every struggle *must* be linked to the general struggle of the proletariat for power. Every struggle must be used to raise the consciousness of the participants of the true nature of class society and the necessary road forward, led by the working class and its vanguard; because the reformists will use every struggle to triumph with their line. A left wing is merely an embryonic base to reach out to with our politics, to fight against other tendencies, to broaden itself, and vie with the reformists for leadership of the movement, on the basis of a revolutionary program.

The SWP's work in WONAAC [Women's National Abortion Action Coalition] was no different. At one time the SWP stood for free abortion on demand. But their program had to be lowered in order to bloc with NOW [National Organization of Women] and Congresswoman Bella Abzug. The point here is not that you cannot march with bourgeois liberals to obtain a democratic demand but that the SWP chose their issue precisely to obtain this bloc.

On the abortion question this amounted to betrayal on the SWP's part. The heart of the abortion question focused around the working women and women of the ghetto subject to the butchery of illegal, back-alley abortions. The "democratic right" to abortion has little content for them. Only the demand for "Free Abortion on Demand" had any relevance to the vast majority of women the abortion issue affects.

At the national CLUW conference in Chicago the SWP did nothing about the rotten compromise arranged by the union bureaucrats to keep the conference from backing the Farmworkers. In Houston we've been following a series of sellouts in CLUW by Debby Leonard on a nurses' struggle at Jefferson Davis Hospital. A resolution calling for rehiring the nurses was tabled to a committee set up by Leonard, composed of herself, 2 AFSCME [American Feder-

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00—6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

S38 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

ation of State, County and Municipal Employees] bureaucrats and 2 independents, to be approved without being subject to rank and file approval and this most elementary demand ("rehire the nurses") was deleted, on objections from the AFSCME leadership. We could cite numerous other examples of the SWP's treachery in their Black work, trade union work, election campaigns, etc.

It's often said, "Well, their day to day politics may be lousy, but on paper they are still for revolution". What are the SWP's politics if they are not what they call on the workers to do in the class struggle? These are not just practical mistakes, divergences from their program, in each case they have been theorized by the SWP and flow from their political analysis.

It's been said that the SWP still defends revolutionaries around the world. But what kind of defense? They vehemently opposed any attempts to raise slogans that would have taken sides in the civil war in Vietnam within NPAC, they refused to raise any such slogans themselves. Another good example is their defense of the [Argentine] ERP-PRT [Revolutionary People's Army-Revolutionary Workers Party] and more recently the Spanish section. Their "defense" was to publicly denounce them. How did the SWP defend the Internationalist Tendency from attacks in the bourgeois media? Can we expect better in the future? And what of their "exemplary" defense of the MIR [Revolutionary Left Movement] in Chile.

Some comrades feel that as long as the SWP continues to talk about Trotskyism you can't say they're reformist; it has not yet met a definitive test. This is ridiculous, the SWP is not a mass party; its opportunities for real betrayals are limited. If it occasionally exhibits what appears to be centrist traits it is only because it has yet to find the final vehicle for its betrayals. Occasionally it may be able to come off sounding very left in the abstract on some questions but only because it has nothing going for it in the particular arena. On the evidence, it is only because it does not constitute enough of a force for the bourgeoisie to worry about that prevents it from betrayals such as entering into popular fronts. The idea that the SWP has not yet met a definitive test was introduced by Comrade Langston at the December 1973 IT national steering committe meeting. It was totally rejected by the leadership then and rightly so. Yet when the IMT's representative in June imposed this incorrect idea on us we all passively accepted it.

The IMT's perspectives for the IT raises real questions about its motives. Comrade Charles says the SWP is "revolutionary with right deviations". It is quite clear that this is the IMT's analysis. Yet at the same time they "have no illusions about the SWP leadership being reformable". Further, most of the ranks are not reformable. This is a very obvious contradiction to anyone with any basic understanding of Trotskyism. If the SWP is "revolutionary with right deviations", then we should view it as our party, further we should really believe that we can win this party over. The truth is the SWP is reformist; a complete political break is a clearcut necessity.

We are caught up in a game on an international scale and as things stand, we are only passive, observer-victims. Before the May conference it was often said and the opinion was overwhelmingly held that a long term perspective within the SWP would mean our destruction. That was our political evaluation. Yet when Comrade Charles came and gave us the IMT's incorrect perspective for us we capitulated.

The four-point motion introduced by the comrades from D.C. at the May conference and which passed overwhelmingly was somewhat diluted by our leadership shortly afterward and the whole sense, the whole spirit behind the motion at the conference, which was to take a hard stance on the question of our perspective was lost. We chose to be "diplomatic". But diplomacy does not

continued on page 11

Mandelites Falsify History to Attack SL

> "...they have consistently maintained principled positions on such issues as feminism and nationalism; they have established a generally commendable record of support for other left tendencies under attack from the bourgeois state and have refrained from the use of violence against other left groupings (itself not a minor achievement in light of the record of most other left formations in the U.S.). In a period in which other ostensibly Trotskyist tendencies have been characterized by bizarre deviations and hysterical excesses...the Spartacist League has presented a sober, solid, down-to-earth tone that is refreshing."

An excerpt from a Spartacist League pamphlet? No, the above quotation comes from an "Education for Socialists" bulletin (June 1974) nominally published by the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) in the interests of its American co-thinkers, the Internationalist Tendency (IT), formerly of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Entitled "Spartacist League: Anatomy of a Sect," the very existence of the pamphlet gives the lie to its characterization of the SL as an isolated sect lacking any real influence.

The 50-page document, which obviously cannot be answered in any detail here, is divided up into several major sections. The first deals with the pre-history of the SL—i.e., the anti-revisionist wing of the Trotskyist movement which emerged in opposition to Michel Pablo and his "new world reality" in the early 1950's. This is indeed a good place to start, since in that struggle, which destroyed the Fourth International as a revolutionary organization, the SL critically solidarizes with the "International Committee" wing, then led by the SWP, while the IT/RMG is in solidarity with the continuators of the opposing wing, the "International Secretariat" of Pablo (later to become the "United Secretariat," or USec, in 1963).

Yet the reader of the pamphlet will be hard pressed to find a clear statement of the issues of the 1951-53 fight. What will be found instead is a series of criticisms of the anti-revisionists (in large part lifted straight from the SL's own clear-eyed assessment of the weaknesses of the fight against Pabloism) combined with an offhand dismissal of what was in fact the essence of Pabloism. Thus:

> "Pablo's major error was a theory of economic catastrophism in which the capitalist states would be forced into launching a global war against the workers' states. This economic catastrophism gave birth in practice to *entryism sui generis* which, in retrospect, can be seen to have led [in] certain instances to organizational opportunism. This—coupled with hyper-bureaucratism in the organizational sense—was the real error of Pablo, rather than any project of liquidationism on the part of Pablo personally or the leadership of the FI in general."

And the pamphlet notes that:

> "Pablo's arguments in 'Where Are We Going?' (written in January 1951) that 'the Communist Parties retain the possibility in certain circumstances of roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation' was ceaselessly cited [by anti-Pabloists] as the final, damning quotation."

Pabloism was (and remains) precisely the theory that non-Trotskyist mass formations, including the Stalinist parties, could be forced by pressure from below to pursue revolutionary policies. The application of this "theory" was deep entrism, which was characterized by the anti-revisionists at the time (and not just "in retrospect," as the pamphlet grudgingly grants) as the *political liquidation* of the leading role of independent proletarian Trotskyist parties in the revolutionary process. "Pabloism," far from being an empty epithet having its roots in demonology, means precisely the United Secretariat's continuing search for substitutes for the Trotskyist vanguard. It reduces the role of revolutionists to cheerleaders for other formations, from Ben Bella in Algeria to Piaget, left-Catholic leader of last year's Lip strike, in France.

The next section of the pamphlet deals with the origins of the SL as the Revolutionary Tendency of the SWP, concentrating on the question of Cuba. Nowhere does the pamphlet make an explicit defense of the position which the RT opposed: that Cuba was a healthy workers state "lacking only the forms of workers democracy" and that Castro was "an unconscious Marxist." It simple characterizes as "Shachtmanite" the Spartacist view that deformed workers states are "qualitatively inferior to healthy workers states." The purpose of the section is to raise the bogeyman of "Shachtmanism," which is vitally necessary for the Pabloists who seek to cover their own political accomodation to the Stalinist bureaucracies by labeling the Trotskyist position—i.e., defense of these states against imperialist and domestic counterrevolution combined with the struggle for *political revolution* against the ruling clique—as "third camp."

This brings us logically to the next section, which deals with the antiwar work of the Spartacist League. This is perhaps the most dishonest part of the whole magnum opus, as required by the need to portray the SL as sectarian, abstentionist and "Stalinophobic." The IT/RMG rushes to the defense of the SWP's liberal-pacifist policies, separating antiwar action into two independent components and arguing that the SWP succeeded in its intention "to mobilize the masses in as broad and powerful a movement as possible to objectively aid the Vietnamese and other revolutionary forces in their fight against American aggression" even though it did not "educate the masses of people to the nature of and reasons for the American war of aggression, including the need to politicize an anti-imperialist wing of the movement and to recruit the most advanced layers to the task of building a revolutionary party in the U.S."

In fact, no such separation can be made. The program under which the SWP (and the Communist Party) "mobilized the masses" to "objectively aid the Vietnamese" guaranteed that the antiwar movement would remain in the pocket of the antiwar liberals, who recognized that a continuation of the losing war in Indochina was not in the best interests of U.S. imperialism.

The SWP's policy from the outset was to seek an alliance with the defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie, and toward that end to unashamedly block the development of class consciousness among antiwar militants. The SL's policy of opposing the class-collaborationist approach to the bourgeoisie (at which the pamphlet sneers) was the concrete axis around which an anti-imperialist wing (for which the pamphlet wistfully yearns) could have emerged.

Linking the struggle against imperialist war to the class struggle in the U.S., the SL sought to turn a wing of the antiwar movement toward the working class—the only social force capable of taking decisive action against the war—with a propagandistic struggle for *political strikes*. This aspect of our intervention is deliberately ignored by the pamphlet's author—and indeed it could not be otherwise. For how could one square the characterization of the SL's antiwar work as "criminal abstentionism" with the fact that only the SL had a perspective for turning empty middle-class protest marches into a real mass movement based on the power of the working class itself?

Nor can the pamphlet square the SL's initiation of and participation in anti-imperialist contingents and our calls for NLF victory with the portrait of a Stalinophobic sect. For the IT/RMG, as for Stalinist apologists in general, the only way to "defend" the deformed workers states is to alibi the treacherous bureaucracy. Therefore, since the SL did not cease to expose the past betrayals of the NLF and to warn of future ones, the SL cannot possibly have called for NLF victory. So the pamphlet must alter reality to suit its schema, including ignoring the SL's slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist" and inventing the outright lie that the SL called for "conditional support" rather than unconditional military victory to the NLF.

This section also resuscitates an old prejudice inherited from the SWP: that the SL "tailed" Progressive Labor. No "evidence" is adduced for this slander, except for two sentences which slyly give the impression that the SL covered up for PL's Stalinist gangsterism against the SWP:

> "it [the SL] saw nothing wrong at all in arguing that the PL thugs who attacked the SWP and YSA were not Stalinist. After all, demanded the SL, how could PLP be considered Stalinist when (according to them) it attacked the Student Mobilization Committee from the left?"

Let us simply note that the SL's alleged "tailing" of PL consisted of entering the PL-led wing of SDS with an openly Trotskyist program and forming an oppositional caucus with its own newspaper which, among other things, sharply denounced PL's Stalinist gangsterism against opponents within the left movement. For example, a front-page article in the September 1970 *RMC Newsletter* (headlined, interestingly enough, "Stalinism in Boston") denounced PL for physical attacks on the SWP/YSA/SMC and proposed a resolution condemning them. Again, the IT/RMG is unable to understand the Trotskyist policies of the SL. Recognizing that PL was indeed to the left of the SWP in that period, the SL pursued an orientation to PL, which was in no way synonymous with "tailing" PL but was in fact based on principled *programmatic counterposition*.

The section on trade-union work castigates the SL for refusing to support the Mine Workers' Miller and the

continued on page 10

FORUM **NEW YORK**

National Liberation and Permanent Revolution in the Near East

Speaker: Reuben Samuels
SL Central Committee

Saturday, January 11 7:30 p.m.

Washington Sq. Methodist Church
135 West 4th Street, NYC

Donation $1
For information call: (212) 925-5665

Preferential Layoffs: A Dangerous Hoax

During the past decade many areas of employment traditionally restricted to white males were partially opened to women and minorities. In part this was a concession to civil rights/women's liberation movements, and partly it was due to an expanding job market. These limited gains, however, are now being reversed by the massive layoffs which are sweeping U.S. industry, eliminating many recently hired workers.

This has hit women and black workers particularly hard. Since December 1973 the jobless rate for blacks has shot up from 7.7 percent to 11.7 percent. In November statistics showed 3.9 percent of white males out of work compared with 6.6 percent of women.

In the past many liberals, black nationalists, feminists and reformists had called for "alfirmative action" plans for "preferential hiring" (quotas) as the only way to overcome historic discrimination patterns. The current sharp economic crisis is graphically demonstrating what's wrong with these divisive schemes.

Obviously, hiring quotas have very little effect when the bulk of the workforce is out on the street anyway. For many urban ghettos unemployment rates are already at depression levels. In Detroit's "inner city," for instance, the jobless figure was 26.5 percent even before the latest massive layoffs of Chrysler workers and is predicted to go to 40 percent or worse by the spring (*Detroit Free Press*, 21 November).

Faced with the prospect of layoffs eliminating most of the women and minorities hired over the recent period, quota advocates from the federal government's Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC) to would-be radicals are now carrying their position to its logical conclusion. Rejecting the possibility of a united labor offensive to stop all layoffs, they have sought a method to distribute job cutbacks more "fairly": "preferential layoffs."

Far from representing an attack on capitalism, preferential hiring quotas mean relying on the good will of management and the bourgeois courts. Rather than serving to unite the working class in a struggle against discrimination by the employers, they institute a new form of "reverse discrimination."

But if, in certain particular cases, it may sometimes be necessary for revolutionaries to give critical support to hiring quotas in order to oppose the racist status quo, the same is not true for "preferential layoffs." These are a direct attack on the jobs of presently employed workers and, no matter what the motivations of their proponents, are rapidly becoming the spearhead of a union-busting assault on the seniority principle, a mainstay of the labor movement.

A Dagger Pointed at the Heart of the Unions

There is no such thing as fair employment under capitalism. With trade and industry in private hands, some will be hired and others will necessarily be unemployed. Unemployment provides a ready pool of desperate workers (Marx called it the "industrial reserve army") which employers use to drive down wages and break strikes. It is usually concentrated among certain sections of the laboring population, such as blacks in the U.S. and Mediterranean immigrant workers in West Europe. This is a chronic and permanent feature of the capitalist system.

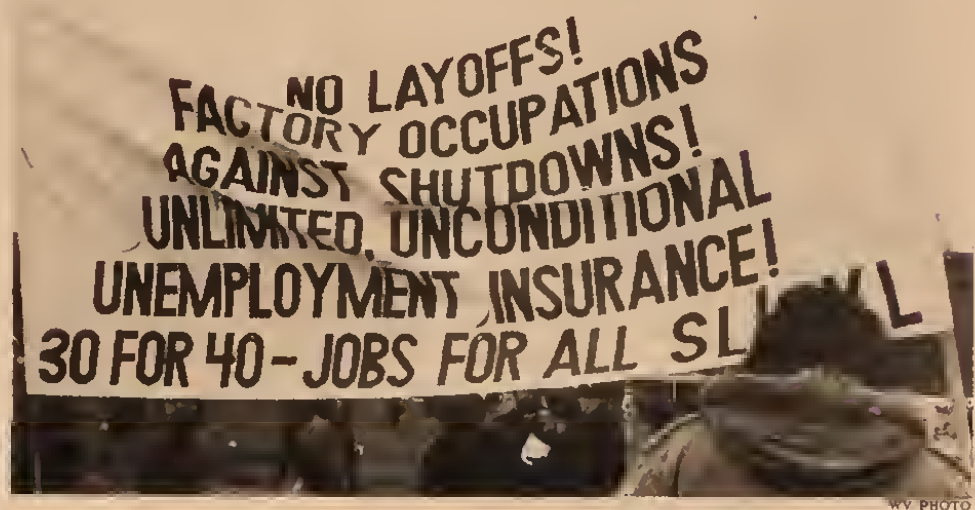
The reactionary trade-union bureaucracy is the partner of the capitalists in fostering the racial and sex divisions in the workforce which prevent united class struggle and bears responsibility along with them for perpetuating discriminatory hiring practices and oppression by sex or race. The racist and chauvinist policies of this bureaucracy include its protection of "job-trusting," which often excludes *anyone* from a trade except close relatives of present workers.

The bankruptcy of these venal fakers, who often owe their cushy positions to the liberal use of graft and physical violence against oppositionists, has led many militant black and women workers to write off the unions altogether. Therefore they feel justified in resorting to anti-union schemes such as court suits against the unions and preferential layoffs in a misdirected attempt to fight discrimination.

The Spartacist League has consistently warned against divisive preferential hiring and advancement schemes. What is needed, we have pointed out, is a class-struggle program for union action against discrimination, to make the *employers* pay. In particular, the SL calls for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay in order to create more jobs, for a union hiring hall and union-controlled upgrading and training particularly geared for those traditionally excluded from certain skilled jobs (see "Preferential Hiring Is Not the Answer," *WV* No. 25, 20 July 1973).

Almost every "alfirmative action" scheme involves appealing to the capitalist state, whether through the courts, Labor Department, EEOC or another agency. We have warned that those who appeal to the government to adjudicate disputes within the labor movement are in reality handing the bosses powers which will be used to smash independent unionism. This is particularly true of "preferential layoffs" schemes which attack the seniority principle, the only form of job security now available to unionized workers.

Under most seniority systems, those with the least time in the plant or workplace would be laid off first. Supporters of preferential layoffs correctly point out that since minorities and women hired under quota programs during the last decade generally have the least seniority, they are still "last hired, first fired."



WV PHOTO

The seniority principle, however, is a major gain of the union movement, one that protects all workers (including union militants, minorities, socialists, etc.) against arbitrary victimization. It takes little imagination to envision what would happen to the unions if the seniority principle were thrown out of the window. Yet that is precisely what the quota advocates are doing.

Seniority is often calculated on a departmental (rather than plantwide) basis, thereby tending to confine minorities and women to lower-paying and/or more dangerous job categories. This forms a basis for "job-trusting" by certain relatively more privileged workers, usually male and white. But it is job-trusting and discriminatory departmental classifications which perpetuate discrimination in hiring, not the seniority principle itself.

Moreover, the consistent application of race and sex quotas to layoffs would rapidly produce unexpected results. Thus in Detroit's Dodge Main plant, preferential layoffs would mean putting black workers on the street in order to maintain the present percentage (quite sizeable) of Arab workers. At the Mahwah, N.J., Ford plant it could mean replacing U.S. blacks with Haitians and Dominicans, since the latter have entered the plant more recently.

And what about the group most directly discriminated against by seniority: young workers? Preferential quotas for young workers would put hundreds of thousands of older workers (usually with families to support) out of a job. Yet this is only the logical consequence of the consistent application of the principle of preferential layoffs.

This kind of quota system almost inevitably heightens ethnic tensions. In the Bethlehem Steel plant in Lackawanna, New York, the issuing of a court order last year calling for quotas in hiring and advancement allowed racists to play on the fears of white workers that preferential hiring was a threat to their jobs (a very real danger in the chronically depressed steel industry, particularly in the job-short Buffalo area). The result: a "Rights for Whites" group was formed in the plant.

DAILY WORLD

Unemployment demonstration in Chicago last year by Rev. Jesse Jackson's PUSH. In late 1960's Jackson was head of community group which received $1.5 million from Chicago banks and Ford Foundation to organize demonstrations for job quotas for blacks. Jackson's fire was directed at unions but banks who paid him were responsible for construction job cutbacks.

Government Intervention to Smash Seniority

Courts and federal agencies have recently taken long steps toward enforcing preferential layoffs and outlawing seniority systems. In one case, a federal court in Richmond, Virginia, ruled explicitly that an employer might be required to *replace* some presently employed workers with blacks or women if necessary to reach a specified sex-race ratio (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 September).

In an important Louisiana case the federal judge declared that *seniority-based layoffs are illegal.* The employer, Continental Can Co., was required to rehire laid-off black workers in order to maintain the percentage of non-whites in the workforce at the same level as prior to the cutbacks. While the ruling forbids the company to eliminate white workers in order to make room for rehires, the court destroyed the seniority principle for future layoffs. Both employer and the union (United Steelworkers Local 2369, a co-defendant in the case) have appealed the decision, and many observers expect this to become the key test case on reverse discrimination and layoffs.

In a ruling last August, however, one judge put his finger on the meaning of this trend. The Seventh Circuit Court held, in a case involving International Harvester and the Bricklayers' union in Wisconsin, that abandoning seniority would be "tantamount to shackling white employees with a burden of past discrimination created not by them but by their employer" (*Wall Street Journal*, 5 November).

There is some dispute within the government about how hard to push the anti-seniority drive, the Labor Department apparently edgy about a possible backlash. The head of the federal EEOC, John Powell, however, makes it clear that he intends to "tighten up" on seniority, boasting that "we have a big club" (*New York Times*, 10 November). "In

continued on page 11

Gotbaum "Cooperates" as

Beame Lays Off Thousands in NYC

NEW YORK TIMES/TYRONE DUKES

Speaking at news conference are, from left: (seated) Victor Gotbaum (AFSCME DC 37) and Richard Vizzini (firemen); (standing) John Maye (transit police), Morton Barr (CWA), Ken McFeeley (police) and Harold Brown (prison guards).

NEW YORK—In the first mass city layoffs since the 1930's depression, Mayor Beame's office announced last month the dismissal of up to 7,935 employees. Other state and municipal workers have also been hard hit. Cleveland recently cut back 10 percent of its workers, while in Atlanta city employees are being forced to take five unpaid holidays in 1974. Massachusetts officials are projecting across-the-board payroll slashes which would mean 1,800 layoffs in the state colleges alone and an enrollment cut of 9,000 students (*Wall Street Journal*, 24 December).

The NYC layoffs have hit all categories of city employees, including office workers, teachers, firemen, sanitation men, parks maintenance personnel and hospital workers. Also included are some cops and "corrections" officers whose role in the state repressive apparatus puts them outside the labor movement.

Hardest hit in these cutbacks has been District Council 37 (DC 37) of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the city's largest union, with 110,000 members. Layoffs are catastrophic for public employees, since they are presently ineligible for any form of unemployment benefits.

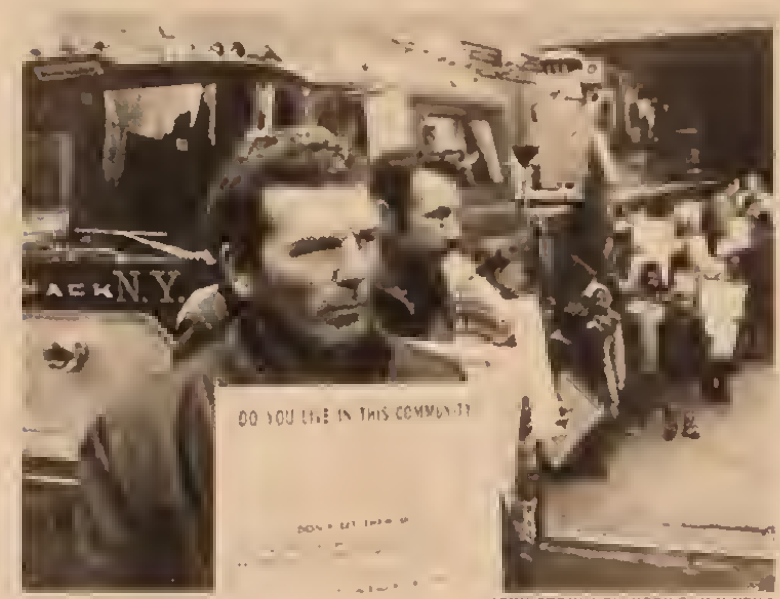
While city workers have seen their illusions about civil service job security rudely shattered, they have received no protection whatever from their union "leaders." DC 37 executive director Victor Gotbaum and the Central Labor Council instantly capitulated in the face of Mayor Beame's opening shots.

Confident that the loss of nearly 8,000 jobs could be forced on the city labor movement without a fight, the *New York Times* reported December 19 that negotiations began in "an atmosphere of optimism" based on "the political relations surrounding the meeting." (What was meant by this is that every major union in the city backed Democrat Beame for mayor in 1973.) The optimism was, in any case, justified, for the terms of the layoffs are still open and may be linked to wage cuts, payless work days or the four-day week at four days' pay.

Gotbaum was guest of honor at Beame's Christmas party later in the week where the mayor praised him for his cooperation in handling the budget crunch. "I don't blame the mayor," responded a DC 37 administrator at the party. "He didn't start the Vietnam war, he didn't ruin the economy, and he didn't create the recession. He just walked into this mess" (*New York Post*, 21 December).

The announcement of municipal payroll cutbacks, and the unions' evident acquiesence, touched off a scramble over who will *not* be hit. Immediately, every conceivable component of the workforce was pitted against each other—black vs. white workers, men vs. women, old vs. young, paraprofessionals vs. professionals in the schools, etc.

The Policemen's Benevolent Association suggested that the budget be cut not by getting rid of (white) cops, but through dealing with "widespread welfare fraud," i.e., by launching an attack on welfare recipients, specifically the minority poor. In other words, shove the havoc wreaked by the capitalist crisis onto the defenseless unemployed, already among the most oppressed victims of the system. The fire department proposed closing down its stations in Harlem and other ghetto areas which are the worst firetraps in the city. Firemen, however, organized demonstrations together with community residents fighting to keep the stations open.



JOHN PEDIN, NEW YORK DAILY NEWS

New York firemen and community residents protesting planned closing of fire stations in Harlem.

DC 37 leaders countered Beame's suggestion of payless work days with the suggestion of forced retirement of older workers, arguing that a cut (often substantial) in their pension benefits was preferable to laying off young workers who will get no compensation at all. When Labor Secretary Brennan reluctantly ruled out forced retirements (because they are patently illegal), Gotbaum pledged to seek "voluntary" retirements. One can imagine the vicious social pressure this will generate against older workers who refuse to give up their means of livelihood.

The DC 37 leadership's "plan" is nothing but a paltry excuse for refusing to use the one effective means to combat burgeoning unemployment: a citywide strike of municipal workers against the layoffs. The organized power of 350,000 city workers could put a stop to Beame's vicious cutbacks in jobs and services.

In addition, the labor movement must take up a fight for unlimited, unconditional unemployment compensation. At present only about half the six million jobless receive government unemployment insurance. The system, which is partly financed by tax funds, does not cover thousands of workers employed by small businesses whose owners do not pay into unemployment funds. Nor does it cover the 30 percent of black youth who are ineligible because they have never held jobs. All benefits stop after one year, and even under the bills now before Congress to extend coverage to city workers and other categories, the new additions will only be eligible for 13 weeks.

One scheme being bandied about is for preferential treatment of certain categories traditionally subjected to job discrimination, as opposed to strict seniority. The city is also interested in getting rid of seniority, it appears. On the desk of the Commissioner of Sanitation, a reporter recently discovered *two* layoff lists—one based on seniority and the other on "productivity considerations," which would let go those who are "absent or seem less inclined to work" (*New York Times*, 23 December). Under the guise of protecting jobs of women and minorities, it is clear that "preferential layoffs" will simply become a weapon for eliminating hard-won union seniority systems.

While the union bureaucracy is cynically telling its membership to "bite the bullet" in the face of sharp economic crisis, various reformists are now calling for public works as the answer to unemployment. The Communist Party's *Daily World* (14 December), for instance, recently called for a "massive program of federal construction," to be financed by taxing the corporations.

There is, in fact, a vast need for social services, and unemployed workers need jobs rather than enforced leisure at starvation-level compensation. But such programs raise many questions. Who will pay for them? The CP's pitiful proposal for taxing the corporations should be countered with the demand for their expropriation without compensation. In particular this should apply to parasitic monopolies such as the power company (Con Edison) and telephone company, bloodsuckers who yearly drain hundreds of millions of dollars from the pockets of working people in order to assure their guaranteed profits. The labor movement should also demand the expropriation of the banks, who last year took 1.6 *billion* dollars (4 times the reported budget deficit) in "debt service" on loans to the city government.

There is also the question of what *kind* of public works is needed. Thus, Beame recently cancelled work on a much-needed water tunnel (laying off 1,900 construction workers in the process) while plans are afoot to construct new jails in order to compensate for the closing of the notorious Tombs (itself a product of "public works" programs of the last depression). In order to ensure that socially necessary projects are undertaken there must be systematic planning of public works under the control of the labor movement.

In addition to strikes against layoffs, a class-struggle leadership of the unions would call for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay ("30 for 40"), in order to provide jobs for all. Threatened with its own disintegration, the labor movement cannot permit the transformation of increasingly large numbers of workers into chronic paupers.

The fundamental need is for a militant new leadership of the workers movement which is unafraid to mobilize the organized strength of labor against the corporations and their lackeys in government. The need for a *political* program of labor action is particularly evident in the "public" sector, where the unions immediately come up against Democratic Party politicians whom they have helped put in office.

The present misleadership, epitomized by the pussyfooting Victor Gotbaum of District Council 37, can only capitulate to the employers. When pressure was building for a general strike by state and city employees against budget cuts in 1971, Gotbaum called a token two-day bridge tenders' strike as a publicity stunt to head off sentiment for more militant action. At that time he stated unambiguously: "Our union has never threatened a strike against layoffs" (*Workers Action* No. 9, July-August 1971). While Gotbaum was assuring the city fathers of his undying loyalty, it took police intervention to head off attempts by city workers to cut off the water supply to Rockefeller's Manhattan office and to Wall Street!

As in 1971 the union bureaucracy is the main obstacle to a victorious struggle by city workers against Beame's anti-labor budget cuts/layoffs plan. The gross collusion of the labor tops with city hall (and bourgeois politicians generally) is key to labor's paralysis. The common thread running through the labor movement in the capitalist countries is its ever closer ties to the imperialist state, its subordination to the class enemy as a means for disciplining the workers.

Rather than simply rejecting the unions—the only mass defense organizations the workers have—or passively knuckling under to the sellout bureaucrats, it is necessary to forge a new militant leadership committed to a class-struggle program.

—Strike against layoffs! For a shorter workweek with no loss in pay! For unlimited, unconditional unemployment compensation!

—For massive public works programs, planned and executed under workers control! Expropriate telephone and power monopolies, banks and insurance companies without compensation!

—Break with the Democrats! Oust the bureaucrats—For a Workers Party Based on the Unions! Forward to a Workers Government! ■

Bulletin der Österreichischen Bolschewiki-Leninisten

Preis:
US $2 — 4 Nummern

Bestellungen und Überweisungen an:
Postfach 39
1033 Vienna
Austria

SWP Renounces Revolution in Court

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has just written another episode in the ongoing saga of "civil libertarian socialism." The *Militant* (24 December) claims a great victory with a federal court ruling on December 13 enjoining the FBI from spying on the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) national convention in St. Louis. YSA national chairman Andrew Pulley hailed the decision as "a powerful precedent curbing the FBI's blank check to spy on unions, Black organizations, and other groups fighting for basic social change." This "powerful precedent," however, was quickly reversed by an appellate court in plenty of time for the FBI to make it to St. Louis. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall also upheld the FBI.

Revolutionary socialists are the most consistent defenders of democratic rights. Any real restraint on the secret or regular police of the capitalist state could be supported. Wouldn't it be nice, for instance, if the Supreme Court were to outlaw the activities of the FBI, CIA and the red squads as is earnestly wished for by the less cynical (and more gullible) of the SWP's supporters? "But in politics," said Trotsky addressing British left social democrats in 1935, "nothing is more dangerous than to mistake what we wish for what is possible." For the reformist civil libertarians of the SWP, it has become more than wish—it is their basic political strategy.

While revolutionists would certainly not shrink from using the courts, as well as other means, to defend themselves from repression (and while they might at times use the halls of bourgeois "justice" as a platform of socialist propaganda, as James Cannon did in the 1941 Minneapolis Trial of 18 SWP leaders), we do not use the courts as a platform to aggressively denounce socialist principle. But the SWP does. Arguing in its press that the "socialist court case" will further expose the repressive instruments of the government, the SWP has only further exposed its own insatiable appetite for bourgeois respectability.

Reformism on Trial

These reformists had little difficulty in convincing Judge Griesa of the U.S. District Court that the SWP/YSA was indeed "non-violent." In his ruling the judge highlighted his "review" of a recent issue of the *Militant* in which "there is in my view not the slightest hint of any present violent threat or any such threat in the near future." He was particularly impressed with the SWP's prime exhibit, a telegram sent by Farrell Dobbs (then national secretary of the SWP) "extend[ing] our deepest sympathy to Mrs. Kennedy" at the time of the assassination of President Kennedy in 1963. The Dobbs statement goes on: "Political terrorism . . . violates the democratic rights of all Americans. . . . Political differences within our society must be settled in an orderly manner by majority decision. . . ."

In *Spartacist* No. 1 we condemned this cowardly statement as being "the words of . . . Social Democrats and bourgeois liberals. . . ." For those who in the past have criticized the Spartacist League for exaggerating the importance of this telegram, see now how it is being used by the reformist SWP to ingratiate itself with the ruling class.

The core of the SWP's presentation before Judge Griesa is contained in a few treacherous statements by Barry Sheppard, the SWP national organizational secretary, in his affidavit to the court: "The specific methods used by the SWP to educate and organize are electioneering, distribution of literature, public speaking and other legal activities.

"The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity. . . .

"The policies and facts outlined above are in no way altered or contravened by anything that may appear in the writings of such revolutionary figures as Marx, Lenin, Trotsky, Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, Frederick Douglass, Eugene V. Debs and others."

"The SWP does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity."

—Barry Sheppard, Socialist Workers Party, statement to the Southern District Court of New York, 12 December 1974

■

"Those features of their previous work which Kautsky now wishes to make permanent—self adaptation, repudiation of "illegal" activity, repudiation of the open fight, hopes placed in democracy as the road to a painless revolution—all these fell into dust."

—Leon Trotsky, Terrorism and Communism, 1920

Jack Barnes

Barry Sheppard

If this last sentence means anything at all, it is that whatever Marx, Lenin and Trotsky may have said in support of revolutionary violence (and they were unambiguous on this point), the SWP still "does not engage in or advocate violence or any other illegal activity. . . ."

Compare this with Trotsky's attack on the pusillanimous "pacifism" of social democrats like Kautsky who were denouncing the "red terror" of the Russian Revolution: "The man who repudiates terrorism in principle—i.e., repudiates measures of suppression and intimidation towards determined and armed counter-revolution, must reject all idea of the political supremacy of the working class and its revolutionary dictatorship" (*Terrorism and Communism*).

The showpiece of the government's case for surveillance was the Internationalist Tendency (IT) of the SWP, which it accuses of being "in favor of

continued on page 8

Anti-Fascist Demonstration in Austria

VIENNA—A nighttime rally at Vienna University was called recently (November 28) by a fascist student group around the slogan "Victory to Nationalism." Although the neo-Nazis could muster only 40 motley supporters and their meeting was eventually banned by the police, a leftist counterdemonstration pointed to the need for working-class action against the fascists.

A leaflet of the Bund Nationaler Studenten (League of National Students) calling for the reactionary rally attacked abortion, preferring a "limitless abundance of children for the glowing future [!] of our German land." The BNS also opposed the right of foreign students to vote in university elections (except for "brother Germans of non-Austrian citizenship").

The fascist meeting was intended to further a regroupment process currently going on within the traditional right. In particular it was directed at those dissatisfied with the new liberal-rightist course of the conservative student organization Ring Freiheitlicher Studenten (Circle of Freedom-Loving Students). This heightened the importance of preventing the rightists from openly demonstrating and gaining new forces for their racialist, anti-labor poison.

The Austrian left has a tradition of obstructing fascist demonstrations. Vienna is a social-democratic bastion and the university population is generally leftist. The last couple of times fascists have tried to hold public meetings in the city their plans have collapsed ignominiously.

On this occasion a call for a counterdemonstration brought out approximately 400 leftists. The police, too, were present in force, with about 200 men including many from an elite anti-riot unit. Though the meeting was prohibited by the authorities, a scattering of fascists showed up anyway, in order to prove that "German spirit is stronger than Jewish intellect."

Small-scale scuffling resulted when a shabby-looking crew of 15-20 (equipped with a couple of ancient army helmets and no weapons) charged the defense cordon of the leftist demonstration. They were easily repulsed and promptly arrested. Another small group of student elements ineffectually chanted reactionary slogans but were soon dispersed by the police.

The Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL—Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), sympathizing group of the international Spartacist tendency, called for a workers' united front and independent working-class self-defense as the only means to smash the fascists. In an "Open Letter" (24 November) to the labor movement, it reminded unionists of the destruction of all working-class organizations under the Nazis and called on the Austrian Labor Federation to actively prevent the BNS meeting.

At a planning meeting for the leftist counterdemonstration, the ÖBL proposed a united-front action in which all participating organizations would have the right to bring their own leaflets, banners and slogans. It called for "rejecting . . . all appeals to the bourgeois state and its police," instead putting forward the need to challenge the organized labor movement and mass workers parties to join efforts to stop the fascists.

The other participants' orientation consisted of reliance on the bourgeoisie rather than the labor movement. The main planners of the meeting—the Gruppe Revolutionärer Marxisten (GRM—Revolutionary Marxist Group), section of the "United" Secretariat of Mandel and Hansen—held that socialists should call on cops to ban the fascist demonstration, referring in particular to provisions of the Austrian constitution. Though the GRM claims to be Trotskyist, Trotsky wrote in 1934 that, "To turn to the state, that is to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions. . ." ("War and the Fourth International").

The reformist perspective of appealing to the government to ban the meeting was agreed to by the other organizations present, including the social-democratic Free Austrian Youth and the Communist Party. (The CP youth, however, backed out at the last minute on instructions from their party. The leaflet for the leftist demonstration, which had been entrusted to them, never appeared.) The Maoists, however, opposed a counterdemonstration, maintaining that this would create in "the people" an impression of "leftist terror"!

The fake lefts' rejection of its Marxist proposals did not prevent the ÖBL from mobilizing for the anti-fascist protest and participating in defense arrangements. Its leaflet, the only one distributed at the demonstration, emphasized once again that the workers can rely only on their own organized strength to crush the fascist scum. ■

Scab Training in Houston Refineries

HOUSTON—Scabs are being systematically trained in refineries here as the oil companies gear up for a strike next week. Under the direction of shift foremen, scabs are literally following workers around the floor of the control room, trying to learn their jobs. Meanwhile, the union (Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers) does nothing.

This blatant provocation is having the intended demoralizing effect, but it has also produced a lot of anger among the ranks. A worker at Shell's Deer Park, Texas, refinery threatened to "remove" one of these strikebreakers-in-training from the operator's desk. "Why can't OCAW ever win a strike?" exploded another militant during a recent union meeting.

Meanwhile, the companies are continuing to run the plants at dangerously high output levels, far beyond their theoretical capacity. This fact is well known within the plants, but it has not been widely disseminated beyond them.

Since the 1962-63 strike, OCAW has found itself less and less able to prevent scabbing. That strike, which lasted over a year, saw the mobilization of clerical and laboratory personnel to run the refineries. The major issue of the bitter dispute was "running maintenance," or whether the company could assign operators to do plant maintenance. Unable to stop production, the union went down in defeat, losing hundreds of jobs across the board.

OIL, CHEMICAL AND ATOMIC UNION NEWS

A. F. Grospiron, OCAW International president.

The sorry precedent of 1962-63 was played out once again in the 1972-73 Shell strike. Local bureaucrats here even refused the offer of ILA longshoremen to man the picket lines and defend against scabbing. At a recent union meeting, the secretary-treasurer of the OCAW Shell group in Houston, Roy Barnes, replied to questions about picketing, stopping scabs and hot-cargoing with the bland statement that he would not advocate "anything illegal."

Given the pathetic record of legalistic misleadership by OCAW bureaucrats in the past, it is hardly surprising that they are doing nothing about the apprentice scabs today. The companies are now openly mocking the union, with Arco (Atlantic-Richfield) sending out a letter last month to "interested" non-union staff in the Houston area "who want to work during the strike."

Another important source of scab labor has developed with increased "contracting out" of plant maintenance. The companies use both non-union and craft union labor to perform this work that should be done by OCAW members. In the past, non-union contractors continued to do new work during strikes, while the AFL-CIO craft unions "only" maintained work already completed.

In all cases the union brass has done nothing. At a recent local meeting of Shell Deer Park refinery workers, a motion for mass picketing of the contractors' gate was ruled out of order by the leadership.

Another major attack on job categories, bidding and transfer procedures has been launched recently by Shell. The Operator Development Program is being used to build up a labor pool of lower-paid workers to do the operators' jobs. In order to drive down wages, the company is willing to throw untrained workers into highly dangerous jobs such as running the stills.

At the same time the company is trying to freeze workers in their present positions by doing away with "free job transfers." At the Houston Arco plant, the "flexibility clause" is being used by management to employ operators on plant maintenance, as Shell has done since 1962.

The criminally negligent attitude of management toward safety conditions and the current employer offensive against job categories and transfer rights clearly pose the need for democratically elected union safety committees, with the power to shut down production, and for union control of hiring and training programs. Such demands are not raised by the OCAW leadership because they are an attack on the property rights of the companies. But without a militant class-struggle policy, defending jobs and safety standards, the union will once again suffer massive setbacks, despite all the phony talk of "cold hard muscle." ■

Macmillan Strike Defeated

WV PHOTO

On the picket lines at Macmillan.

NEW YORK—On December 16, after two months on the picket lines, the union organizing committee at Macmillan Publishing Company voted to end their strike. By that point most of the employees who walked out in October had long since gone back to work. To compound the defeat, when the dozen or so militants who stuck out the strike reported the next day they were told that their jobs had been filled.

The October walkout was in response to the "Columbus Day Massacre," when the company fired 189 workers, ostensibly due to a "financial crisis." A number of those sacked, however, were members of the Macmillan Women's Group, which had initiated legal action against management on charges of sex discrimination in hiring and promotions. The other main target of the purge was the organizing committee of Office and Professional Employees International Union Local 153. Only two days before the company's action, the OPEIU had filed for a representation election with the National Labor Relations Board.

High on the list of grievances of Macmillan workers is low pay. The bottom job categories still earn less than $100 per week before taxes. Concerning discrimination, in the complaint filed by the Women's Group with the state attorney general's office on September 5, it is charged that "women comprise 94% of the lowest three levels of editorial positions while men comprise 76% of the highest three levels of editorial positions."

Trying to head off a drive toward unionization of the publishing industry, begun last spring when Harper and Row employees won recognition of District 65 as their bargaining agent, Macmillan suddenly discovered an economic crunch. The figures, however, tell a different story. For the first nine months of 1974 the company reported income of $9,295,000, down only slightly from $9,378,000 for the corresponding period of 1973 (*New York Times*, 15 October).

Faced with the firing of most of the union organizing committee, the OPEIU filed an unfair labor practice suit with the NLRB. It charges that the dismissals were not due to declining revenues but rather to Macmillan's efforts to keep out the union. The labor court ruling is due early this month.

Spartacist League members walked the picket line with the Macmillan workers and the Partisan Defense Committee, legal arm of the SL, sent a contribution to the OPEIU-sponsored Macmillan Strike Fund.

Much has been made in the pages of the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* of the Macmillan Women's Group. However, according to some Macmillan employees active in the strike, the Women's Group was never a moving force for unionization and increasingly backed off from the drive. Reportedly, in a recent meeting of the group, when one worker brought up the subject of supporting the strike the response of many of the women was limited to concern about their own jobs.

While this group may inconvenience the company to an extent, as with all feminist organizations it cannot see its interests in common with the rest of the workers. One obvious reason is that from the very beginning the Women's Group included management (and still does). In fact, it was set up by a vice president of the company, Janet Schulman.

What is needed to win union recognition and to regain the lost jobs at Macmillan is militant united labor action, not reliance on the government of big business interests. The need for broad union support is particularly acute when organizing relatively peripheral sections of the working class (editorial employees in publishing, farm workers, etc.). What Macmillan workers got was just the opposite.

When approached last year District 65 showed little interest in organizing Macmillan. After the strike broke out, Teamster representatives visited the picket lines a couple of times, hinting that they could close down Riverside Press (Macmillan's printing division), but only in exchange for a raid on the OPEIU. Deliveries continued unabated.

The response of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, supposedly a pan-union group to promote the interests of women workers, was little better. When workers from the OPEIU organizing committee at Macmillan went to a November 23 meeting of CLUW in New York to present a motion for support to a rally two days later, they were told that they had no rights in a CLUW meeting since they were not union members! As one Macmillan union activist remarked, "CLUW is getting all tied up in the union bureaucracy."

From the beginning CLUW has been a bureaucratically controlled outfit, tied to the top leadership of the AFL-CIO. Militant proposals are regularly ruled out of order and the union brass refused to permit the CLUW national convention to support the Farm Workers against scab raiding by the Teamsters last year. CLUW president Olga Madar is a former vice president of the United Auto Workers and helped organize a mammoth goon squad of union officials to crush the Mack Avenue wildcat sitdown strike in August 1973.

The lesson of the defeat of the Macmillan strike is the need for militant working-class action. Neither feminism nor support for the union bureaucracy nor reliance on the government can win victory. The only alternatives are class-struggle politics or bitter defeat. ■

Spartacist Local Directory

BAY AREA . . . . . (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BINGHAMTON
c/o SYL, Box RCY, SUNY
Binghamton, NY 13901

BOSTON . . . . . (617) 282-7587
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO . . . . . (716) 834-7610
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO . . . . . (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND . . . . . (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT . . . . . (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON . . . . . (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA . . . . . (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P. O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES . . . (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

MILWAUKEE
Box 6061,
Milwaukee, WI 53209

NEW HAVEN . . . . . (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS . . . (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK . . . . . (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA . . (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

TORONTO . . . . . (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B. C., Canada

Continued from page 6

SWP Renounces Revolution in Court

current violence." U.S. attorney Steven Glassman also made references to the resolution on armed struggle in Latin America passed by the 10th Congress of the United Secretariat.

Purge Guarantees "Respectability"

However, Barnes/Sheppard and Co. had an answer to this as well. The *Militant* notes that "The IT members were removed from the membership rolls of the SWP and YSA on July 4 of this year." No doubt the assembled Kautskyites sang the Star Spangled Banner while carrying out this patriotic act! This point was not lost on Judge Griesa, who appears to have taken the measure of the SWP. "There was never anything, in my view, beyond the most tenuous suggestion of a possible implication of violence in the United States," he wrote. "In view of the ouster of the minority faction, I believe that tenuous suggestion has been basically eliminated."

The government, however, was not completely convinced and insisted on digging up quotations from the SWP's past in order to demonstrate its violent proclivities. One particularly valuable quote was from James P. Cannon when he was being tried under the anti-communist Smith Act in 1941. In his presentation to the court Cannon attempted to formulate the principles of Marxism in a defensive manner, avoiding phrases which could be distorted by eager government prosecutors. But when pressed by the government on the question of violence he did not reject Marxism, unlike the SWP of today. "It is the opinion of all Marxists," he said, "that it [social transformation] will be accompanied by violence."

What Fourth International?

The SWP "socialist court suit" comes in the context of continuing sharp factional struggle within the United Secretariat between the centrist European majority, which supports guerrillaism in Latin America, and the legalist/reformist wing led by the SWP and its Argentine co-thinkers, the PST. The PST has several times in the last year made scandalous statements in support of bourgeois "institutional order" and in favor of the "continuity" of the legally elected government (see "PST Caught Red-Handed," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974). This latest incident makes evident that between the PST and SWP there exists a common bond of social-democratic legalistic cretinism.

The ill-starred IT, under instructions from its mentors of the pro-guerrilla European majority, is still trying to get back into the SWP. What kind of reception the IT would face in the party of Barnes and Sheppard can be gleaned from the fact that the SWP apparently never objected to the use of its internal bulletins on the IT expulsion by the government as evidence in the YSA convention surveillance suit. On the contrary, SWP leaders were obviously quite happy to have the evidence that the IT was no longer with them introduced in court. (The bulletin includes, among other things, a list of pseudonyms used by ITers.)

Capitalist Courts Rule for the Capitalist Class

The reformist ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party believes that great things can be accomplished by its "socialist Watersuit" and hailed Judge Griesa's ruling as a "big step forward." Yet it should be pointed out that even this isolated judge ruled not in favor of the SWP but in favor of what he saw as the interests of the bourgeoisie. He saw "not the slightest indication of any mass action...to expropriate property...." Were there any such indications, he would have ruled differently.

If Judge Griesa was moved by the "political climate" of Watergate exposures, the appellate court was not. In reversing his ruling, it pointed out: "Recent instances where national security has been inappropriately invoked, should not obscure that...the government safeguards its own capacity to function" (*New York Times*, 25 December). This was meant to set Judge Griesa straight about the function of the FBI. It may also hold a lesson for those who, like the SWP, believe in the reformability of the capitalist state. ■

Continued from page 1

Boston Protest Rally...

Committee.

This Student Committee organized a large teach-in at Harvard the night before the march which consciously featured bourgeois politicians, plus the SWP's Maceo Dixon for the Committee. Requests for speaking rights from the Spartacist League, the Anti-Racist Coalition (i.e., the Party for Workers Power) and the Youth Organization for Black Unity were all denied.

The demonstration the next day served above all to further the personal career of Bill Owens, the only black member of the Massachusetts senate. During the last few months Owens has adopted a phony militant stance in order to garner publicity and outdistance the more cautious members of the state legislature's Black Caucus. In late September he was the main speaker, along with his political crony John Boone (former head of the state prison system), at a white-baiting community rally at the Elma Lewis Center in Roxbury. A few weeks later Owens issued a call for a march of pro-busing forces through South Boston.

From the beginning, Owens made it crystal clear that his willingness to lend his name for the December 14 demonstration was dependent on receiving total control over key decisions (literature, speakers, route of march, etc.). YAWF and the SWP were more than willing to comply. (The Spartacist League, however, refused to endorse the march, pointing out that it was undemocratically controlled by Owens and that its slogans were nothing but liberal platitudes.)

The subordination of the march to the ambitions of a bourgeois politician, backed up by a fake-left outfit with proclivities to stupid adventurism (YAWF), very nearly led to a disaster. The Emergency Committee had requested a march permit to use Boylston St., a shopping street lined with expensive stores. Local merchants, however, succeeded in getting the police to issue the permit for a route along nearby Commonwealth Avenue, a residential street.

Although there is not the slightest political difference between the two routes, Owens decided to contest the police decision. Having sold out politically and built illusions in Owens, YAWF was only too willing to engage in a little macho display, regardless of the tactical situation and the absence of any political issues.

The Emergency Committee marshalls repeatedly refused to inform representatives of organized contingents of what they planned to do, and after more than an hour's wait at the assembly point the SWP-led Student Committee led about 2,000 down the route for which a police permit had been granted. About 45 minutes later, the YAWF-led Emergency Committee took

UPI

Police car overturned by racist mob surrounding South Boston High on December 11.

WV PHOTO

Massachusetts state senator Bill Owens speaks at December 14 rally.

SUBSCRIBE TO **Young Spartacus**

Monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

$2 11 ISSUES

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

59

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. P.O., N.Y., N.Y. 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

59

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

the rest of the marchers up to the intersection of Boylston St. and Massachusetts Ave. where they were faced with a barricade of police cars. At this point, more than 6,000 people were sandwiched into a two-block area, penned in by the police in front, a row of shops on one side and a steep dropoff onto the Massachusetts Turnpike on the other side.

With the situation set up perfectly for a police trap, and with racist cops itching to show the folks back home in "Southie" where they really stood (having been forced to "protect" black students for the last ten weeks), Owens proceeded to argue with the police commander, who made it clear that any amount of force would be used to stop the march from proceeding down Boylston.

In a staggering display of cynical careerism, Owens climbed on top of a car and shouted, "We'll go down Boylston Street at any cost!" The undisciplined crowd moved toward the police lines, only to be brutally beaten back, with a number of arrests and bloodied heads. The gravity of the confrontation was underlined by the arrest of one of the Emergency Committee marshals, allegedly for clubbing a cop with a loaded .45 pistol! For this action, which smells of provocation and could easily have led to a slaughter, we blame Owens and his Marcyite camp followers who set up this trap in order to play at idiot and criminal confrontationism.

Having satisfied themselves with their "street action" against the police, the Emergency Committee did an about-face and led the march down the Commonwealth Avenue route. Meanwhile the "militant" Senator made an unsuccessful effort to get himself symbolically arrested walking down Boylston Street.

At the rally Owens demagogically announced that "neither [Mayor] Kevin White nor any other white man is going to prevent me from walking in my district." Reformist charlatans like Dick Gregory and Ralph Abernathy rubbed shoulders with black Democrats and some ostensible leftists. It fell to the lot of Imamu Baraka, former beat poet and black nationalist demagogue, to be the only speaker to even obliquely criticize bourgeois politicians.

Having substituted criminal confrontationist tactics for revolutionary politics—in the process lying to the marchers (not only were they not warned that a confrontation was planned, but Emergency Committee marshals repeatedly announced that they were going on the "official" route)—the Marcyites announced that the liberal protest rally was "a smashing success" (*Workers World*, 20 December), and roughly doubled the attendance figure to 25,000 for the benefit of their readers.

The SWP, for its part, also hailed the rally, headlining one report "'There should be more of these marches'" (*Militant*, 27 December). The *Militant*'s criticism of the YAWF/Owens adventurism reeks of the ultra-legalist social-democratic/pacifist politics which characterize the ex-Trotskyist SWP. "The majority of the demonstrators," it claims, "wanted to put the spotlight clearly on the violent, lawbreaking actions of the racist mobs. . . . They knew that a confrontation with the cops would give opponents of desegregation an excuse to denounce the probusing forces as 'violent'."

In contrast, the Spartacist League organized a disciplined contingent of supporters calling for working-class defense and no confidence in the bourgeoisie. Other SL slogans called for implementing the busing plan and extending it to the suburbs. The attack on democratic rights of black people in Boston was tied to the current economic crisis through demands for no layoffs; factory occupations against shutdowns; unlimited, unconditional unemployment insurance; and 30-for-40, jobs for all.

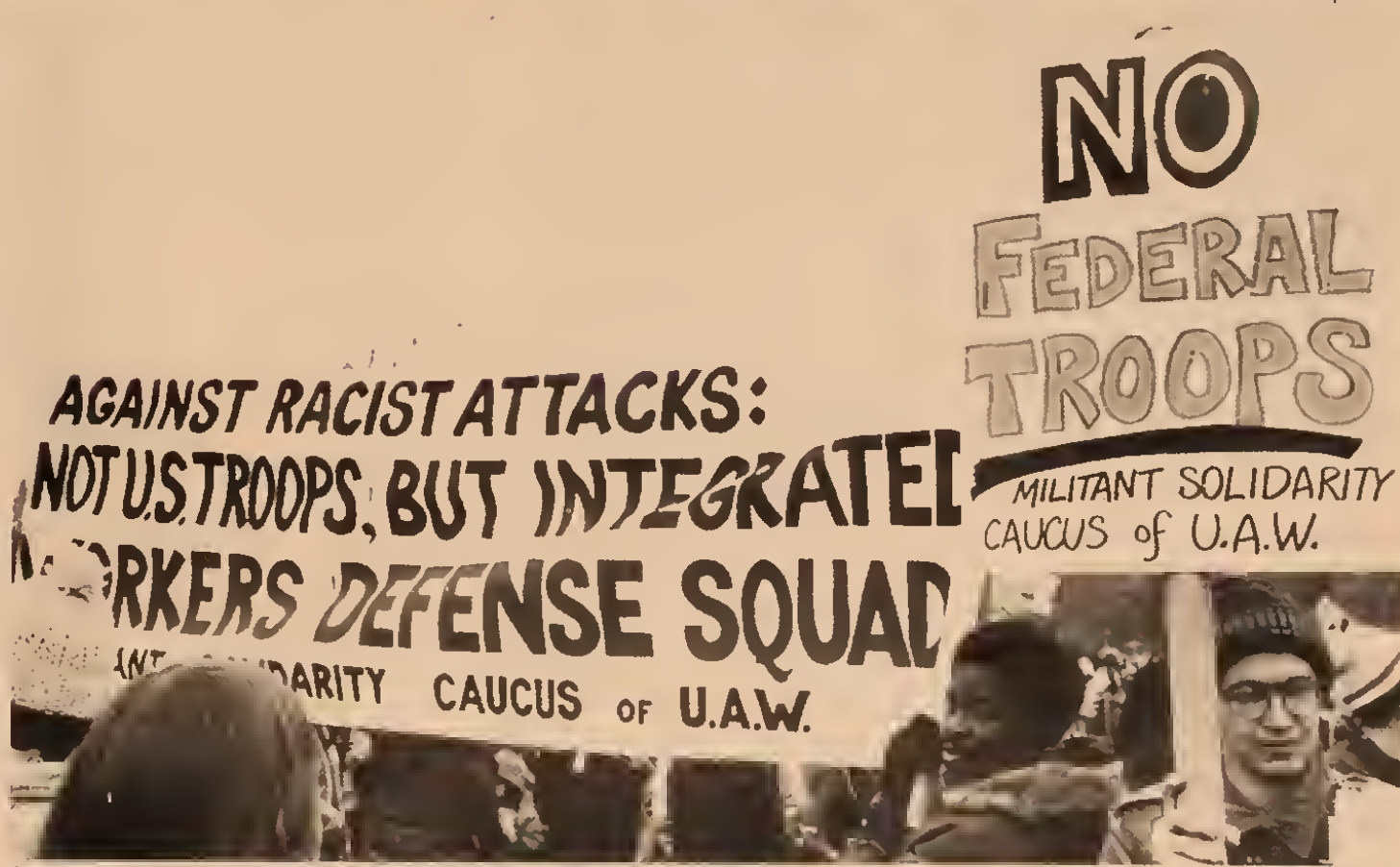
The Spartacist contingent was led by a large banner proclaiming "Forward to a Workers Government," emphasizing the crucial point that only by overturning capitalist rule can the special oppression of the black minority intensified by economic crisis, be overcome. ■

WV PHOTO

Rev. Ralph Abernathy

JOHN CONNOLLY

YAWF-led participants clash with police at December 14 march in Boston.



Marchers from the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906.

WV PHOTO

Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU demonstrates in Boston.

WV PHOTO

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Continued from page 1

Down with the CIA/FBI!

present attacks on the intelligence community" are merely an effort to clean up "excesses," to *reform* the CIA and make it more effective in its filthy work for U.S. imperialism. The liberals, of course, are trying to shove the blame for the CIA's clearly illegal domestic operations onto Richard Nixon. The *New York Post's* editorial of December 23, for instance, claims:

> "In retrospect it seems plainly inconceivable that such dismal exercises could have been staged without the advice and consent of Richard Nixon. They clearly reflect the mentality of siege and contempt for the Bill of Rights that pervaded his White House."

This is pure claptrap. Richard Nixon is far from the first president to ignore the Bill of Rights, and the heyday of CIA domestic surveillance and disruption was evidently under the regime of Richard Helms, appointed in 1966 by Lyndon Johnson. The current effort to clean up the CIA actually began in 1972, under Nixon, when James Schlesinger took over as agency director. Schlesinger revealed some of the domestic operations and trimmed the agency by about one-tenth of its personnel.

Revolutionary socialists, of course, are happy to see the exposure of even a small part of the crimes of the capitalists' secret police. But we have no confidence that the bourgeoisie will fairly or fully investigate itself. Some of the agency's most murderous programs are quite well known, yet nothing is done about them. For example, the Phoenix Project, whose assassination squads have killed thousands of Vietnamese political activists (mainly, but by no means exclusively, NLF), is still continuing. Only a victorious workers revolution can ensure that these blood-stained butchers receive their just desserts.

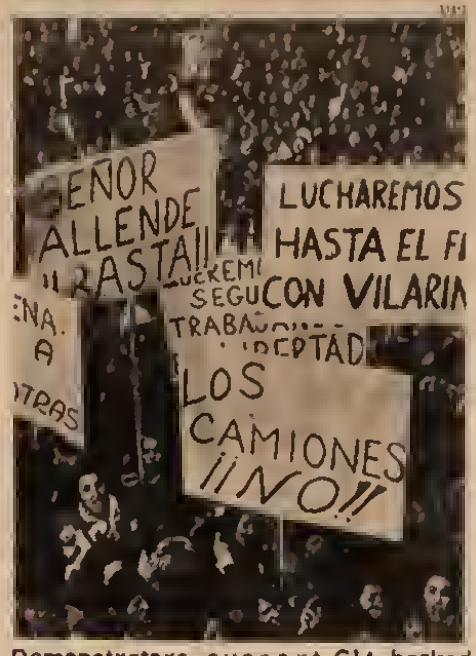
Part of the present hoopla appears to be an interbureaucratic squabble between the CIA and the FBI over which branch of the secret police can legally harass "troublemakers" inside the U.S. But at the political center of the liberal attacks on the CIA is the stench of the most insidious jingoism.

It has always been clearly understood by everyone that the CIA was to be a center for covert military operations against the international "red menace." But the 1947 Congress (which set up the agency) feared, correctly, that U.S. citizens would oppose such an operation within their own borders. Some senators complained that they wanted "no Gestapo" in the U.S. Moreover, J. Edgar Hoover had long since carved out domestic red hunting as his own private "turf." And, in any case, to the extent that there is a distinction between the methods used "at home" and those reserved for "foreigners," it is clear that this would quickly disappear were the bourgeoisie to perceive a "clear and present danger" to its class rule.

Unlike those bourgeois reformers who argue against "domestic spying," proletarian internationalists do not think it is better to be tortured in Guatemala or Laos than to have your phone tapped in New York City. The CIA must be abolished, not streamlined, and so must the FBI. Socialists must seek the destruction of all the capitalist Gestapos.

The imperialist bourgeoisie needs "covert" operations and will not give them up. Consequently, demands for "accountability" are a hoax. Likewise the bourgeoisie needs the domestic secret police, standing army, professional officer corps, police and the rest of its specialized repressive state apparatus. The abolition of the CIA/FBI, officer corps, police, etc., is the task of the socialist revolution.

Besides the torture business, the military coup business, the spying business, the "free unions" business, the doubling and dummy business, the CIA is in the estimates and evaluation business. The vanguard of the working class also makes evaluations. It is vitally important to estimate correctly what the CIA can and can't do, to appreciate its ability to mobilize reactionary terror. It is just as important not to exaggerate its influence. And in order to form a correct evaluation of the capabilities of



Demonstrators support CIA-backed truckers' strike in Chile, 1971.

U.S. imperialism we have an advantage which outweighs all the computers at CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia: the scientific method of Marxism.

There is a pervasive conception in radical/liberal, New Left and Stalinist circles that the CIA is an all-powerful force in political affairs. The flip side of this radical myth is the neo-liberal view that the CIA is composed of a bunch of incompetent bunglers. This is the thesis of Victor Marchetti's currently popular book, *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*.

It is true that the CIA sometimes bungles spectacularly (just look at the Bay of Pigs), and that it is less experienced and smart than its British counterpart. But the CIA is neither all bunglers nor all-powerful. It is serious and dangerous, but it is not indomitable.

Behind this myth of the CIA hides the miserable opportunism of the fake-socialist left. To take the single case of Chile: the CIA bankrolled the liberal Christian Democrats, the right-wing National Party and the fascist Patria y Libertad organization, supported several opposition newspapers, and financed the truck owners' "strikes" during the left-wing Allende government. On more than one occasion it tried to foment a military takeover.

So when the Chilean military finally took power in September 1973, various imposters on the left cried, "The CIA did it!" Of course, this was partly true. The SL said from 1970 on that U.S. imperialism would "aid and abet" the overthrow of the popular-front government in Chile. But unlike those who supported the popular-front policies of class collaboration, we showed how Allende's attempted alliance with the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie paved the way to disaster and allowed for the strengthening of a domestic base for counterrevolution. And we pointed to an alternative program of Marxist class independence which could have led to victory. The September 11 coup was made in Santiago, not Washington, although with a lot of help from Pinochet's friends.

U.S. imperialism and its covert police/spy arm are not a sometime thing in world politics. It would be a sorry mess indeed if revolutions were doomed to failure simply because of the presence of the CIA. In Chile the working class was politically and militarily disarmed by those who now yell "CIA!" the loudest. They obviously hope the noise will distract from their own political responsibility for the tragic bloodbath in Chile.

After all the myths are dispelled, the question remains: How can the CIA be defeated? In the Socialist Workers Party or Michael Harrington version it is the courts which will stop the CIA. For the Communist Party, it is the "anti-monopoly coalition" with liberals like Bella Abzug or Father Drinan. In fact, however, only the revolutionary might of the working class will put an end to the bloody secret police of the capitalist class. ■

Continued from page 3

Mandelites...

NMU's Morrissey. (We wonder how this sits with the IT now that Miller has pulled off a sellout rivaling anything Tony Boyle ever did.) It presents the usual opportunist caricature of programmatically based trade-union work as "shouting their pure 'Marxist' slogans to the rafters." What this conveniently overlooks are the many campaigns led by SL trade-union supporters for such things as union democracy; rights for young, minority-group and immigrant workers; concrete acts of solidarity with embattled workers like the Farm Workers; boycott of war materials to Chile.

The key to the pamphlet's analysis of SL union work is:

> "The Spartacist 'full program' caucuses today are several vast steps removed from the needs and hopes of the American workers—as they perceive them—and therefore represent a purist sectarian abstraction."

The sentence is extremely revealing: its crux is the phrase "as they perceive them." For the author has managed to reduce to gibberish—or perhaps to "sectarian abstraction"—all of Lenin's and Trotsky's insistence that the work of revolutionists must begin from the objective needs of the class and not from its present backward consciousness. The IT/RMG has now redefined the "needs" of the class as their needs "as they perceive them"! Once the existing backwardness of the working class is taken as the measure of what revolutionaries should raise, unmitigated opportunism is the only possible result.

The pamphlet then proceeds to a discussion of SL criticisms of other USec sections and to an attack on the SL's international work. A section on our struggles within and against Gerry Healy's "International Committee" concludes with some speculations on "what would have occurred if" the Spartacist group had been accepted into the IC:

> "If the SL considers the Fourth International today to be an 'opportunist rotten federated bloc' what possible term could have described the political zoo of which the SL would have been a constituent member?"

The whole history of SL-IC struggles is there for the pamphlet's author to see: the 1962 split in which we refused to avow that the SWP was still a revolutionary party, while agreeing to the tactic of remaining in the SWP (does the dispute ring a bell, comrades of the IT?); the fusion negotiations in which the SL insisted on clarity with regard to past and present differences; the refusal to capitulate in 1966. The typically Pabloist objectification of "what if" ignores the simple fact that the Spartacist tendency did not become part of the IC precisely because we refused to paper over our political differences or to become part of a unilateral "discipline" which permitted a federated relation between other IC affiliates.

The pamphlet then proceeds to a discussion of subsequent SL international work. This section is notable for its unseriousness. Thus the SL's principled defense of the Cuban Posadists against repression is passed off as "an early infatuation with Posadas," while Edmund Samarakkody's charges against the USec's Bala Tampoe in Ceylon (which were so serious that the USec's "Ninth World Congress" decided to suppress the reports of its own Commission) are characterized as "personal squabbles."

The pamphlet concludes with some verbiage about sects, buttressed with quotes from Marxist classics. In the midst of this appears the passage:

> "The pages of the SL press are filled with articles in which a worker militant (and even more politically conscious elements) could not have the slightest interest—esoteric articles filled with attacks upon other left groups (about which he or she knows nothing and is less interested) and rebuttals against similar attacks from other groups directed at the SL."

As our conclusion, then, let us explain to the many workers who regularly read *WV*: yes, it is true that the IT is a very small group about which you know little and possibly care less. But the IT is not as insignificant as its small numbers and lack of roots in the mass movements would indicate.

The IT is the reservoir of left oppositionists which has emerged from the SWP in the recent period. The struggles of the Marxists against such centrists are important not only because crucial questions of revolutionary orientation are fought out on this small battlefield, but also because of the present and potential dangers of the intervention of centrists into social struggle.

Over the past months the question of defense against racists in Boston, for example, has found the SWP reformists on one side calling for the U.S. imperialist army to "protect" blacks and the SL on the other fighting for union/black militias to defend working people. The IT's impulse is to ally itself with the reformists against the Marxists over this issue where the lines are posed most clearly. The exposure of the IT and the winning of subjectively revolutionary militants to the authentic program of Trotskyism is an issue of importance to the building of the vanguard party and should therefore be of interest to working-class militants, regardless of how understandably little interest they have in the IT. ■

Continued from page 12

Bridges Plans to Decimate ILWU Ranks

"parasites who live on the Pay Guarantee."

They went on to brag that they had purged the B-list in 1963 and would do so again. The ILWU leadership has much to be proud of indeed, when it comes to liquidating the union. Last fall Bridges attempted to pull off an elaborate swindle involving the forced sale of Local 10's hiring hall to land development/speculation interests connected with the family of his friend, San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto.

Among the "accomplishments" of the December Caucus meeting was endorsement of Bridges' latest atrocity, a no-strike scheme whereby economic issues are to be settled before expiration of the contract on June 30. According to the bureaucracy's logic "inflationary pressures and . . . possibility of reimposition of wage controls" make it advisable to settle early and rule out the possibility of a strike in 1975 (*Dispatcher*, 20 December).

Bridges has promised the companies to commit any non-economic issues unresolved by the time of contract expiration to arbitration. As in 1973, the strike, the longshoremen's key weapon for struggle, has once again been thrown out the window by a union leadership interested only in feathering its own nest. The continued erosion of jobs in longshore and warehouse is leading to the total dissipation of the once formidable strength of the ILWU in favor of prostration before the companies. ■

Continued from page 4

Preferential Layoffs

some cases," he says, "people in jobs will no longer keep the jobs."

Preferential Layoffs Suit at Fremont

Powell's ominous remarks suggest how appeals to the courts and government agencies can impose serious new legal restrictions on the unions and pave the way for a major employer offensive. One such suit (calling for "preferential layoffs") which has caught the attention of the bourgeois media concerns women at General Motors' Fremont, California, assembly plant. During the "energy crisis" layoffs last winter, all 500 women production workers at Fremont lost their jobs. The reason: none had been hired before 1968.

In February some individuals then in the Brotherhood Caucus (which holds power in the Local) called for "inverse seniority" layoffs and special treatment for women workers. This reactionary divisive position was opposed by militants (who later formed the Committee for a Militant UAW) calling for an industrywide strike against layoffs. The latter presented a motion to a meeting of UAW Local 1364 which stated:

> "There is no substitute for the mobilization of the union membership to fight for our needs.
>
> "'Preferential layoffs,' 'inverted seniority layoffs' and other such schemes accept the companies' employment cycle and result in unfair treatment of one section of the work force. This pits worker against worker, instead of all workers against the company."

The motion was passed, over objections from the opportunist elements.

The motion also labeled the government a tool of big business and condemned use of government agencies and courts against the union as an anti-labor act (see "West Coast Auto Local Rejects Preferential Seniority," *WV* No. 39, 1 March 1974). As if to confirm all the warnings in the motion by the CMUAW militants, several Fremont women workers subsequently filed a suit calling for: 1) rehiring women to restore the pre-layoff percentage in the plant workforce, and 2) "an affirmative action program requiring population parity for women to be fully implemented within four years of the filing of the complaint."

The argumentation in the suit condemned seniority as the vehicle for GM's discrimination and in effect asserted, correctly, that affirmative action could never be implemented as long as the seniority system remained. The statement that no men should be laid off was a cheap cover (and, significantly, was not made one of the suit's principal aims). Under present conditions, there is no other way the courts could implement quotas.

After reporting the women's suit, a *Wall Street Journal* (5 November) article notes that there has been opposition in the plant: "Recently circulated petitions and handbills urge: 'Drop the suit.'" These were published by the CMUAW, a class-struggle opposition caucus in the Local. The petition states:

> "I. GM has traditionally discriminated against women and minorities in hiring. The UAW must be made to combat this practice.
>
> "II. The court suit filed by eight women from this plant August 28, 1974 will not combat discrimination because it will weaken the union which is the only weapon we have. The suit will open the door to government interference, inviting the courts to re-write our contract and break the seniority system.
>
> "III. Therefore, we call on the signers of this suit to drop the case, and we demand that the union fight all forms of discrimination, and mount a campaign to end layoffs, not just for women, but for all workers."

The caucus reports that this petition (whose initiators are themselves women) has been signed by 650 Fremont workers, including many women and minorities, and a dozen committeemen (*UAW Militant*, 15 November).

WORKERS PRESS

Unsold Plymouths and Dodges being stockpiled in the Michigan state fairgrounds in December.

The Left and Layoffs

Both "inverse seniority" and the women's court suit have been supported by various "left" groups, in particular the reformist Maoists of the October League. According to the tortured reasoning of the OL, "This is not an attack on the seniority system, but an attempt to strengthen it..." (*Call*, October 1974). So, according to these "revolutionaries," asking the bosses' state to determine who gets laid off will strengthen the unions!

The OL approvingly quotes a leaflet by the initiators of the court suit which claims, "There's plenty of work for everyone." This would only be true if the union forced the company to divide up the available work among the entire labor force. But when the resolution for a nationwide strike against layoffs ("for shorter hours with full cost-of-living paid, to make jobs for all") came up at Fremont last February, quota advocates voted against it. Perhaps the reformists believe that it will only take a court suit to eliminate layoffs; in any case that is what they imply. Such dangerous illusions can prepare the way for disaster.

The OL is not alone in supporting divisive "preferential layoffs" schemes. The cravenly reformist Socialist Workers Party also hails the court suit. For the record, in a recent article in the *Militant* (27 December) the SWP notes that these quota schemes are "not enough," and even talks about a shorter workweek. But nowhere in the article do these supposed Trotskyists even pretend to demand that male workers not be laid off as a result of quota programs. Instead they offer up meaningless platitudes: seniority should be supported, says the article, but not the "*discriminatory* aspect." How this is to be accomplished is not specified, but the article implies that a shorter workweek can be achieved under capitalism through peaceful means: "The pressure of united mass action by the labor movement could force implementation of a shorter workweek, with no reduction in pay...."

An economic downturn of massive proportions is now staring the working masses of the entire capitalist world in the face. In such periods the employers are emboldened to mount new attacks on the workers. Scabs are easier to recruit, wages can be reduced, unions can be smashed. When whole industries are laying off tens and hundreds of thousands of employees, it is obvious that preferences in layoffs will benefit only a very few, and do nothing to alleviate discrimination against the bulk of women and minorities. But calling on the courts to overturn seniority can very well help to destroy the unions.

What is needed is union action to enforce full equality in hiring and advancement, and in particular at present a mobilization of labor's ranks to stop mass layoffs and plant closures through sitdown strikes and the demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. Hardly something that can be achieved in capitalism by peaceful pressure, a sliding scale of wages and hours will have to be fought for with the most militant methods and linked to the other demands of the Transitional Program (written by Leon Trotsky in 1938 with particular emphasis on demands growing out of the last depression).

Factory committees must be formed, in order to organize the occupation of the plants. To the demand for a shorter workweek with no pay cut, the employers would no doubt respond, "we are already unable to make a profit. These measures will force us out of business entirely." The workers must respond to such pleas of poverty with the demand for workers inspection of the corporations' books, with calls for nationalization of bankrupt companies/industries without compensation and with the imposition of workers control of production. This, in turn, must be linked to the demand for planning of the entire economy under a workers government.

In other words, what is necessary is a broad offensive against capital, which also requires an independent political expression against the government and parties of big business, a workers party based on the trade unions. While the Woodcocks and Meanys may occasionally express dissatisfaction with the Democrats, there is no doubt that the struggle for a labor party is necessarily part of a fight to oust these misleaders of the unions. Only the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party can successfully take the struggle forward to the accomplishment of these goals.

While vigorously combating all forms of discrimination, a united class struggle will not be built by divisive palliatives such as preferential layoffs. Oppositional caucuses must be built in the unions which, like the Committee for a Militant UAW at Fremont, struggle for equality in hiring and against *all* layoffs. A simple defense of seniority as put forward by the trade-union bureaucracy, without a fight for jobs and against discrimination, would indeed ignore the legitimate grievances of black and women workers and thereby undermine class unity. But smashing seniority is not the answer either. Only a militant offensive against the employers and the construction of a new class-struggle leadership of the unions can save the organized labor movement from destruction in the coming period. Not two-bit reforms and discriminatory quotas, but an end to capitalist exploitation is the only way to overcome the historic wrongs of racial and sexual oppression. ■

Continued from page 3

Break with the SWP!

solve political problems. When our leaders accompanied Comrade Charles on his national tour of the IT a couple of weeks later, they did not represent the position we had taken at the conference, they were there to reinforce the IMT's position.

We were saved from our death then, not by our own doing, nor by the IMT, but by the SWP, through our expulsion.

We've known for some time Comrade Germaine's perpectives for us. Sell INPRECORs [magazine of the USec majority] and do nothing else while a control commission spends months investigating and the USec tries to pressure [SWP National Secretary] Barnes into taking us back. We have all generally agreed this will destroy us. At the recent expanded PC [Political Committee] meeting (all but 6 members of the national steering committee were present) the position taken was that come hell or high water we will become an independent organization. But the PC has since taken a position that opens the door for our capitulation to the IMT once more.

A recent letter from Comrade Charles to the IT called our response to the SWP's split document remiss and weak. Further, we should admit and self-criticize ourselves for:

1) being too highly structured;

2) being too forward on the May 11th actions (The IMT denies any responsibility for the distribution of the USec statement on Chile);

3) not telling the SWP we were dealing with outside groups;

4) not long ago declaring ourselves a faction.

These charges are unbelievable! The IMT has politically condoned all these actions and when the question of a faction was posed to the International Majority *Tendency*, they opposed the idea. The PC met and voted to accept the essence of Charles' letter before our representatives went to Europe. This is in sharp contrast to the position taken at the expanded PC meeting.

It's often been said the IMT does not know the truth about the SWP. How many plane trips do Comrades Massey and Barzman have to make to Europe to explain? Comrade Charles' comments in June (political line didn't count in France in '68, what counted was apparatus and in the U.S. the SWP has the apparatus) clearly indicate the IMT wants to keep the SWP in the USec, for its apparatus, to preserve the unity of the Fourth International. Why is it the IMT continues to subordinate fundamental political questions to organizational "unity"? If the IT goes down the drain, so what! If we're dedicated revolutionists, we'll take it all in stride. The IMT's attitude can be summed up very clearly as *better more, but worse*.

The IMT's position is that:

1) a working class radicalization will go through the SWP, therefore, that is where the IT belongs;

2) If there is not a working class radicalization in the foreseeable future, then the problem is one of preserving Trotskyist cadres and the SWP is the most viable place for this.

This approach is totally incorrect. They seek unity through diplomacy, politics be damned. Diplomacy will not solve the political problems.

Our differences with the IMT at this point can not be called organizational. They are very clearly political. The key difference being on our analysis of the SWP. Our own political position on this in the past has reflected our diplomatic relations with the IMT (which have been somewhat analogous to those of the IMT with Barnes) more than political reality. We must take the correct position on the nature of the SWP; that it is a reformist party, a roadblock in the path to socialist revolution. *We must split openly, publicly, completely with the SWP.* That is the only correct political conclusion. We do not want to imply that there is a common political outlook between ourselves and the Jebrac or Ali groups in the FCR [Revolutionary Communist Front, French section of the USec] and IMG [International Marxist Group, British section of the USec] respectively, we do not agree with their basic strategy. But we wholeheartedly agree with them that a revolutionary international can not include the SWP! That is the political reality. *We must split now, immediately and put the political onus on the IMT to act as principled Trotskyist internationalists!*

R. and C.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Oil Profits Gush

OCAW Tops Prepare Sellout

NEW YORK TIMES

"SCAB TRAINING IN HOUSTON REFINERIES"

see page 7

DECEMBER 31—Contracts between the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union and the oil industry "majors" will run out on January 7. During the past two years, OCAW members have watched their bosses amass spectacular profits as a result of the Arab oil price hikes and Nixon's doubling of the price ceiling for U.S.-produced petroleum. Meanwhile, massive inflation gutted workers' paychecks. Oil industry workers are now earning less in real wages than they did *in 1966*!

Already in 1973 the oil majors posted profits up 40-60 percent over 1972. This year, earnings for the first three quarters are more than 100 percent above the 1973 level. In part this is the result of sharply higher gasoline prices. Oil workers' wages have not done so well. In 1966 the average OCAW member earned $3.45 an hour. In terms of constant dollars (adjusted for inflation), the average oil worker today makes only $3.27 hourly, a distinct *decline*.

Consequently one of the main demands in the current contract bargaining is for higher wages. The OCAW National Bargaining Policy Committee is asking for an increase of $1.50 an hour in each year of a three-year contract; a no-ceiling cost-of-living clause; 50 cents per hour as "catch up" pay; full company-paid hospitalization and medical insurance; and improvements in pension benefits and vacations.

The Grospiron leadership of the 60,000-member union has been talking "tough" lately in a vain attempt to impress the membership. "It will take cold, hard muscle" to win the union's demands, says *OCAW Union News* (December 1974). But there is no reason to expect anything from the bureaucrats other than their usual flabby misleadership.

Their defeatist actions in the 1972-73 strike show what can be expected from these gutless "labor statesmen." They could not even negotiate a single national contract, as even Woodcock and Fitzsimmons manage to do. When Shell Oil refused to accept a labor-management health and safety committee (part of the "pattern agreement" with American Oil), OCAW struck its refineries. However, the bureaucrats failed to extend the strike worldwide (in particular to the key Caribbean area) and to call for hot-cargoing of Shell products. Instead, they appealed to consumers, advocating a boycott of the company's gas stations and the return of all Shell credit cards! With scabs operating the refineries (stopping strikebreakers is just as illegal as hot-cargoing) the strikers were worn down and eventually crushed.

Meanwhile the OCAW bureaucracy was waving the stars and stripes, attacking Shell for its "foreign ownership" by British and Dutch capital. One local bureaucrat in Louisiana summed up the pitch of the union leadership: "The Queen is going to try to tell us Americans what to do?"

In addition to its groveling before anti-labor laws and disgusting national chauvinism, OCAW has a special consumerist/environmentalist orientation. This reflects the fact that refinery workers have some of the most dangerous and unhealthy jobs in the U.S. But the anti-union liberals who write for the *OCAW Union News* (such as environmentalist Barry Commoner or economist Sylvia Porter) do not have any answers to these dangers.

Rather than labor-management committees, it is vitally necessary for oil workers to have *union* safety committees with the power to shut down plant operations if necessary to ensure safe working conditions. For workers regularly exposed to the fumes of benzene and other deadly chemicals, such committees are an immediate life-and-death matter. But the Grospiron leadership is not fighting for such a demand any more than it did in 1973.

What the OCAW bureaucracy wants is a cozy relationship with the companies. This was underlined in its recent newspaper advertisment (*Wall Street Journal*, 16 December). Although attacking the titanic profits of the petroleum giants, its central argument is that they invest too much in "other companies"! Oil monopolies should get out of the department store business, the ad protests. It does not even raise the demand for opening company books so the workers can determine what the profits really are.

Attacking the oil companies for having "policies contrary to the national interest," these super-patriotic fakers also fail to demand the expropriation of the industry. Considering what working people have had to endure in the last two years in the way of artificial shortages and incredible price-gouging, this could be a vastly popular demand. But the cowardly OCAW leadership could not even bring itself to echo the bourgeois liberal (such as CBS-TV) call for "nationalization" of the oil cartel.

The answer is not to tack a couple of militant demands onto a reformist bargaining program which fails to go beyond the limits of simple trade unionism. In the face of the rapidly deteriorating situation of the working class it is necessary to raise a full class-struggle program which can respond to the immediate needs of the working people and generalize them into an assault on capitalism itself.

In addition to a substantial wage increase it is necessary to have full c-o-l protection (a sliding scale of wages) based on calculations by union price committees; a shorter workweek with no loss in pay ("30 for 40") to provide more jobs; democratically elected union safety committees with the power to stop production; union control over hiring and training; workers inspection of the companies' books; expropriation of the oil companies without compensation and workers control of production.

The battle is not simply economic, moreover, and requires a political break with the capitalist parties. The fight for a workers party based on the unions, and for a workers government, is a necessary part of the struggle against the overall policies of class collaboration of the labor bureaucracy. Without a militant opposition based on such a class-struggle program to oust the Grospiron crowd, oil workers will continue to be sold out at the bargaining table and defeated in their strikes as they have been consistently over the last decade. ■

What's Left to Sell Out?

Bridges Plans to Decimate ILWU Ranks

Deregistration of B-Men Proposed

SAN FRANCISCO—The betrayals of the leadership of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) have recently reached a new low with a shameless attempt to axe a section of the union from the membership rolls. This is Harry Bridges' response to the accelerating job loss faced by waterfront workers, as well as the entire working class, in a period of spiralling economic decline.

At a December 9-18 meeting of the ILWU's Pacific Coast Longshore, Ship Clerk and Walking Boss Caucus the International unveiled an agreement it had made in a joint union/company labor relations committee to begin deregistration hearings for Bay Area B-men (the group of second-class union members at the bottom of the seniority list) on the lower half of the B-list depending on the number of hours worked in 1973. According to this agreement, those B-men (who in order to remain in good standing must be available for work 70 percent of the time) unable to get enough work to meet an arbitrary standard, set by the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) employers' group, will be required to show why they should not be deregistered.

In San Francisco's Local 10 this program could result in the deregistration of 150 ILWU members. The failure of the Local 10 leadership to mobilize the ranks against this attack is not simply a betrayal, but is a violation of the contract as well. The last contract includes an explicit provision that by the end of 1973 all B-men will be A-men, primarily through a process of attrition. No steps have been taken to implement this provision, however.

Once deregistered, B-men will be dropped from union membership, losing all seniority, and will not be allowed to work on the waterfront again, even as casuals. In contrast, laid-off auto workers with at least a year in the plant have the right to be recalled according to seniority. The maritime companies and ILWU leadership are openly collaborating in the most obscene manner to shaft longshoremen, denying them the fundamental right to a livelihood.

Furthermore, during this period of massive layoffs Bridges could well decide to go even further and move to deregister A-men as well, as he did in 1946.

The ILWU Coast Caucus meeting last October in San Francisco. THE DISPATCHER/ILWU

At the Coast Caucus meeting a number of B-men from Port Hueneme, a small military port near Los Angeles, were present, petitioning to be allowed to transfer into ILWU Local 13 in L.A. in order to get work. Many of these men have been relegated to the B-list for over nine years. As in almost every port B-men are chronically underemployed and forced to rely on the $90-per-week pittance provided under the contract's Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP).

In Port Hueneme, however, work is so desperately short that even A-men depend on the inadequate PGP guarantee. Yet the response of the ILWU International bureaucrats to the B-men's petition was to attack them as

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 60 — 17 January 1975

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!

Stop the Deportations!

SL marches in defense of the UFW and foreign workers. San Francisco, September 1974.

WV PHOTO

NY Times Whips Up Chauvinist Hysteria

Chauvinist hysteria directed against immigrant workers has reached epidemic proportions during recent weeks. Government officials, liberal congressmen, prestigious newspapers and "progressive" union bureaucrats are all chiming in on the same reactionary theme: blame unemployment on foreigners. Arab sheiks and Mexican farm workers are taking jobs away from Americans, they howl.

While these gentlemen profess concern for the plight of jobless U.S. workers, their real aim is to sow ethnic and national antagonisms among working people. With unemployment already above 6.5 million (the highest since the 1930's depression) and slated to go much higher, the ruling class is concerned above all to undercut the explosive potential for united labor struggle against the capitalist crisis.

Along with its campaign to "clean up" the CIA (i.e., to prohibit *domestic* spying and dirty tricks by the agency), the liberal *New York Times* is currently leading the anti-foreigner chorus. With a recent scurrilous front-page series attacking so-called "illegal aliens," it is resorting to nativistic demagogy reminiscent of the worst turn-of-the-century propaganda about the "yellow peril."

In an article entitled "Unlawful Aliens Use Costly City Services" (30 December), the *Times* complains that "illegal aliens, including their children born abroad, use schools, hospitals and other public services at will or with little difficulty"; "illegal aliens are receiving welfare and medical benefits"; "illegal aliens are engaged in crime, especially drug trafficking"; "illegal aliens rarely, if ever, file Federal, state, or city tax returns"; etc., *ad nauseam*.

One Million to be Deported This Year

After describing one such case after another, the reporter laments that "Some supporters of illegal aliens . . . see a racist or bigoted attitude in the criticism of the aliens." Similarly, in a nationwide television special on January 2, an ABC commentator exhorted the audience to stop being complacent, to demand congressional action against "illegals."

This sort of chauvinist filth does not exist in a vacuum. In order to whip up support for a crackdown on undocumented foreign workers, U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) commissioner (and former Marine Corps commandant) Leonard Chapman has announced that one million jobs could be opened up to American workers by expelling aliens. "I believe it is a national crisis," he is reported as saying, "and it will certainly grow much worse unless steps are taken almost immediately to check the flood of illegals into this country" (*New York Times*, 31 December).

Chapman has the power to do something about it, moreover. Last year some 788,000 foreigners were arrested in the U.S. and deported for the crime of not having legal documents permitting them to stay in the country. This is a 40 percent increase in the last two years and a *1,000 percent* increase over the last decade. For the current year, the INS is aiming for one million deportations.

The methods of "la migra" (as the immigration authorities are known in Spanish-speaking communities) are far from genteel. Gestapo-like raids at factories, bus stops and housing projects during an 11-day period in June 1973 led to the arrest of 7,100 Mexicans in the Los Angeles area alone. In another dragnet, 11,000 were arrested in El Paso last May. Similar methods are widely used in New York, Chicago and other areas with high concentrations of Latin Americans.

In New York a favorite INS tactic is indiscriminate roundups of "suspicious-looking" persons at subway stations in Haitian and Dominican neighborhoods, up to 500 in a single sweep. Unless they can produce documents on the spot the "suspects" are presumed to be "illegals" and immediately booked. A court suit by the American Civil Liberties Union against immigration authorities charged that persons of "Latin appearance" are being indiscriminately and unconstitutionally deported in this manner. Often after a midnight raid in the heavily Chicano *barrio* of East Los Angeles, legal residents and naturalized citizens find themselves being bused to Mexico (without trial) along with the "illegals."

Electronic sensing equipment, the same previously used along the "Ho Chi Minh Trail," is currently deployed by the INS along the Mexican border. Some of *la migra*'s other methods are also reminiscent of Vietnam: a government investigation revealed that leaded gloves were being used in manhandling suspects during the interrogation of aliens. Conditions in INS detention centers in the Southwest are so wretched that even the Mexican foreign minister

continued on page 8

WV PHOTO

West Coast ILWU Strikers Fight Scabs, Cops...2

Union-Busting Attack in Oakland

ILWU Strikers Fight Scabs, Cops

UNION CITY, California, January 10—Strikers at a small glass plant here are facing the kind of direct union-busting employer attacks that the entire working class can expect much more of in coming months. The company has been emboldened by the widespread unemployment and massive layoffs (making it easier to recruit scabs), and by a catastrophic defeat recently suffered by the union, the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), in the Borax strike. The union leadership's passive, do-nothing policies now threaten to pave the way for yet another defeat.

What could make this strike a break in the general pattern, however, is that militants in Local 6 (the Bay Area warehouse division) have refused to lie down like whipped dogs before the employer offensive. They have brought about mass picketing and initiated union boycotting of products going to and from the struck plant. As a result, the company attack has been checked, at least temporarily. If the union can go on from here to win the strike through militant action, an important precedent will have been set for turning the tide against the employers with class-struggle methods.

Workers at the KNC Glass Company have been on strike for 10 weeks. From the beginning, there were ominous signs. The company made a paltry wage offer and brought in Richardson Security guards, a gang of professional strikebreakers noted for having broken a Teamster strike at Pepsi and Coca Cola in 1972 by both working in the plants and "guarding" them. The current strike is critical to Local 6 despite the small numbers involved—only 25 workers directly—because KNC Glass pays substandard wages which help hold down the wages of all warehouse workers in the Bay Area.

To the union leadership, however, the strike was simply a routine matter. Lunch money was given to the pickets, a union tradition. Turkeys were handed out at Christmas. Since Local 6 elections were held during the strike, Local president Curtis McLain and another official put in a token appearance on the picket lines. Their pictures on the inside pages of the Local's paper were about all that the Local 6 membership—embracing warehouses, distribution centers and small manufacturers throughout the Bay Area—heard about the strike.

At the beginning of January KNC management escalated its attack. A letter was sent to all employees with the following ultimatum: either accept a slightly improved wage offer and return to work without a contract or be replaced. The company letter went on:

> "Unfortunately, the downturn in business makes it impossible at this time to take everyone back. If we are forced to hire a permanent replacement for your job, the most we will be able to do is place your name on a rehire list for a position that may or may not be available in the future."

Lesson of the Boron Strike

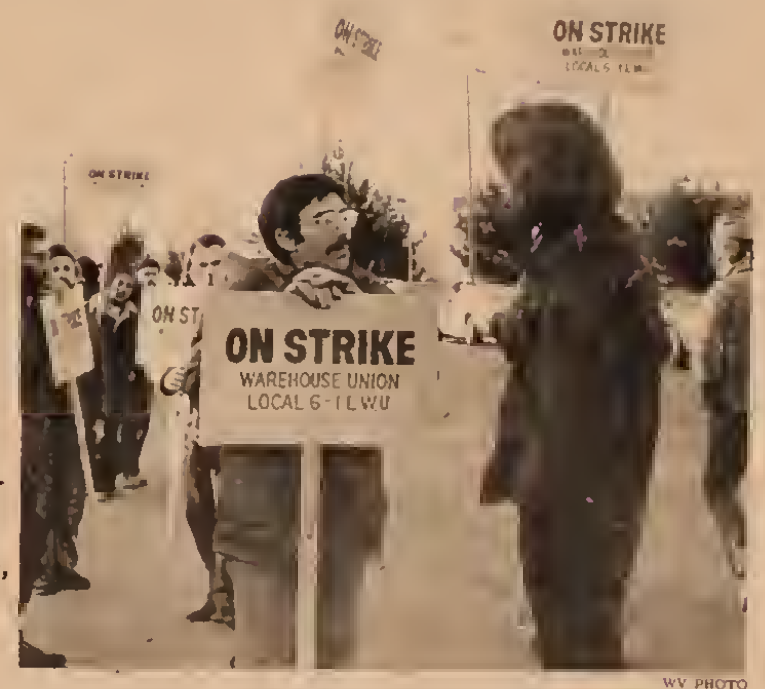
This threat had a familiar ring. The whole union is still reeling from a defeat this fall in Boron, California, a mining town in the middle of the Mojave Desert. A bitter four-month strike there by ILWU Local 30 was decisively smashed because the union failed to keep scabs from going in and out of the plant and failed to stop shipments of scab borax. This was despite the fact that *ILWU longshoremen* were doing some of the shipping. The company, U.S. Borax, achieved record production using salaried employees and scabs recruited from Los Angeles, San Diego and other cities. Recruitment was made easier by the soaring unemployment rate—7.5 percent in southern California at the time and since gone higher still. The Boron strike defeat has been made a model for union-busting employers everywhere through a "how-to-do-it" feature article in the December issue of *Fortune* magazine.

In the Boron strike, management also sent out an ultimatum to its striking workers, threatening them with permanent replacement if they did not capitulate. The union was forced to accept all the employer's terms in the end, including the permanent replacement of some 400 workers out of an original workforce of a little over 1,000. In addition to reducing the workforce by hundreds, the company combined job classifications and wiped out other historic union gains.

The Borax defeat sent shock waves throughout the union, leading to rumors of acrimonious arguments on the international executive board and demoralization at the top. Drastic loss of jobs in the longshore division, the approach of a new longshore contract betrayal and scandalous links with the real-estate maneuvers of S.F. mayor Alioto and alleged underworld crime figures had already caused rapid erosion of confidence in the leadership of Harry Bridges and Co. (see "Crisis in the ILWU," *WV* No. 58, 6 December 1974).

The response to KNC's blatant strikebreaking threat came from the ranks. Three Local 6 members, Bob Mandel (who recently won election to the Local's general executive board on a class-struggle program), John Dow and Pete Farruggio distributed a leaflet in English and Spanish (most of the KNC strikers are Spanish-speaking) entitled, "Defend the KNC Glass Strike! Mass Union Pickets Against Scabs! Don't Handle Scab Goods!" Warning that "The Distributors [employers' association] undoubtedly hope to make KNC into another Boron," and that the union leadership was doing "virtually nothing," the leaflet demanded that the stewards' council, which was to meet Thursday, January 9, institute mass picketing and a boycott by ILWU members of goods going to and from the plant and of the scab trucking line servicing the plant. The leaflet warned of the danger of government intervention and called also for a new, class-struggle leadership of the union.

WV PHOTO



WV PHOTO

Above, cops manhandle militant picketer during KNC Glass strike, Oakland. Below, Bob Mandel.

> "To prevent the unemployed from being used as scabs, such a leadership would fight for a shorter work week at no loss in pay to create jobs for all. It would organize workers defense squads to protect picket lines. It would face the threat of government interference squarely, calling on all labor to defend our right to strike."

The leaflet went on to denounce the alliance with Alioto and call for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the formation of a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Mass Picket-Line Defense

The response to the leaflet's call for defense of the strike was massive and immediate. It was distributed in Local 6 and Local 10 (longshore) hiring halls, and that afternoon a steward in Associated Grocers brought 18 members off the job to the picket line. A business agent also showed up. As a result of these initial efforts, the word got out that KNC intended to run scabs through the lines on Thursday and that members—with no organization from the official Local 6 leadership—were already mobilizing to prevent this. Consequently there were 75 to 100 pickets yesterday, some armed with baseball bats. They came off the job from nearby St. Regis Paper Company and other locations, as well as from ILWU Local 10 and Local 34 (the clerks' local).

But response to the leaflet didn't stop there. Local 6 President McLain managed to make it to the Thursday picket line, despite the fact that he was not running for office. Nervousness over the Boron defeat and loss of confidence in the leadership also caused the entire national longshore bargaining committee to show up, minus only Harry Bridges himself. One member remarked it was the first time he had ever seen International Vice President Chester on a picket line.

Police were mobilized from Union City and the California Highway Patrol,

continued on page 11

"Anti-Terrorist" Repression in West Germany

On November 9 Holger Meins died in prison in the West German town of Wittlich. According to an official autopsy the cause was "consumption," the result of almost two months of a hunger strike protesting his solitary confinement.

Meins was one of five prisoners, in jail since 1972 under "investigative detention" but not yet tried, accused of being members of the "hard core" of the so-called "Baader-Meinhof Gang." The other are: Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, Ulrike Meinhof and Jan-Carl Raspe.

The prisoners are members of the "Rote Armee Fraktion" (Red Army Faction) which has been accused of responsibility for several bombings and bank robberies in the spring of 1972. Although the actual membership of the RAF was quite small, federal authorities have arrested more than 200 persons (of whom 89 are still in jail) accused of various degrees of support for "Baader-Meinhof."

The mass hunger strike involving at least 73 of the prisoners was initiated in September by Ulrike Meinhof in order to publicize the solitary confinement to which all the "BM" detainees are subjected. The response of prison authorities, far from abandoning this form of torture, was to institute another one: forced feeding through a thick stomach tube that causes violent spasmodic reactions when forced down the prisoners' throats. Several of the hunger strikers remain in physical danger due to their weakened condition and such injurious medical treatment by prison doctors.

In the wake of Meins' death leftist demonstrations occurred in several West German cities. More than 800 protesters were reported in Hamburg, 1,000 in Frankfurt and 500 in Heidelberg. In Berlin more than 800 gathered on the evening of November 9. A police baton charge left a number of injured and 13 arrested.

The next day negotiations for joint action took place between various socialist organizations in Berlin and on Monday, November 11, several attempts were made to hold a mass demonstration. In the working-class district of Moabit cops managed to clear out about 500 demonstrators early in the day. Subsequently several thousand gathered on the downtown shopping street Kurfürstendamm. As the rally was breaking up police attacked again. That evening a large meeting at the Free University resolved to undertake a limited hunger strike in solidarity with the RAF prisoners (*DPA* dispatch, 11 November; *Arbeiterkampf*, 3 December).

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

"Anti-Terrorist" Witchhunt

Despite continued agitation, particularly among students, the initiative quickly passed to the government, which launched a wave of repression throughout the country. The pretext for this crackdown was the shooting, on November 10, of the chief justice of the Berlin court of appeals, Günter von Drenkmann. Who is responsible for this act is unclear, although the bourgeois media universally interpreted it as revenge for Meins' death. News agencies reported a phone call from the "RAF/Aufbauaktion" and a note from the "July 2 Movement" both taking credit for the attack. The note accused von Drenkmann of responsibility for turning down the prisoners' request for ending their solitary confinement.

For the next few weeks the government, opposition Christian Democrats and conservative press vied with each other in drumming up a witchhunt atmosphere around the "terrorist threat" to "law and order." When an Austrian journalist said in a televised panel discussion that RAF prisoners should not abandon their hunger strike, opposition parliamentarians demanded the resignation of the talk show's host. Karl Carstens, Christian Democratic leader in the Bundestag (lower house) said prisoners who go on hunger strikes should be allowed to starve to death.

Then on November 26 federal and state police staged raids on 96 "suspected terrorist hideouts" in 15 cities. A total of 28 persons were detained as a result of "Operation Winterreise" (Operation Winter Jouney), but nothing of substance was found by the authorities. Most of the "hideouts" turned out to be political or semi-political communes, and the only person arrested having anything to do with the RAF was one of the group's former lawyers, whose office was thoroughly ransacked.

The next day the coalition government of the SPD (Social Democratic Party) and FDP (Free Democratic Party) in Bonn announced that it was altering the Penal Code in order to eliminate the right of confidentiality between prisoners and their lawyers whenever there is suspicion that the legal defense is aiding illegal activities. Henceforth, lawyer and client could communicate only in the presence of a judge.

In addition the number of lawyers permitted to participate in a criminal case would be limited, and trials could be ordered in the absence of the accused if the prisoner is unable to participate due to "planned action" (such as a hunger strike). The government tried to give the impression that the RAF protest was aimed at preventing a trial, although the prisoners' lawyers had been trying for months to get the state to come to trial. (There is no legal right of *habeas corpus* in West Germany.)

What is the RAF?

During recent weeks virtually every imaginable form of terrorist activity has been blamed on the Red Army Faction in order to whip up "law and order" hysteria. In a collection of material allegedly authored by the RAF, the Federal Criminal Office claims to have found plans for assassinating leading politicians, military training of cadres in Mozambique and the establishment of an "air force" based in Sweden which would carry out bombing raids in West Germany (*DPA* dispatch, 22 November)! The "Baader-Meinhof Gang" had also been charged with an attack on a politician in his sauna in Bavaria and with a bomb explosion in the Bremen train station.

This is part of a consistent pattern on the part of the authorities who have sought to use the "threat" of a terrorist conspiracy in order to widen police powers. Earlier last year the RAF was supposedly going to attack the Munich stadium with SAM-7 missiles during the World Soccer Cup match, and in August the Hamburg edition of *Bild* (a sensationalist tabloid owned by press magnate Springer) announced the discovery of "Baader-Meinhof" plans to poison Stuttgart's water supply. The authorities' scare tactics are designed to convince the more gullible that the RAF planned large-scale violence against the general population.

In actual fact, the actions for which the RAF has taken credit are uniformly cases of classical individual terrorism directed against symbols of bourgeois rule. In 1968 Andreas Baader and Gudrun Ensslin were tried and convicted of burning down a warehouse in Frankfurt as a protest against the Vietnam war. They were paroled in 1969 along with a number of other political prisoners on the condition that they return to jail the next year. In early 1970 the two skipped parole, but in April Baader was picked up in Berlin for driving without a license.

The very next month he was liberated by an armed group from the library at the Institute for Social Research, where he had been assigned to work on a book together with Ulrike Meinhof, a journalist for a left-wing political-porno magazine. In June the group reportedly went to Jordan to train with Al Fatah. Back in Berlin in September the RAF "expropriated" three banks for a total of $75,000. It then became dormant for a period, until the "heat was off."

However, the government still needed its "terrorist threat," so in July 1971 the rest home of the "Socialist Patients Collective" (SPK) in Heidelberg was broken into by 300 police armed with machine guns. The SPK, a group of mental patients which discovered capitalism to be the cause of mental illness, was accused of being part of the "BM" gang. 20 "terrorists" were arrested, of whom several are still in jail awaiting trial!

The only serious actions by the RAF took place in the spring of 1972. On May 11 a bomb destroyed the officers' club at the headquarters of the U.S. Army in Frankfurt. An American colonel was killed and 13 other officers wounded. An RAF leaflet linked the bombing to U.S. aggression in Vietnam.

The next day police headquarters in Augsburg and offices of the Bavarian state police in Munich were damaged by bombs in retaliation for the police killing of Tommy Weissbecker, an RAF member, earlier in the year. On May 15 the car of a judge in Hamburg who was in charge of RAF-connected prisoners was blown up and his wife seriously injured.

Then on May 19, a Hamburg skyscraper belonging to the Springer concern was seriously damaged by the detonation of two high-explosive bombs. (The rabidly anti-communist Springer press has frequently been the object of student protest demonstrations for its witchhunting demagogy.) Three telephone warnings were ignored and consequently 17 persons were injured. Finally, on May 24 two bombs exploded in the car park at the headquarters of the U.S. Army in Europe, in Heidelberg, killing a captain and two sergeants and wounding five others.

The end came only a week later when Baader, Meins and Raspe were arrested in a massive police raid on an apartment in Frankfurt. The group had apparently been betrayed by an informer. On June 7 Ensslin was arrested in a boutique in Hamburg and eight days later Meinhof and another RAFer were captured in Hannover.

"Guerrilla War Means Not Being Demoralized"

The "Red Army Faction" published a manifesto ("The Concept of the Urban Guerrilla," available in English in a pamphlet entitled *Armed Resistance in West Germany*, published by the Stoke Newington Defence Group, 1972) which clearly reveals the nature of this anarcho-terrorist group. Although politically primitive, the group is not another SLA. The manifesto is obviously inspired by such figures as Eldridge Cleaver, Franz Fanon, Mao Tse-tung, Regis Debray and Wilhelm Reich (all of whom are quoted)—in short, by the heroes of the German New Left of the late 1960's.

After a critique of the impotence of the student movement, the authors reach the despairing conclusion that mass organization is impossible and socialist theory simply useless dogma: "Under the present conditions in West Germany and West Berlin we doubt the possibility of developing a unifying strategy for the working class and of creating an organization which could be the expression and initiator of the necessary unifying process. We doubt that the union of the socialist intelligentsia and the proletariat can be reached either by dogmatic explanations or by demands for unity from proletarian organizations."

"Urban guerrilla war means not to be demoralized by the power of the system," write the authors, only revealing that it is precisely their demoralization, their lack of faith in the revolutionary capacity of the working class, which led them to terrorism. In short, the political complexion of the RAF is similar to many other spontaneist anarcho-Maoist groups in the U.S. and West Europe (Weatherman, Gauche Proletarienne).

The Response of the Left

The response by the East and West German Stalinists to the death of Holger Meins was immediate and predictable: they ostentatiously "distanced themselves" from the RAF prisoners, just as the bourgeoisie requested. Fearful that anyone might associate respectable "Communists" with terrorism, the East German weekly *Volksarmee* announced that individual terrorism cannot be considered anti-imperialist and its perpetrators are objectively agents of the ruling class (*DPA*, 15 November). In West Germany, the pro-Moscow DKP (German Communist Party) issued a leaflet in Hamburg announcing that, "The DKP condemns those who, in the Federal Republic and everywhere in the world, plant bombs and use

continued on page 11

Workers' Protests Erupt in Egypt

JANUARY 8—Egyptian workers who have recently borne the brunt of a tremendous inflation, resulting from denationalizations and the "economic opening" to foreign capital initiated by President Sadat, as well as from the 1973 war, rampaged through the streets of Cairo last week. The protesters, many reportedly from the Helwan iron and steel complex, demanded that Abdel Aziz Hegazi, Sadat's economic czar, be removed from his post.

This demonstration should help to dispel the myth prevalent in liberal and "left" circles that the Arab people are united as one with their leaders by the struggle against Zionism. Similarly, the demonstrations by Hebrew workers in Tel Aviv last November showed that although rampant nationalism may blur class contradictions for periods of time it cannot make them disappear, even in fortress Israel.

Strikes, although they are illegal, are not unknown in Egypt. However, the government-controlled press normally fails to report them. When Nasser's coup d'état deposed King Farouk in 1952, 10,000 textile workers, encouraged by the apparent liberalization, struck for higher wages. The walkout was promptly smashed by the military rulers, who proceeded to hang the strike leaders. There was another strike upsurge in 1964 and a working-class near-revolt in November 1968, the year following Egypt's ignominious rout in the "Six Day War."

The workers of the Helwan complex also played a leading role in the strike wave during 1972. Sadat's desire to dampen this labor militancy by fueling up nationalist sentiments was an important consideration prompting him to embark on the 1973 Arab-Israel war. Describing the situation at that time Sadat later stated, "Our economic situation reached zero point . . . we had no alternative but to go to war" (*New York Times*, 27 August 1974).

The deteriorating economic conditions in Egypt which intensified after the October War have led to a dramatic increase in working-class agitation over the past six months. Although a thin stratum of the population is profiting handsomely off foreign-aid bribes from the U.S. and oil-rich Arab states, the majority of the population has seen consumer prices nearly double in the last year while incomes have changed little.

The recent Cairo demonstration has led the local press to demand a crackdown on "communist influence" in the trade unions. Although the Soviet Union for many years regarded Nasser and Sadat as "anti-imperialist," the government repeatedly used the bogey of a "communist menace" to cover up and suppress the legitimate demands of working people. Egyptian Communist Party members were in and out of prison until Nasser succeeded in breaking up the party, inducing its remnants to bury themselves in his "Arab Socialist Union." But the Russian bureaucracy nonetheless continued in its cynical praise for Egypt's "non-capitalist road."

It would not be surprising to see Sadat again pick up the banner of the crusade against Israel in order to distract popular unrest, especially since he has been subject recently to attacks both from the religious right and the nationalist left for his inattention to this "holy cause." The Nasserite weekly *Rose el Youssef* responded to the January 1 demonstration by claiming that "no leftist organization worthy of being called such would try to disrupt national unity at this stage and attack a government that had proved it knew how to fight a war of liberation against Israel" (*New York Times*, 6 January).

Stalinist tendencies have made themselves the apologists for the anti-working-class Arab regimes, subordinating themselves to the bourgeois "socialist" parties (Algerian FLN, Egyptian ASU, Ba'ath in Syria and Iraq, etc.). The same has been true of the supposed Trotskyists of the "United Secretariat," particularly following the entrance of its one-time leader Michel Raptis (alias Pablo) into the government of Algeria's Ben Bella in 1962. This renegade from Trotskyism actually wrote the law subordinating the workers "self-management" councils to the bourgeois FLN regime.

Late last year the United Secretariat announced the formation of a group in Egypt, the "Mustafa Khamis" Revolutionary Communist Group. (Khamis was one of the leaders of the 1952 strike who was hanged for refusing to inform on other participants.) Egyptian newspapers have attributed the recent Cairo demonstration to the subversive activities of "Trotskyites," evidently referring to the RCG.

In a manifesto issued last fall, the "Mustafa Khamis" group has taken a left posture, sharply criticizing those "communists" whose "mystification[s] . . . have prevented our working class from understanding that what is presently going on in Egypt is simply the natural consequence of the Nasser era. . . ." "The interests of the working class," it goes on, "will not really triumph until the workers themselves take power" (*Inprecor*, 12 December 1974).

But the United Secretariat itself has played no small role as one of the leading "mystifiers" among ostensibly revolutionary forces. With its Pabloist policies of relying on non-proletarian forces, the USec has promoted the myth of an "objectively anti-imperialist Arab Revolution," announcing that Algeria was soon to become a workers state (*Quatrième Internationale*, No. 19, 3rd quarter, 1963), liquidating into the bourgeois nationalist Algerian FLN and speculating about the "formation, for example, of a workers state in Egypt *in a relatively cold way, without the active revolutionary intervention of the masses* at the crucial moment" (Livio Maitan in the [SWP] *International Information Bulletin*, December 1965 [our emphasis]).

The "Mustafa Khamis" group is silent about the history of betrayal and the USec's open rejection of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution (inventing instead an amorphous "colonial revolution," which under militant leadership such as the "unconscious Marxist" Fidel Castro or Ahmed Ben Bella could produce a healthy workers state, according to these shameless revisionists). Furthermore, the USec supporters in Egypt have themselves not broken programmatically with the notion of a progressive bourgeois "Arab Revolution." Thus they would eagerly support a nationalist force which promised to lead the anti-Zionist struggle (i.e., the manifesto calls for a war against bourgeois Israel by the equally bourgeois Arab states).

This indicates that these militants have not yet abandoned the reactionary notion of a "two-stage" revolution (first the pan-Arab, then the socialist). This policy has, of course, led the Stalinists to constantly capitulate to Nasser and his ilk. Without adopting a revolutionary defeatist policy on both sides in the reactionary Arab-Israeli wars, revolutionaries in the Near East will find themselves unable to answer the attacks of the nationalists who charge that strikes undermine the war effort.

Only a Trotskyist leadership pledged to consistent programmatic and organizational independence from the Nassers, Arafats and Sadats can lead the Arab workers and peasants to power against all the despotic regimes in the Near East, while forging the necessary revolutionary alliance with Hebrew workers of Israel against Zionism, Arab nationalism and imperialism. ■

Longshore Militants Confront I.S. at "Rank and File" Conference

OAKLAND, January 6—A conference on "Building the Rank and File Movement" sponsored by the International Socialists (IS) ran into trouble with rank-and-file unionists here yesterday. The largest and most authoritative grouping of militant rank-and-file leaders at the conference denounced the sponsors' reformist trade-union policies, especially IS' support for Stanley Weir's court case against ILWU Local 10.

In an interview with *Workers Vanguard* the militants, members of the West Coast longshore union, told of the shabby, bureaucratic treatment they received from the cynical "left" talkers who organized the conference. Howard Keylor, a member of the ILWU's longshore division for over 20 years, most of that time as an active oppositionist, was invited to be on a panel during the morning session. Keylor had opposed the original deregistration of 59 lower-seniority B-men, the object of Weir's court action against the union, and has actively defended their rights ever since. While opposing the lawsuit, he calls for action by the union ranks to force reinstatement of the victimized B-men with full rights.

WV PHOTO

Howard Keylor

WV PHOTO

Stan Gow

Keylor is now a candidate for the Local 10 executive board on a program highlighting a call for six hours' work at eight hours' pay, and the need for a workers party and a workers government. On the panel he spoke about his experience battling the Bridges machine in the ILWU. He stressed that years as an oppositionist and trade unionist had taught him the deeply unprincipled character of appealing to the bosses' courts against the union.

Further, he declared the necessity to build opposition around a full program of class struggle. In that way opposition to the incumbent union misleaders would not be sidetracked into campaigns for just another set of slicker bureaucrats to preside over the same old sellouts. Two recent cases of such out-bureaucrats' running for office, both supported by the IS, were Arnold Miller of the United Mine Workers and James Morrissey in the National Maritime Union. According to Keylor a class-struggle program must include demands for a sliding scale of wages and hours, nationalization of industry without compensation, running industry under workers control and a workers party to fight for a workers government.

Keylor reportedly concluded his remarks by addressing two questions to the organizers of the conference: (1) Will the International Socialists continue to support Stan Weir's lawsuit against the ILWU? and (2) How can the IS, which in its press claims to support at least some elements of a class-struggle program, justify its support for two out-bureaucrats like Miller and Morrissey, who both ran on programs of "democracy" enforced by the federal government?

In the lively and often heated discussion that followed, supporters of IS' social-democratic policies became increasingly embarrassed. A rank-and-file Teamster and founding member of the IS-supported Fifth Wheel caucus asked what he should do about a suit in his local brought by a Chicano who had been the victim of gross discrimination. Should the suit against the union be dropped while the suit against the company continued? John Larson, member of Teamsters Local 70 and Fifth Wheel supporter, answered that there was no question of principle involved in suing the union; other IS supporters defended the Weir suit.

Supporters of IS policies did their bureaucratic best to avoid substantive political questions. But Stan Gow, a militant with 18 years in the ILWU, took the floor and pinned them down. Gow, a Local 10 executive board member, is running for re-election on a joint program with Keylor. He demanded to know why the IS refused to support Gene Herson, candidate of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, who in 1973 ran for president of that union on a class-struggle program calling for a workers government. Instead the IS supported Morrissey in that election.

Finally forced to reply, IS supporters said that the M-SC's Herson ran on "only a paper program" while Morrissey had "real support" in the union. (In fact Morrissey has no organized support whatsoever in the union. His real support came from the U.S. Departments of Justice and Labor.) They said this despite the fact that Herson received more votes by far than the IS has members.

Then Bob Mandel, who was recently elected to the executive board of ILWU Local 6 on just such a "paper program," attempted to take the floor. This was more than the IS could bear. Mandel was surrounded by four IS goons determined not to let him speak. They backed off, however, when Mandel's union brothers stood up to make it clear that they would insist that the meeting continue in democratic fashion.

After some tense moments, the IS was obliged to grant an unscheduled second round of discussion. Mandel commented that he was used to fighting for the floor at meetings of his own union local, but that the IS behavior was even more bureaucratic than the usual

continued on page 11

French LCR Aims at Fusion with PSU Social Democrats

Over the week of 19-24 December 1974 the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR, formerly FCR) held its national conference outside Paris. At the conference, which had been preceded by several months of discussion in the organization's public press between its four official tendencies, the leadership mustered a slim majority (59 percent). Although the issue of *Rouge* (27 December) which reports on the conference states that the LCR has "requested recognition" as the French section of the "Fourth International" (i.e., the United Secretariat, headed by Ernest Mandel), the "Political Theses" adopted do not mention either Trotskyism or the Fourth International.

The United Secretariat revisionists have long since dumped Trotsky's Transitional Program as the concrete guide to action of revolutionists in the struggle to lead the working class to power. Now the LCR seems to be flirting with an organizational liquidation which would parallel its long-time programmatic abandonment of Trotskyism by exploring the possibility of entry into the radical petty-bourgeois Parti Socialiste Unifié (PSU). The biggest stumbling block to such a "fusion" is likely to be the LCR's affiliation to the United Secretariat, which Mandel and Co. will be loath to forego as the LCR is the largest and most flamboyant showpiece of their federated international bloc.

The approach to the PSU is the logical application of the LCR's basic Pabloist method of seeking to find substitutes for a Trotskyist proletarian vanguard party, codified in the search for the "new mass vanguard," later re-christened the "broad working-class vanguard." This catchall category—consisting of diverse strata of young subjectively revolutionary militants whom authentic Marxists would seek to influence and recruit—is endowed by the Pabloist impressionists with a spurious cohesiveness and dubbed a "vanguard." The task of the LCR then becomes to locate and tail-end these volatile but programmatically disparate elements, thereby creating a "mass movement."

This "theory" is simply a legitimization of whatever opportunism appeals to the Pabloists at any given moment. For the LCR, the appetite of the hour is the PSU. Accordingly LCR superstar Alain Krivine explains in a long article (*Inprecor* [English-language edition], 14 November 1974) that the PSU is "an organizational pole for a section of the broad vanguard.... the split in the PSU expresses in its own way the growing impact of revolutionary ideas within the broad vanguard." In fact, "Its new leadership stands on the ground of the revolution, but is encumbered by a whole series of illusions...." Having discovered the incarnation of the "broad vanguard" in the PSU, the LCR now prepares to leap in with all four feet.

What Is the PSU?

The Parti Socialiste Unifié originated in a 1954 split from the French social democracy (SFIO). It fused with a Catholic workers group and then with the Parti Socialiste Autonome. For about ten years it led a marginal existence, always on the verge of either re-entering the Socialists or liquidating into electoralism, for example around Mitterand's 1965 campaign for president. But beginning in 1968, the PSU adopted a "revolutionary" rhetoric and sought to masquerade as a party of the "revolutionary far-left," a masquerade the LCR has shamelessly furthered. In 1974 the FCR enthusiastically urged the PSU's Piaget—betrayer of the Lip strike and member of a Catholic group—to be the presidential candidate of the "far-left."

At the PSU's Ninth Congress, held 14-16 December 1974, the right wing of the PSU led by Michel Rocard split away to rejoin the Socialists. Piaget was elected to the PSU's National Secretariat and the PSU issued a "Call for Expanding the Party" which stated, "The PSU calls on all militants concious of the need for building a revolutionary and self-management force to join it" (*Le Monde*, 18 December 1974).

Among the political has-beens who have found a haven in the PSU are a significant number of ex-Trotskyists of the 1930's and 1940's, such as Yvan Craipeau, who propagate vaguely trotskyoid ideas. On occasion, this gives rise to left factions within the PSU, such as that which broke away to join the LCR's predecessor, the Ligue Communiste, in June 1972—not, however, without an explicit repudiation of the history of the Fourth International and the "no longer adequate" Transitional Program which was duly printed in *Rouge* (24 June 1972).

The LCR now turns to the well again, this time with more grandiose expectations: "we are aiming further than tactical alliances and suspicious cooperation.... We must aim at the construction of a common revolutionary organization" (*Rouge*, 27 December 1974).

This is the same door through which the spiritual father of the LCR, Michel Pablo himself, entered the PSU. Pablo's overtures to the PSU began about two years ago and culminated with his organization's formal affiliation to

Alain Krivine. WV PHOTO

the PSU at the latter's congress held a week before the LCR conference. Like father, like son.

A formation such as the PSU might provide a fruitful ground for recruitment in the course of resolute struggle against its leadership. But the LCR leadership has no intention of waging any such struggle. During the Lip strike for example the FCR's "program" was to enthuse over the policies of Piaget (see "Lessons of the Lip Strike," *WV* No. 42, 12 April 1974). The idea that the LCR might undertake a principled Leninist entry for the purpose of creating a hard, programmatically based Trotskyist pole is laughable. The LCR in fact eschews any attempt to create a hard, cohesive LCR.

The internal life of the LCR is such a shambles that its pre-conference discussion was carried out in the pages of its public press, of course in the name of "democratic centralism." The discussion was neither centralized nor democratic. The "right" to form a tendency, for example, was granted only to groupings presenting 30 signatures; even to call for the formation of a tendency, 10 signatures were required. The four tendencies which emerged were in fact blocs containing ill-defined and often widely divergent views. All tendencies are expected to be disolved after the conference.

Tendency 2 was the leadership, while Tendency 1 represented an empirical, workerist opposition. Sometimes putting forward correct criticisms of the leadership—for example its objection to the "new mass vanguard" and attempt to reassert the priority of intervening toward the Communist Party, which controls the main French trade-union federation—Tendency 1 remained unwilling to draw any basic conclusions. Tendency 3 represented the extension of the LCR's former explicit petty-bourgeois youth vanguardism, which has been downplayed by the majority since the discovery of newer "vanguards" after 1968.

Tendency 4 was a catchall swamp. The recognized left opposition of the LCR, it also included supporters of the "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" (LTF) of the United Secretariat, the international *right* opposition led by the American SWP, as well as supporters of the views of the OCI, one of the LCR's French competitors. Self-contradictory in its basic composition, Tendency 4's documents were inconsistent from one section to the next.

Thus while calling for groupings in the trade unions based on the full transitional program attacking the OCI's "strategic united front," it in practice succumbed to the pressure both of supporters of the OCI and the left wing of the LTF, the Spanish Liga Comunista, by also calling for a "strategic line of united fronts." Although Tendency 4 was alone in characterizing the Union of the Left as a popular front, it could not make up its mind on whether or not revolutionaries should have called for a vote for the workers parties in the popular front in 1973 or for Mitterrand in 1974!

In addition to orienting to the PSU, Tendency 2's "Theses" adopted by the congress (with 59 percent of the delegate votes; Tendencies 1 and 3 obtained about 19 percent each and Tendency 4 3 percent) attempted to placate everybody on the character of the Union of the Left. What was clear, however, was their liquidationist thrust.

The "Theses" call for an "anti-capitalist bloc" and place heavy stress on workers' "self-organization" and "self-management"—the latter long the pet phrase of the LCR's new fair-haired boy, Charles Piaget, and his social-democratic cohorts. ■

OCI/SWP/LCR Maneuvers Multiply

The intensification of the process of political/organizational disintegration among ostensibly Trotskyist international groupings is nowhere more evident than in the current maneuvering taking place between the warring factions of the "United Secretariat" (USec) and the French Internationalist Communist Organization (OCI). Recently a great deal of interest—and suspicion—has been generated inside these organizations by the discussions which have taken place between the Socialist Workers Party (SWP, leader of the USec minority) and the OCI, with the French Revolutionary Communist League (LCR, the leading USec majority section) chaperoning.

At a meeting of the FCR (now LCR) in Paris in November, 1ST supporters distributed copies of a letter from the OCI leadership to other groups in its "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" reporting on a meeting with the SWP (see *WV* No. 57, 22 November for the text), with our analysis of the letter and the various groups involved on the reverse side of the leaflet.

The FCR ranks, from whom knowledge of the meetings had been withheld by their leaders, eagerly snapped up more than 1,000 of these leaflets and surrounded FCR leaders demanding an explanation. The OCI letter has since been reprinted both by the FCR and SWP along with their (sharply divergent) "explanations."

The FCR has feigned disinterest in the matter. The 29 November issue of *Rouge* reports the Spartacist leaflet, but claims an inaccuracy: it was the OCI, it says, which asked for the meeting, not the SWP. Who was responsible for this distortion, asks the writer: the OCI or the SL? He concludes, "What's the difference?" But obviously it did make a difference to the FCR or it would not have bothered to make the "correction."

The difference becomes clear in reading the counterposed assessments of the OCI discussion by the SWP and LCR. An internal FCR circular issued shortly afterward included the OCI letter "as distributed by the Spartacist League" and states that "the OCI's proposals stem essentially from a maneuver...." The FCR leadership concludes that "In these conditions... *privileged* and *semi-internal* discussions [with the OCI] are unjustifiable...."

The SWP does not agree. A report by the SWP's Joe Hansen (included in the FCR internal circular) raises the possibility of a maneuver on the part of the OCI, but reasons, "In our opinion there is no great risk in replying fraternally to the OCI. No immediate commitment is implied...." Then in a Political Bureau statement which appears in the 13 January 1975 *Intercontinental Press* the SWP leadership goes even further, openly defending the OCI against the FCR. The meeting "confirm[ed] the sincerity of the OCI leaders," it reports. They "are neither capitulating nor trying to carry out a raid."

In our commentary on the OCI letter, both in *WV* and in the Paris leaflet, we pointed to the rotten-bloc character of the United Secretariat and the fact that the obvious maneuvering on all sides served only the power plays of the competing opportunists, doing nothing to provide political clarity for the working-class movement. While the SWP and FCR debated whether the OCI was pulling a fast one, the OCI also warned that "What is sure is that maneuvers will multiply on all sides...." This must qualify as the understatement of the week, particularly as the maneuvers clearly do include "all sides"—i.e., the OCI as well.

What is missing in all these "approaches" is simply the struggle for a principled, homogeneous, democratic-centralist Trotskyist international tendency. The OCI has many times pointed out the unprincipled character of the 1963 reunification between the SWP and the Mandelites, in which differences over Pabloism, the 1953 split, China and other issues were swept under the rug. But its own behavior in the present maneuvering is nothing but a replay of the SWP's early negotiations with Pablo-Mandel-Frank at that time.

The international Spartacist tendency, which was born in opposition to the 1963 reunification and the political degeneration of the SWP which led up to it, stands sharply counterposed to these horsetraders. With our "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" (*WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974) we declare our intentions and indicate our progress to date toward the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Witchhunt Against IRA in Britain

LONDON, December 22—On November 21 bombs exploded at the Mulberry Bush public house and the Tavern in the Town in Birmingham, England. These bombs killed altogether 21 people, burning and mutilating scores of others. Among those killed were two Irish Catholic brothers and two black West Indians.

Eight days later the British parliament passed the Prevention of Terrorism Act, outlawing the Irish Republican Army (IRA) and giving the Home Secretary and police unprecedented and wide powers to search, arrest, detain without charge, banish from or prevent entry to Britain of anyone suspected of "supporting" the IRA or being involved in terrorism.

Virtually every political group in Britain and Ireland, including the Provisional IRA, has condemned the Birmingham bombings as an unpardonable atrocity. The Spartacist League has long condemned the use of indiscriminate mass terror by the Palestinian guerrillas and Irish Republicans, despite the general popularity enjoyed by such groups within the left. However, we vehemently reject the right of the British rulers—including the reformist Labour Party leadership—to condemn mass terror when used by Irish nationalists. Their condemnations are the hypocrisy of imperialism.

For 300 years British colonialism has been drenched with the blood of the Irish people. In the 1840's the British government, in collusion with English landlords and speculators, allowed one million Irish to starve to death in the "Potato Famine." In the 1920's the British rulers dispatched the infamous Black and Tan terrorist gangs to hunt down and butcher Irish nationalists.

Nor do we have to go back to "ancient history" for examples of mass terrorism by British imperialism against the Irish. The British parliamentarians would doubtless prefer to forget "Bloody Sunday" in 1972 when a parachutist regiment shot to death 13 unarmed civil rights demonstrators in Ulster; and that plainclothes army patrols have opened fire on unarmed Catholics engaged in no political action whatever. The Birmingham bombings pale in comparison to the atrocities of British imperialism against the Irish.

Whose Responsibility?

David O'Connell, the IRA Provisionals' "Chief of Staff," has issued statements denying his organization's responsibility for Birmingham, suggesting that English anarchist groups might have done it:

> "The IRA leadership did not recommend these attacks. In fact, we condemn them. At the moment we are conducting an enquiry to seek out those responsible....Attacks like those in Birmingham are murder."
>
> —*Times* [London], 12 December

There is a history of provocations by both sides in the sectarian Ulster strife, as there always is when mass terrorism is used. In addition, the perpetrators of outrages are not likely to proclaim their authorship of such heinous crimes, even if the result was intended. Thus it is often unclear who is immediately responsible for particular bombings. However, whether or not it was responsible for this attack against working people in Birmingham, the fact remains that the Provisional IRA has in the past often employed methods of indiscriminate terror.

Contrary to O'Connell's statement, it is not true that the Provisionals always give a warning before attacking non-military targets. In any event, the chance that a telephone warning would not be relayed in time to get everyone out of a heavily frequented area (where many of the bombings have taken place) is great. And in Ulster the Provisionals have certainly engaged in indiscriminate mass terrorism: for example, the bombing of the Abercorn Cafe in 1972 and random vengeance killings of Protestants.

Moreover, four days before the Birmingham bombings, O'Connell was interviewed by the television program "Weekend World" on which he indicated that the Provisionals' campaign in England would be intensified. Subsequently during December bombs were placed in public places all over England. One of the explosions, in a London post office, killed a Ghanaian.

There is no question who is responsible for this criminal campaign: when the Provos called a Christmas truce the bombings suddenly stopped. This certainly runs counter to the notion that the Provisional leadership cannot control its militants, or that there exists some unknown "ultra" Republican terrorist group. The Provos' hands are not clean!

British Labour Defends the United Kingdom

Perhaps the most candid comment on the Prevention of Terrorism Act was a gloating letter by a South African racist to the liberal Manchester *Guardian*:

> "As a South African, you will excuse my slightly cynical amusement at the latest measures taken by your Government against the IRA. These measures appear to have been taken straight from the South African statute books!"
>
> —*Manchester Guardian Weekly* 7 December

The Prevention of Terrorism Act outlaws the IRA (both wings), subjecting its members to five years in prison and unlimited fines. It gives the Home Secretary (equivalent of the U.S. Attorney General) the right to outlaw, without parliamentary approval, any group "concerned in terrorism." In effect, the police now have the right to hold someone for a week without charges, access to a lawyer or public acknowledgment.

There is nothing in the new legislation to prevent the South African practice of stringing together an endless series of one-week detentions. Moreover, the legal requirement that police have a court warrant before undertaking searches of residences is suspended. British citizens born in Northern Ireland can be deported there, unless they have lived in Britain for *20 years*. (The latter provision is an ironic touch in a law designed to maintain the Belfast-London tie. Ulster unionists, however, failed to appreciate the irony.)

The most threatening part of the Act is section 3 of part 1, which allows the Home Secretary to outlaw "any organisation that appears to him to be concerned in terrorism occurring in the United Kingdom and concerned with Northern Ireland affairs, or in promoting or encouraging it"; and to apply the same penalties to individuals who "invite financial or other support for a proscribed organisation."

British troops "pacifying" Ulster. MAGNUM DONALD McCULLIN

In theory any organization can be outlawed if it gives some kind of support to the Irish Republican movement against the British government, even if only in the pages of its press. And this is not merely an abstract possibility. The right-wing Tory MP (Member of Parliament) John Biggs-Davison has demanded that the National Union of Students be prosecuted under the Act for supporting the IRA.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act should shatter the illusion, shared by the ostensibly Trotskyist *Militant* and *Chartist* groups, that the British Labour Party can be turned into an instrument for socialism: No single Labour MP, not even the most left of "the left," voted against the bill. Even those who spoke against it bowed to party discipline and public pressure when the final vote came.

All the talk about nationalizations, about opposing the Common Market, about socialism by the Labour "lefts" means nothing after this vote. One could hardly ask for a stronger demonstration that the Labour Party is no less committed to British imperialism than the Tories, that it is, in Lenin's words, a *bourgeois* workers party.

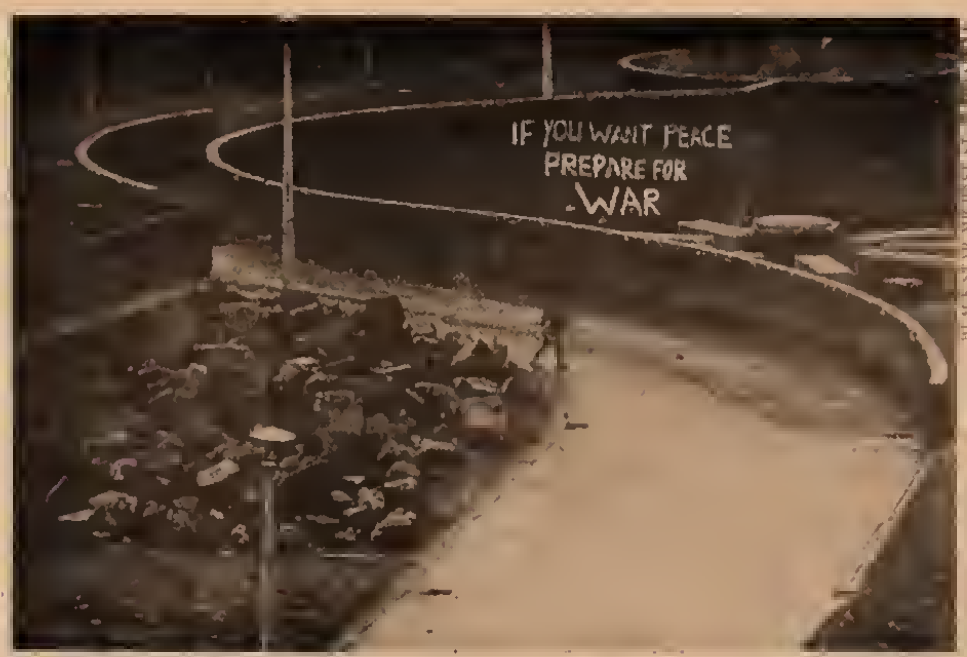
So Does the Irish Republic

If the Wilson/Jenkins Labour government is a loyal servant of British imperialism, so too is the government of the Irish Republic. While Westminster was passing the new terrorism act, the *Dail* in Dublin was passing a Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill giving Irish courts the right to try terrorists for crimes committed in Britain. And like their counterparts in London, Connor Cruise O'Brien's Irish Labour Party supported the measure.

Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs Garret FitzGerald assured the British public that his government was doing even more to defend them against the IRA than their own authorities:

> "Between May 1972, when the Special Criminal Court, acting without jury, was established, and October 31, 1974, 686 people have been charged in the Republic with crimes arising from the activities of illegal organisations.... Just 60 per cent of those convicted here for offenses committed in Border areas are persons from Northern Ireland who escaped the attention of the security forces in that area before coming to the Republic."
>
> —*Manchester Guardian Weekly* 7 December

Because the Irish Republic is generally cringingly subservient to the interests of British capitalism, there is an impulse both among Labour and the Tories to "solve" the Ulster question by transferring the province to the South. Thus the main obstacle to a 32-county bourgeois Irish state is *not now* British imperialism but rather the anti-



Falls Road district in Belfast. Hundreds have been killed here in sectarian terror.

"Bloody Sunday," January 1972. Cross marks spot where three boys were killed.

HARDY-GAMMA

Opportunist IS called for troops to Belfast in 1969, now demands "Troops out." Marxists call for Catholic/Protestant workers militias against sectarian terror.

cipated reaction of the Protestant population of Ulster.

Anti-Irish Backlash in England

Following the Birmingham bombings there was a wave of violent incidents directed against the Irish population in England. (The need to undercut anti-Irish vigilante actions was, in fact, used as an excuse by politicians to rush through the terrorism act.) In factories

GROVE PRESS

Provisional IRA member preparing gelignite bomb.

fist fights broke out between English workers and Irish of known Republican sympathies. A number of plants were shut by spontaneous anti-IRA protest strikes, notably British Leyland in Birmingham.

Workers Vanguard was told of a characteristic incident involving an Irish industrial worker in the Midlands who was an amateur community musician. He had the ill-fortune to play at the funeral of James McDaid, a Provisional militant killed when a bomb he was carrying exploded. A few days later the Birmingham bombings occurred and he was thrown into a sludge pit by his fellow workers.

There is an important objective factor preventing anti-Irish violence on as massive a scale as in Ulster. The large Irish population in Britain is socially integrated, having extensively intermarried with the English, Welsh and Scottish peoples. A large part of the British population has some "Irish blood." This familial integration stands in sharpest contrast to Ulster, where to have a relationship with someone on the other side of the national/sectarian divide is literally to risk one's life. It will take more than a few Birmingham-type atrocities to provoke widespread major anti-Irish riots.

Nonetheless, there is broad sympathy for Republicanism among the Irish population in England, which is the sea that the IRA swims in. If the British state goes alter the IRA by sweeping, indiscriminate methods, the Irish population could retreat into a closed, defensive posture. And this could lead to a dynamic where Ulster-type communal violence might occur in parts of England. Thus the terrorists of Birmingham committed a provocation not only against the English people, but even more so against the Irish population in England.

Healyite Reaction: Megalomania and Chauvinism

In the self-styled revolutionary left of Britain the reaction of Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) to the post-Birmingham repression stands out as a remarkable performance. The Healyites managed to liquidate the Irish question, attacking the Prevention of Terrorism Act for being directed against the English workers movement and English left. *Workers Press* achieved the incredible feat of writing two long articles about the Act (14 and 16 December) without dealing with the Irish question, or, more precisely, by asserting that the campaign against the IRA is really a diversion. The Healyites broke new ground in their long-standing tradition of megalomania by declaring that the real target of the Act is not the IRA but . . . the WRP:

> "But the real aim of this legislation has nothing to do with the caricature terrorist of the capitalist press. It was not a coincidence that almost every Tory who spoke in the debate on the Act said clearly that the state now required powers to ban what political organizations it chose and prosecute their membership. They were referring, of course, to the left wing and the Workers Revolutionary Party."
>
> —*Workers Press*, 14 December

It is certainly true that there are strong historic ties between the Orange loyalist movement and the right, potentially bonapartist elements within British ruling circles. For example, it is reported that the British army command refused to break the Ulster Protestant general strike against Catholic participation in the government ("power-sharing") last spring.

Having said this, it remains that the direct and immediate purpose of the Act is to destroy the IRA. To ignore or distort this fact, in effect to deny the centrality of the Irish question and the state tie between Ulster and the United Kingdom, is a form of social chauvinism.

IS and IMG: Myopia and Pollyannaism

The left social-democratic International Socialists (IS) responded to the Birmingham bombings by adopting a pacifist posture. The front-page headline in *Socialist Worker* (30 November) begins, "All socialists must condemn these senseless killings—Stop the Bombings!" If one replaces the term "socialists" with "Christians," the IS headline could be found in half the religious press of Ireland and Britain. Preachments against violence will not stop the bombings. The terrorists must be stopped by the superior force of the united working class of the British Isles.

In contrast, the International Marxist Group (IMG), British section of the revisionist "Trotskyist" United Secretariat, has the unique dishonor of condoning the Birmingham bombings, criticizing them only as being a mere tactical error:

> "You gentlemen of British imperialism, *you* are responsible for every single one of the 19 deaths in Birmingham and in every other place where British imperialism befouls the face of the earth. Any *errors* which may be committed by the IRA are the result of an oppressed people striking against their master." [our emphasis]
>
> —*Red Weekly*, 5 December

In a general, historical sense British imperialism is, of course, responsible for the Birmingham bombings—as well as for all political phenomena occurring in the British Isles. In the same sense, British imperialism is ultimately responsible for the atrocities committed by the Protestant workers in the Ulster Defense Association (UDA).

But historical causation does not negate individual responsibility for political and criminal acts. If it did, revolutionary politics would be impossible; fatalism would carry the day. In point of fact, the IMG's bowing before Provisional bombs is also a product of British imperialist society. Only a guilt-ridden English university student could believe that being an Irishman gives one a license to murder innocent working people.

Despite their surface differences, the pacifistic social democrats of the IS and the university-lounge nationalist/militarists of the IMG have the same basic policy toward the Irish question. This is that once British troops are withdrawn all will be well. The International Socialists' present "Troops Out" campaign is despicable opportunism since the IS *supported* sending the British troops in summer 1969, claiming they would defend the Catholics against Orange terror! The IS' current fairy tale is equally pollyannaish:

> "In Britain, the main thing that can be done is to campaign for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. . . . If they were withdrawn, the Protestants in Northern Ireland would be forced to ask how they were going to survive in the world by themselves. Under such conditions, Protestant workers would have to come to terms with the fact that as workers they share a common interest with their Catholic fellow workers, not with their Protestant employers."
>
> —*Socialist Worker*, 30 November

Every five-year-old in Ulster knows that under present conditions, in the absence of any means for united working-class defense, the withdrawal of British troops could well be followed by a civil war that would make the previous level of violence seem insignificant. So what is the answer? Support the British imperialist army, which has murdered numerous Irish Catholics it was ostensibly "protecting"? The Provisional IRA comes close to this, calling *not* for the immediate withdrawal of British troops but rather for a *phased* withdrawal, in order to better prepare for the showdown with the UDA and other Protestant paramilitary organizations.

For Catholic/Protestant Workers Militias Against Sectarian Terror!

The demands for immediate withdrawal of British troops and for repeal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act are correct and necessary. For revolutionary socialists, however, such a program is fundamentally inadequate. A supposedly communist organization which does not address the question of sectarian mass terrorism, Irish nationalist as well as Orange loyalist, is not to be taken seriously. And certainly it will not be taken seriously in Belfast and Derry.

Since 1972, the Spartacist League has raised the call for Catholic/Protestant workers militias to suppress sectarian terrorism. Such a demand is by no means fantastical, although its realization would require an upsurge of united working-class struggle (as has occurred at certain points in the history of Ulster). It is significant that an impulse for joint action to stop the endless revenge killings has come from working-class-oriented elements in both the Protestant and Catholic camps.

In January 1974 the Herron/Fogel wing of the UDA called a halt to sectarian assassinations and opened contact with the moderate Republicans. The Official IRA responded with a proposal for joint patrols to stamp out vengeance killings. However, this attempt at joint action was sabotaged by the more fanatically sectarian elements in both camps—the Harding Smith wing of the UDA and the Ulster Volunteer Force on the Protestant side, the Provisionals on the Catholic side.

Neither IRA Officials (who claim to be Marxists) nor labor-oriented loyalists can institute joint action and organization for proletarian struggle, since they lack the revolutionary socialist program which alone can overcome the sectarian strife. But the struggle for a military united front of Catholic and Protestant workers against reactionary mass terror must be taken up now. The alternative is for Ulster to degenerate into a barbaric communal slaughterhouse. ■

RSL: "Separate But Equal" Socialists

With the entire city of Boston poised on the razor-edge of race war over the busing issue, two groups claiming to be socialist have lined up with the Jim Crow segregationists in opposition to busing: the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) and the Shachtmanite Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). The RU, having written anti-busing leaflets which used the "stop-sign" symbol of the anti-busing racists, is now trying to slink off under the cover of a little "criticism and self-criticism." But the RSL, a refugee from the social-democratic International Socialists, takes shameless pride in finding itself on the same side of the barricades as Louise Day Hicks and the racist Boston School Committee.

In attempting to provide an explanation for its opposition to busing the "third camp" RSL (which will not defend the deformed workers states against imperialism) has simply carried its guilt-ridden workerism and adaptation to black nationalism to a logical conclusion perfectly acceptable to the virulently racist bourgeois politicians, the Louise Day Hicks, George Wallaces and Lester Maddoxes. For the RSL firmly and unambiguously comes out, in the December issue of its monthly newspaper, the *Torch*, in *opposition to integration*. This politically corrupt celebration of the racist status quo comes packaged as "Marxist" polemic against the Spartacist League entitled, "Spartacist League Fronts for the Bourgeoisie."

The RSL vs. Lenin

After a typically windy and pompous presentation of Marxist ABC's muddled with Marcusite crackpotism (e.g., that fictitious [*sic*!] capital has driven the U.S. into a pre-revolutionary situation), the article settles down into a shrill polemic against both busing *and integration*. The arguments are these: (1) busing should be opposed because it involves a more equal sharing of the existing school facilities, which means that some white school children will attend worse schools than those they presently attend; and (2) integration must be opposed as it is a bourgeois strategy aimed at quashing the struggles of the black people.

It is on the question of integration that the RSL reveals its complete capitulation to petty-bourgeois black nationalism. Integration, claims the RSL:

> "... means the *subordination* of blacks to the dominant whites. It represents a strategy to *quell* the black struggle. It is an attempt to smother the rebellion of black workers. . . ."
>
> —*Torch*, December 1974

Of course the RSL assures us that some day in the socialist future racial divisions will disappear. But, we learn, this:

> "... may be approached by a variety of detours. Blacks may opt for separation not integration. In any case, the task of revolutionaries is to unconditionally defend the right of blacks to make this choice. . . ."
>
> —*Ibid.*

That the RSL could attempt to pass off this warmed-over 1966 SNCC rhetoric for Leninism only reveals its profound ignorance and political confusion. Indeed, what the RSL position boils down to is contemporary "cultural nationalism" spiced up with a little Marxist verbiage. What we have here is a latter-day version of the Austro-Marxist scheme of "cultural-national autonomy."

Like the Spartacist League today, Lenin in his time stressed the need to fight "not only for the unity but also the *amalgamation*" of the working class, including, explicitly, opposition to school segregation. Directing his fire against the capitulators to petty-bourgeois nationalism of his day (including, in particular, members of the Jewish Bund) Lenin wrote:

> "The class-conscious workers combat *all* national oppression and *all* national privileges, but they do not confine themselves to that. They combat all, even the most refined, nationalism and advocate not only the unity, but also the *amalgamation* of the workers of *all* nationalities in the struggle against reaction and against bourgeois nationalism in all its forms. Our task is not to segregate nations, but to unite the workers of all nations."
>
> —Lenin, "Once More On the Segregation of the Schools According to Nationality," 1913

In 1913 Lenin wrote a number of polemics against what would be today termed "cultural nationalism." These polemics, which include the well-known "Critical Remarks on the National Question" quite explicitly *support* school *integration*, not as the RSL would say "the right to attend any school." Lenin points out that: "We must strive to secure the *mixing* of the children of *all* nationalities in *uniform* schools in each locality; the workers of all nationalities must *jointly* pursue the proletarian educational policy . . ." ("Nationality of Pupils in Russian Schools," 1913).

How much more does this hold in the case of U.S. black people who, even the RSL admits, do not form a nation. In fact, Lenin held up as a horrible example of the logic of the program of "cultural-national autonomy" the segregated school system of the American South. The RSL likes to quote Lenin and Trotsky, usually out of context, but we find no evidence that they have even skimmed these writings of Lenin, which are scarcely obscure.

The Black Question

In a desperate attempt to "prove" the unsupportable contention that the SL is capitulating to reformism the *Torch* creates the most incredible fantasies: since the SL is for fighting for integration, that must mean it thinks integration is possible under capitalism! Since the SL believes integration would aid the united class struggle, that must mean that it believes integration *must* come *before* the united class struggle!

This is the most cynical type of argumentation; it is self-evidently fraudulent and can be used to dismiss all sorts of struggles. Doubtless, the RSL would support the unionization of unorganized workers. Are we therefore to conclude that the RSL thinks that all workers must be unionized before a united class struggle is possible?

Unlike the petty-bourgeois socialists of the RSL, who reduce the black question to a simple case of democratic rights, the SL holds that black people in the U.S. are a specially oppressed caste, forcibly segregated into the lowest positions in the American capitalist economy. The SL holds that the destruction of this caste system (i.e., the achieving of integration, of real social and economic equality) is a task of the proletarian revolution, the task of an integrated Leninist party uniting all sections of the working class

On the Busing Question

The RSL's major argument against busing makes clear that while the RSL adapts to black nationalism it can simultaneously adapt to the backward consciousness of white workers infected with racism. If the RSL were to extend its argumentation on the busing question it would also have to *oppose* the integration which took place in the South after the Supreme Court's decision of *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. This, after all, led to a downward levelling of conditions of some white school children, in the process "dividing" the working class. And for the RSL, like Louise Day Hicks, what is at stake in the question of busing is above all "quality education."

The Spartacist League has, of course, consistently fought for *more* jobs and better education for all, and is well known for its opposition to those who argue for "sharing the crumbs." In Boston now (and over a year ago—see "Racial Hysteria Fanned in Boston," *WV* No. 31, 26 October 1973), as in Canarsie in the 1972 crisis there, we insisted:

> "We demand quality education for every one, not *equally miserable* education. For open admissions to *all* educational institutions."
>
> —"Canarsie: Nixon Profits From Racism," *WV* No. 14, December 1972

Understanding that the racial tension in Boston goes far beyond the present school crisis, the SL energetically has presented the basic demands of the Transitional Program in the course of its work in Boston. The SL contingent therefore marched in Boston on December 14 under slogans such as: "Not white against black, but class against class! Seize banks/oil/auto/coal with workers control! Oust the labor fakers—Build a workers party—Forward to a Workers Government!" The RSL must acknowledge this, so it whines that these demands are "tacked on."

What really distresses the RSL is the wide publicity which the Spartacist League received this fall, particularly for its fight against the call for federal troops and for a labor/black defense of the black school children. This does not fit in with another RSL lie, that the SL has abandoned the fight for workers' defense and tells the workers to rely on the bourgeois state. But fortunately for the struggle in Boston the RSL, unlike the RU, has no Boston local organization from which to spew forth, on the spot, its anti-busing garbage.

The basic difference between the SL and the RSL on busing comes down to this: while the SL poses the need to fight for better schools for all, and points to the limits of busing, we support busing, and support its extension to the middle-class suburbs, as an alternative to the racist status quo. *The RSL supports the racist status quo. Until such time as more and better schools can be built the RSL, in effect, tells black school children that they must attend inferior, segregated schools so as not to alienate the white working class.*

As a cover for this disgusting chauvinism the RSL insists, like any cowardly liberal, that all children should be able to go to "the school of their choice." In this they echo the racist Boston School Committee which also calls for "*voluntary*" busing. "Voluntary" busing, like "voluntary" social security or health insurance is just a reactionary euphemism for the advocacy of things as they are.

The RSL knows quite well (as do the racists) that without busing there will be segregated schools and that this "right" will be meaningless (as long as there is segregated housing). But then the RSL does not necessarily oppose segregation. Separate but equal (or better but separate?) might be the RSL slogan. These are truly Jim Crow socialists! ■

SYL MIDWEST EDUCATIONAL-PUBLIC SESSION

Historical Materialism vs. Idealism-Stalinism

Speaker: JOHN SHARPE
Central Committee
Spartacist League

Wayne State University
Student Center Building
Hillbury B

Friday, January 24
7:30 p.m.

for information call:
(313)921-4626

DONATION $1 DETROIT

Continued from page 1

Stop the Deportations!

was forced to lodge a formal protest, calling for "fair and humane" treatment of deportees.

But There Are Exceptions . . .

Not all foreigners get such brutal treatment, however. One particularly favored category consists of Cuban counterrevolutionary opponents of the Castro regime (commonly, and accurately, called *gusanos*, i.e., "worms"). When U.S. immigration quotas were revised in 1965, the figure set for the entire western hemisphere was 120,000 anually (plus immediate families), all of whom are required to obtain a "labor certification" (evidence that their prospective employment will not eliminate jobs for citizens).

Gusanos, however, are exempt from these restrictions. They can attain resident status after only two years (instead of five), reducing the quotas available for other Latin American countries. At present, 2,000 Cubans enter the country each month, adding to the 750,000 gusano families already here. Last year, in an act of special dispensation, the U.S. allowed 30,000 more Cubans—presently residing in Spain—to enter.

In another case of politically favored immigration, the Ford Foundation recently granted $250,000 to emigrants from the USSR. However, the U.S. government has not accepted one *single* refugee from the rightist terror in Chile. And when it was revealed last year that "at least 73 alleged Nazi war criminals" had remained untouched by immigration authorities for 25 years, INS head Chapman replied that "it is not possible" under current law "to take immediate steps to deport an alien, regardless of the charges against him" (*New York Times*, 6 June 1974). Since during the last year the government has turned down requests for asylum for more than 400 Haitians, many of whom are today awaiting deportation to Duvalier's torture chambers, the INS' "concern" for the rights of aliens turns out to be just so much hypocritical garbage.

Capitalism Needs Immigrant Workers

What is behind this "national crisis"—a sudden thirst on the part of greedy Latin Americans for the jobs of American workers? Of course not. In fact, it is obvious that there would not be an estimated 1,000,000 "illegal" immigrants annually unless the "inefficiency" of the INS were consciously tolerated and encouraged by the capitalists. Whether it is Haitian maids or Mexican farm workers, it is the employers who are vitally interested in obtaining immigrant labor.

Their obvious purpose is to create a pool of workers who have no legal rights and limited mobility because of language problems. Foreign workers, especially those without documents, can be used to keep out unions, drive down wages and break strikes. Thus one of the main sources for scabs during the 15-month-long Farah strike in El Paso in 1973-74 was from "illegal" Mexicans. If any of these workers were so bold as to sign a union card, a call from Willie Farah to the Immigration service was sufficient to have them sent back to Ciudad Juarez.

In Congress various "pro-labor" liberals are backing legislation ostensibly aimed at employers who "knowingly" hire aliens without documents. The main House bill is sponsored by Peter Rodino (Democrat, N.J.), one of the "heroes" of Watergate, and a similar proposal was introduced in the Senate by Teddy Kennedy. However, these bills are actually worded so that employers would (as now) generally get off unscathed, merely by feigning ignorance of their employees' legal status.

These bills would formalize the ex-

isting oppressive situation, whereby the threat of deportation is used to maintain sweatshop conditions and keep recalcitrant foreign workers in line. A recent case demonstrates how little such government action against "illegals" serves to "protect jobs": 19 Mexican workers were discovered on a farm in western New York, but were allowed to finish harvesting the crop, on the condition that they pay their own deportation expenses (*Courier-Express* [Buffalo], 1 November)!

The "Chavez Border Patrol"

Even in highly organized industries like auto, foreign workers with legal residency papers understandably hesitate to participate in militant action lest they be deported. How much more susceptible, then, are foreign workers to scabherding in a largely non-union industry such as agriculture, and when their very presence is considered illegal. The use of undocumented foreign workers as scabs, and the failure on the part of the United Farm Workers leadership to deal with them, has been one of the main obstacles preventing a successful organizing drive in the California and Arizona fields.

It is precisely the Farm Workers, whose organizing efforts have been undermined by foreign scabs and whose membership includes a large proportion of Chicano members (many of them "illegals" themselves, or descended from earlier "wetbacks"), that has the greatest material interest in fighting for the rights of immigrant workers, documented or otherwise.

Only by fighting for full citizenship rights for foreign workers, for an international UFW organizing the unorganized across the border—and by militantly defending the picket lines—can farm workers make it clear to potential scabs that their interests lie not in strikebreaking but in making common cause with their unionized brothers and sisters.

But Chavez refuses to carry out such an internationalist policy of militant class struggle, precisely because it would mean breaking with the liberal bourgeoisie and the pro-capitalist AFL-CIO/UAW tops. Rather than battling against opposition from scabs, Teamster and company goons, and sheriffs' deputies, the UFW leadership simply scuttled the 1973 lettuce strike. Its promised massive consumer boycott turned out to be a total flop.

The United Farm Workers may be on its last legs. UFW contracts and dues-paying membership have plummeted in the last two years. In desperation at the failure of his policy of relying on liberal politicians, "socially concerned" clergymen and George Meany, Chavez recently launched a vitriolic attack on undocumented workers under the pretext of fighting scabs. Last July, in a telegram to the Fresno Border Patrol, Chavez pointed to the presence of 2,000 "illegal" Mexican farm workers in the area and demanded their deportation.

This open finking was followed by a despicable campaign in the pages of *El Malcriado*, the union's newspaper, reminiscent of Samuel Gompers' racist attacks on "Asiatic coolieism." Chavez initiated a petition campaign among UFW members calling on Congress to "stop the large flow of illegal aliens," followed by demonstrations in Bakersfield and Sacramento "demanding that the INS get the illegals out of the fields" (*El Malcriado*, 4 September 1974).

Dissatisfied with the corrupt, "inefficient" Border Patrol, Chavez has now carried his class-collaborationist treachery to its logical conclusion. On a 25-mile stretch of the Arizona border, the UFW has actually set up its own version of the justly hated B.P.: the "Chavez Border Patrol" as the *San Francisco Sunday Examiner and Chronicle* (22 December) calls it.

The Spartacist League, in addition to calling for hot-cargoing of scab farm products and a statewide strike to defend the UFW, has called for militant picket lines to stop the scabs. We are in favor of persuading and educating potential strikebreakers in the most effective possible place and manner. However, that is clearly not the intent of the UFW patrol.

The patrol coordinator admits, "We're doing it because the Border Patrol is not doing its job. Many times we call the Border Patrol, and they do not go to the fields where we know the illegals are hiding" (*El Malcriado*, 18 November 1974). The "violence" which pacifist Chavez refused to employ against Teamster and company goons, or even to stop scabs as they entered the fields, is now being considered less reluctantly against "illegal" Mexicans.

"Illegal" Mexican farm workers.

The Left and "Illegal Aliens"

In our struggle to build a revolutionary opposition in the unions the Spartacist League has consistently emphasized the need to smash national chauvinism and to oust the labor bureaucracy as a whole. In contrast, various opportunist "socialists" have sought to latch onto the coat tails of "left" bureaucrats of the likes of Arnold Miller or Cesar Chavez. Consequently they end up apologizing for the protectionist, chauvinist poison which even the most "progressive" of these misleaders spew out.

But sometimes the betrayals are too gross for even the most shameless reformists to cover up. Last summer virtually the entire "left" press reacted in simulated horror to Chavez' campaign to deport "illegal" Mexican farm workers. Their reasons were revealing: the SWP wrote that the UFW leader was "out of step with the rest of the Chicano movement on the deportation issue" (*Militant*, 2 August 1974). Since "the rest of the Chicano movement" could see what a wretched policy Chavez was pursuing, you see, the SWP could no longer keep its mouth shut.

There was certainly something to complain about. In a statement to the media on July 1 (quoted in *People's World*, 13 July 1974), Chavez announced that "Illegal aliens are...costing American taxpayers $115 million in lost taxes annually and increasing taxes for welfare and food stamps." He quoted a Fresno doctor as saying that with the presence of undocumented workers there was a big increase in venereal disease. "Prostitutes around here are running wild. They are brought in by the busload....It is impossible to control infections...." At the same time, the UFW called on the INS to remove some 2,000 Mexican workers ("scabs") from the area.

The SWP wrote of this that, "No union in history ever solved the problem [of strikebreakers] by calling the cops.... [Supporters of the UFW] have a responsibility to persuade the union that in this matter it is making a serious, costly mistake" (*Militant*, 2 August 1974). What gracious tact! But "calling on the cops" has *always* been UFW policy. Even the SWP admits (now) that in his early years of farm worker organizing Chavez was already calling for the deportation of "illegals."

Moreover, until March 1973 the UFW leadership supported the notorious Rodino-Kennedy Bill, abandoning this position only under heavy fire from Chicano activists in California. But Chavez' "socialist" cheerleaders said nothing until *after* he changed his line. Then they breathed an audible sigh of relief (he was no longer "out of step")—only to be faced a few months later with the UFW deportation campaign and the "Chavez Border Patrol."

When the opportunist left organizations were keeping quiet about Chavez' support for Rodino-Kennedy, the SL openly proclaimed its opposition to this chauvinist legislation and pointed to the disastrous consequences of the UFW policy. When Chavez called off the 1973 lettuce and grape strikes, the Spartacist League was alone in calling for defense of the picket lines.

At that time the SWP actually approved of the bureaucracy's shutting down of the strike, terming it necessary, and said that "the Company [Gallo Wine] is highly susceptible to a well organized boycott of its products" (*Militant*, 5 October 1973). (If the employers were so susceptible, then why haven't they been brought to their knees by now?) Typically, the Maoist Revolutionary Union mumbled privately against calling off the strikes, but in order to keep in Chavez' good graces, RUers more than once offered to beat up SL strike-support contingents on behalf of the bureaucracy.

While it is right and necessary to protest the virulent chauvinist filth being churned out by the press, bourgeois politicians and government agencies around the issue of "illegal aliens," the key to stopping the deportations is the struggle in the labor movement to defeat the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Because their perspectives are limited to only what is possible under capitalism, even the most left bureaucrats end up knuckling under to layoffs and promoting anti-working class protectionism.

Only a militant new leadership which bases itself on a program representing the interests of the *international* proletariat can fight these pernicious schemes. Stop the Deportations! Oppose the Rodino-Kennedy Bill—Down With All Discriminatory Immigration Laws! Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrant and Foreign Workers! Not Protectionism, but International Labor Solidarity! ■

Spartacist Local Directory

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BAY AREA ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BINGHAMTON
c/o SYL, Box RCY, SUNY
Binghamton, NY 13901

BOSTON ..... (617) 282-7587
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 834-7610
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA ..... (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES ... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

MILWAUKEE
Box 6061,
Milwaukee, WI 53209

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

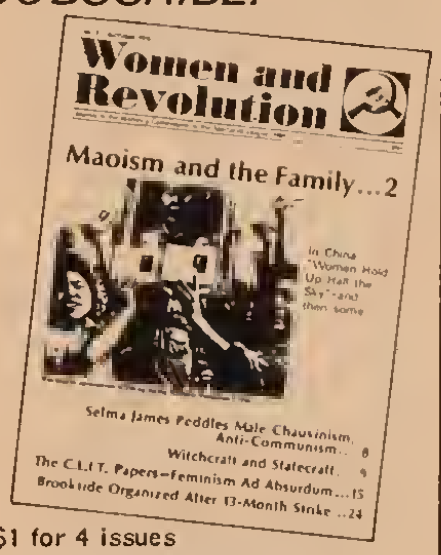
PHILADELPHIA .. (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

SUBSCRIBE!



$1 for 4 issues
Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues
☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Continued from page 12

...West Coast Auto

denying the request for a temporary restraining order preventing the company from laying off women, Judge Zirpoli postponed a hearing on the full suit to March 14. The suit was filed against General Motors last August by eight women assembly workers as their answer to large-scale layoffs at Fremont. The suit denounces the seniority system as the "vehicle" of GM's discrimination against women, and calls for "population parity" for women in the plant.

According to spokesmen for the Committee for a Militant UAW, backers of the suit have been lying about its real aims to the workers in the plant. One leaflet distributed in the name of "the women who filed the suit and their supporters," claims,

> "We are *not* asking for 50 percent women in the plant within four years. Is it true that men will lose their jobs? In cases like this one, no court has ever ruled that men be bumped out of their jobs. Nothing in our lawsuit calls for this to happen."

This is a clear and direct falsification. Although argumentation in the body of the suit disavows any desire to see

WV PHOTO

Earlie Mays

men laid off, the main intention is made clear:

> "such affirmative action plan shall have as its goal permanent population parity for female employees at GMAD Fremont..., that is population parity *without regard to workforce size at any time.*"

Lawyers present at yesterday's hearing, not surprisingly, interpreted "population parity" to mean just what it says: that the plant must have as many women as in the surrounding population, i.e., about 50 percent. And one judge in a similar case *has* in fact ruled that workers *may* be laid off to make way for minorities with less seniority (see *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1974).

This Lawsuit Is Dangerous!

A victory for this suit could become part of a nationwide precedent doing nothing to stem layoffs or unemployment, but enabling employers to break the seniority principle in order to give special treatment to minorities. The seniority principle is a major gain of the labor movement. Although often implemented in a discriminatory fashion, seniority protects all workers from arbitrary victimization by the employers. The suit also hands the courts the right to rule on working conditions, a question central to all union contracts.

The International Butts In

The danger of the suit is so great that even the UAW International has belatedly shipped an official delegation to the scene to block the remedies proposed in the suit. The International, however, expressed no interest in opposing the court's power to rewrite the contract. Instead, it has entered the case with a "friend of the court" brief proposing an "alternative": women who can "prove" they were discriminated against in hiring can get back pay but not super-seniority.

The judge ruled that the UAW could not enter the case as a neutral "friend of the court," but only as a defendant, since it is a party to an agreement (the contract) upholding seniority, which is what the suit opposes. This should have come as an eye-opener to the suit's backers, who have been vigorously insisting that the suit is aimed only against the company, not the union and seniority!

Commenting on the International's court brief, a CMUAW press release (7 January) says:

> "Our Committee is fighting to have the suit *dropped*, not changed or added to. We do not recognize the right of the courts to rule on whether our contract terms will stand or fall. Further, it is the height of hypocrisy for the International to come into the case at this late date. Not only has the International never taken up a fight against discrimination as it has been carried out by the auto companies, but it has never waged even a token struggle against massive layoffs now sweeping the industry...."

Inside the plant over 650 workers (more than half of whom were women or minority men) signed a petition circulated by the CMUAW calling for the union-busting suit to be dropped because it will weaken the union and open the door to government intervention. Addressed to the union, the petition demanded "that the union fight all forms of discrimination, and mount a campaign to end layoffs...."

Stalinist Goon Attack

The CMUAW's principled and well-received opposition to the women's suit has understandably caused intense frustration among Maoist backers of the suit. While the suit's initiators and October League backers have resorted to lying, the left-posturing but equally right-Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) fell back on its time-worn tactic of

WV PHOTO

Vern Dias

Stalinist gangsterism. At a small demonstration for "Jobs or Income Now" held by the Local's Unemployed Committee and well-attended by RU supporters, one of the latter tried to steal stacks of leaflets being distributed by CMUAW members. When two supporters of the CMUAW sought to recover the leaflets, a bunch of these hooligans jumped them. The CMUAW supporters fought back and a brother from the plant floored one of the two-bit Maoist thugs. The CMUAW was outnumbered but TV cameras closing in on the fight discouraged the Maoist back-alley boys, who prefer to do their dirty work in secret. (This is not the first time members of Local 1364 have run into the RU's policy of goon attacks. In October 1973 the union passed a motion upholding workers democracy and the right of various labor-socialist groups to distribute literature outside the plant. This was in response to attacks at Fremont GM on salesmen of *Workers Vanguard* and the *Bulletin* by RU supporters.)

Aside from continuing its history of attempted physical suppression of the left, the RU's answer has been the "jobs or income" demand. This demand accepts the fact of layoffs and the capitalist business cycle and dissipates the struggle for jobs.

The stance of the Local 1364 officials in the face of the layoffs has been completely passive. At first they refused to support CMUAW's position against the lawsuit, later tried to claim credit for the anti-suit petition and finally backed the International's brief. On January 4 they held a half-hearted demonstration against layoffs with Local President Vern Dias and Shop

WV PHOTO

Joan Putnam of Committee for Militant UAW speaking at January rally.

Chairman Earlie Mays leading 150 marchers to an isolated park in Fremont, where Dias offered a few platitudes about how "we need jobs or income for American people" without presenting any strategy for a union fight for jobs. The International, meanwhile, limits itself to "moral persuasion" and plans for a march on Washington in February to pressure Congress.

Speaking at the rally, Joan Putnam of the CMUAW said that auto workers need *jobs*, not a dole. "GM wants us on the street, not in the plant," she said. The answer is sit-down strikes in the factories, where the strength of organized labor lies. She denounced the "women's court suit" as an attack on the union and the seniority system and criticized a banner calling for a shorter workweek but neglecting to add the demand for no loss in pay. Putnam ended with a call for workers control of the factories, expropriation of industry and a workers government.

A Sit-Down to Focus the Struggle Against Layoffs

When the present layoffs were announced, the Committee immediately began agitation, demanding that "The union must stage a sit-in demonstration inside the plant to protest the layoffs and force the Company to negotiate with us" (CMUAW leaflet, "Sit Down: The UAW's Oldest Weapon," 19 December). The Committee called on the Local leadership to hold a mass meeting inside the plant to adopt the sit-down tactic and democratically determine tactics regarding publicity, defense and negotiations.

Recognizing that layoffs cannot be reversed in just one plant, it put forward the following demands for local negotiations: "No reprisals—unlimited recall rights," "Unlimited, unconditional unemployment benefits from Company assets for all laid-off workers—make the government take over SUB payments when the fund runs out." Their stated aim was to use a local sit-in demonstration, attracting immediate nationwide and worldwide attention, as a launching pad for similar actions elsewhere which would lay the basis for a nationwide campaign against all layoffs and plant closures.

In late December it was rumored that the Shop Committee of Local 1364 had seriously considered the group's proposal. The rumor was confirmed at the December 22 special membership meeting when President Dias, in an attempt to justify having ruled the CMUAW motion for a sit-in out of order, said that the leadership had conferred with union lawyers on the subject and were told that such an action would be "illegal" and therefore unfeasible. If Vern Dias had consulted "union lawyers" in the 1930's, he would no doubt have been told that sitdown strikes were "illegal." Had auto workers followed such advice then, there would be no UAW today!

Proponents of the "women's lawsuit" cravenly capitulated to the cowardice of the Local leadership by opposing the sit-in and red-baiting the CMUAW. The Maoist supporters in Local 1364, having supported the present Brotherhood Caucus leadership when it came to power at Fremont in 1973, thus continued their role as water-boys for the reformist bureaucracy. They have been thoroughly discredited by their dishonest support to divisive and reactionary use of the courts against the labor movement.

Only the CMUAW, with its class-struggle program, pointed the way forward in the context of the massive layoffs which have now swamped the entire auto industry as a result of the deepening economic crisis. The soaring unemployment is already making employers bolder and more aggressive in their war against the unions.

The increased threat of scabbing and the labor bureaucracy's complete passivity in the face of what they themselves call "depression" conditions can only have a demoralizing effect on the union ranks. The key to success is the question of leadership, that is, the need to oust the present sellout, defeatist union bureaucracy and replace it with a militant class-struggle leadership which can point the way forward. Caucuses like the CMUAW at Fremont which put forward a full class-struggle program, including the need for working-class political independence from the capitalist parties, are urgently needed throughout the UAW and the rest of industry. ■

Continued from page 2

ILWU Strikers Fight Scabs, Cops

with the Sheriff's Department and Fremont police on standby. At 8:30 a.m. the company attempted to run two carloads of women secretaries through the line, at which point a battle ensued. In the melee, at least one cop was driven to the ground. A picket threw himself on one of the cars, and police tried to arrest a picket but were forced to release him. Local President McLain got clubbed. A bigger confrontation seemed to be in the making as police began blocking off the main road with patrol cars and were seen unpacking tear gas. But then the new Union City police chief announced that the company would make no more attempts to bring in scabs... that day. No doubt the chief had the fate of his predecessor in mind. He had been assassinated following mass rioting in Chicano areas of Union City in protest against the police killing of Alberto Terrones (who was accused of stealing a 3 lb. ham). Clearly it is only the potential power of the organized working class which gives any pause to the bosses' cops, who would otherwise freely vent the same violence on striking workers as they do on racial and ethnic minorities.

Temporarily inspired by the fighting spirit of the ranks, and by his need to keep a "militant" reputation, McLain, together with a business agent and the chief steward at KNC, paid a visit to the Oakland docks later in the day and found four truckloads of glass bound for the plant. Informed of the product's destination, members of Teamster warehouse Local 70 and ILWU Locals 10 and 34 refused to handle the loads.

Recognizing the short-lived nature of such gestures of militancy by a leadership schooled in reformism, legalism and betrayal, however, Mandel and the other militants sought to strengthen the strike-support position at the stewards' council meeting last night. The company was already in court seeking an injunction limiting picketing (which it obtained this afternoon), and an arbitrator would no doubt rule isolated acts of "hot-cargoing" scab goods to be in violation of the contract. The "militant" officialdom of today would then become the enforcers of court injunctions and contract language tomorrow. Mandel moved for mass picketing to stop scabs despite the injunction, as well as for systematic hot-cargoing of KNC supplies and products, boycotting of the scab trucking line, and meetings of workers in the warehouses with officers of the union present to inform them of the issues and build the strike-support effort.

At this point the role of the Stalinist Communist Party and Maoist Revolutionary Union as the "left" handmaidens of the Bridges' officialdom was made crystal clear. CP and RU supporters voted to table Mandel's motions, following the lead of an International representative who wanted the officers "to implement the practical aspects [of Mandel's motion] and ignore the rest."

Having thus helped the officials disarm the strike support in the face of imminent government attack, CP supporters went on to provide themselves with a veneer of verbal militancy. One made a motion to send out a bulletin to inform the houses of Thursday's battle, and another moved to amend a motion for a protest letter to the city council over the police action by adding a call for a city ordinance against scabbing!

The next day, despite an official motion which did pass to mobilize the Local 6 hiring hall down to the picket lines (dispatching jobs directly from the lines), saw smaller numbers turn out. McLain not only made no effort to mobilize the more than 500 Local 6 members working in the immediate area, but he also took advantage of confusion on the picket line to reverse the victory of the previous day and allow the "secretaries" into the plant. The argument was made that the three carloads of secretaries and managerial personnel which subsequently entered were not going in to scab. Strikers, however, pointed out that managers were seen working in the plant.

Only mass mobilization of the membership behind consistent class-struggle policies and a leadership committed to such a program can overcome the vacillations and inevitable capitulation of the reformist bureaucracy. A rank-and-file strike committee to defend the KNC strike through mass picketing and hot-cargoing of all goods going to and from the plant must be formed and given immediate official sanction in the union, in order to mobilize members of all locals and appeal to members of other unions. But most importantly, caucuses must be built throughout the unions to replace the present sellout and defeatist labor bureaucracy with class-struggle leadership. ■

Continued from page 3

West German Repression

personal terror" (*Arbeiterkampf*, 3 December). This is not surprising from a party that in recent months has been working hand-in-glove with the social-democratic labor bureaucracy to drive "radicals" out of the unions.

Among ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Berlin, the GIM (International Marxist Group, German section of the United Secretariat) was so deeply buried in various university committees that its own line appeared seldom, in occasional leaflets with slogans such as "Organize a demonstration," and "We must organize in our existing groups; let's create new ones in order to mobilize the broadening solidarity."

The centrist Spartacusbund called for the left to unite in action against political repression but had a special interpretation of "unity": it must "take up the struggle for the consciousness of the working class. . . ." But if such a "united front" can produce class consciousness among the workers, then what need is there for an independent Bolshevik party? The Spartacusbund is clearly calling, not for a Leninist united front (under the slogan "march separately, strike together"), but for a long-term propaganda bloc in which sharp political differences between different tendencies are obliterated in practice.

The Maoist KPD (Communist Party of Germany) was the only Stalinist group active in defense of the RAF prisoners which in dividing its politics into a "minimum" and "maximum" program did not simply forget the latter. Its slogans in the demonstrations included "Smash the bourgeois state apparatus!" But in usual sectarian fashion, the KPD at its meetings and rallies either did not let representatives of other organizations speak, or else arranged it so that there was no time for other tendencies.

TLD: "Defend the Comrades of the RAF"

In contrast, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, energetically called for the organization of a real united front in defense of the victimized RAF. Unlike those "revolutionaries" so anxious to "distance themselves" from petty-bourgeois terrorists that they "neglect" to declare their class solidarity with these fellow members of the socialist movement, the headline of a TLD leaflet declared openly: "Defend the Comrades of the RAF!"

An "Open Letter" issued on November 29, shortly after the massive police raids, criticized the splitting up of left forces in previous demonstrations, as well as the petty-bourgeois moralism of the symbolic hunger strikes (supported by the GIM) and Stalinist appeals to bourgeois public opinion, notably by the KBW (Communist League of West Germany).

The letter proposed the formation of united-front committees in support of the demands of the hunger strikers (elimination of solitary confinement, free choice of doctors, freedom of political activity for prisoners), with an orientation toward the mass organizations of the working class, notably the trade unions and the pro-Moscow SEW (Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin). Within the united front, all organizations would preserve full freedom to raise their own slogans.

Linking the struggle for democratic rights to the class struggle, the "Open Letter" demanded: "Smash the bourgeois jails—For the proletarian justice of a workers government!" This gave political direction to the just outrage against the brutality and class oppression inherent in capitalist "law and order." Opportunists such as the Spartacusbund took up the popular slogan "Against class justice!" without, however, providing any such direction to the struggle.

The TLD did not, however, neglect to draw a sharp line between Marxism, which relies on the strength and revolutionary capacity of the international working class, and the petty-bourgeois despair which leads comrades such as those of the RAF to terrorism. In their newspaper, *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, our German comrades quoted Trotsky's impassioned article entitled "For Grynszpan" (1939), a plea for proletarian solidarity with a 17-year old Polish Jew who had shot a Nazi official in Paris. "We Marxists consider the tactic of individual terror inexpedient in the tasks of the liberating struggle of the proletariat. . . . A single isolated hero cannot replace the masses. But we understand only too clearly the inevitability of such convulsive acts of despair and vengeance. All our emotions, all our sympathies are with the self-sacrificing avengers even though they have been unable to discover the correct road. . . . To tear Grynszpan out of the hands of capitalist justice, which is capable of chopping off his head . . . is the elementary, immediate task of the international working class!"

Defend the comrades of the RAF! Not petty-bourgeois terrorism, but mobilization of the working class under revolutionary leadership! Smash bourgeois "law and order"! For the proletarian justice of a workers government! ■

Forum

Marxism in the Epoch of Capitalist Decay

Speaker: Ed Clarkson, SL
Thursday, January 30, 7:30 p.m.

Harkness Hall Room 114
Yale Univ.
donation $.50

NEW HAVEN

What Program to Fight Layoffs?

The fight against the special oppression of women and minorities—key to a winning strategy for CWA

Guest Speaker: Jane Margolis
Militant Action Caucus, CWA

Saturday, January 18, 1975
7:30 pm.
Admission $1

Washington Sq. Methodist Church
135 W. 4th St., New York

Auspices: Women and Revolution

Continued from page 4

. . . I.S. "Rank and File" Conference

behavior of the labor bureaucracy.

In the afternoon session Mike Parker confirmed the cravenly opportunist appetites which lay behind the IS' reformist trade-union policies. He explained that although there had been a lot of talk at the conference about organizing in trade unions around a full class-struggle program, such a program was not needed. Rather, what was needed was "a program that points to a full program." In clear contradiction to Lenin's call for a vanguard party to bring socialist consciousness to the masses of the workers (expressed in *What Is To Be Done?*), Parker declared that "simple wage demands lead to socialist consciousness." He then said what everybody already knew—that the IS was not the revolutionary party. The IS would await the rank-and-file upsurge which would create the revolutionary party. Then, presumably, a full program would be appropriate.

By the end of the conference the IS, unable to pass off its warmed-over New Left social-democratic reformism in the face of the class-struggle politics of the six ILWU militants (who together represented more than 70 years of trade-union experience), resorted to a bureaucratic exclusion. The militants were officially disinvited from a "mulled wine party" that was scheduled to conclude the conference. Genuine working-class militants are, it seems, too much for IS stomachs! ■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00—6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

Militants Fight Layoffs in West Coast Auto

SAN FRANCISCO, January 11—A demonstration was held yesterday in front of the Federal Building here against a lawsuit which seeks to give preferential treatment against layoffs to women (regardless of their seniority) at the Fremont General Motors assembly plant. The demonstration, which numbered about 30, included workers from the plant coming to protest the suit. Among these were members of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), which has been opposing the suit in the plant.

The protest was called by the Spartacist League to coincide with a hearing before Judge A.J. Zirpoli in federal district court for an immediate injunction to stop layoffs for women workers in the plant. The judge refused to grant an injunction.

Also yesterday, over 2,300 workers at Fremont worked their last day for an indefinite period. Given the depth of the layoff (going back 12 years in seniority) many will undoubtedly lose recall rights before GM restores the second shifts to auto and truck production lines at the plant.

The demonstrators demanded, "Drop the Suit, Save the Seniority System!" and "No Layoffs, Jobs for All!" An SL leaflet announcing the demonstration had called for the union to fight discrimination against women and minorities, and for a union fight against layoffs.

Other demands of the demonstration were, "No Government Interference in the Unions!" "No Lawsuits Against the Unions!" and "The Union Must Fight Racial and Sexual Discrimination!" A counterdemonstration, composed primarily of supporters of the Maoist October League and CLUW, defended the "women's lawsuit."

The SL demonstration was given more attention by the media than the hearing itself. Channel 7 broadcast a film clip of the SL speaker, while Channel 2 noted that the demonstration, as opposed to the counterdemonstration, was in favor of jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and a union hiring hall to combat discrimination. Both television channels, as well as local papers, have been covering the events surrounding the Fremont layoffs, reflecting the nervousness of the bourgeoisie over the prospect of militant working-class response to the mass layoffs and mounting unemployment nationally.

Auto workers demand, "Drop the suit!" Maoist-backed court suit threatens union gains. A class-struggle program: Sit-down strikes against mass layoffs, unlimited recall rights.

While trade-union leaders both locally and nationally have been meekly accepting the layoff announcements and mouthing the capitalists' own excuses for their "inevitability," groups such as the CMUAW at Fremont have been indicating the direction a true class-struggle response to layoffs could take. "WE ARE NOT HELPLESS IN THE FACE OF LAYOFFS," emphasized a recent (11 December) issue of the group's paper, *The UAW Militant*: "One of the most powerful of labor's weapons comes from the UAW's own tradition: the sit-down strike."

Counterposing union struggle against all layoffs and plant closures to impotent court "remedies" which protect some workers at the expense of the rest, the CWUAW advocates a sit-in demonstration in the plant "to set an example to other plants" and lay "the basis for a nationwide campaign for a shorter work week at full pay." This campaign has stirred widespread interest in the plant and union (Local 1364), as has the group's opposition to the "women's lawsuit."

At the court hearing, in addition to

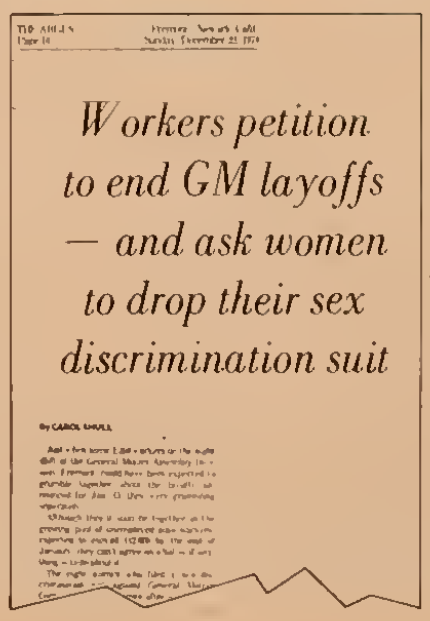
continued on page 10

Fremont Newspaper Interviews Committee for a Militant UAW

Two members of the Committee for a Militant UAW at the Fremont General Motors plant, Darlene Fujino and Ruth Ryan, were interviewed by the Fremont-Newark *Argus* (22 December) in a full-page feature article on the opposition to the "women's lawsuit." After listing the reasons why Fujino and Ryan (both of whom are being laid off) oppose this union-busting attack on seniority, the article gives the CMUAW's alternative:

> "They wouldn't rely on seniority alone to protect workers. What they have in mind involves more than that: institution of 30 hours work for 40 hours of pay and nationalization of the auto and energy industries without compensation were two of the parts of the program they emphasized.
>
> "Other goals of their program: no restrictions on political expression in the union; industry-wide strikes against layoffs, workers control of industry; change the union leadership; a workers party fighting for a workers government; keeping police, employers and courts out of the union; and elimination of discrimination by means of a union hiring hall."

The interviewer asked "if unemployed workers wouldn't prefer a more immediate solution," to which Ryan replied, "There are no shortcuts."



Workers petition to end GM layoffs — and ask women to drop their sex discrimination suit

"All our benefits are based on seniority," says Darlene Fujino. "To throw away the whole system because it's unfair is to throw the baby out with the bath water."

Ruth Ryan and the committee see the struggle as "workers against capitalists"

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 61 31 January 1975

As Economy Plummets...

Ford's Cure: More Layoffs

Unemployment line in New York, January 1974. WV PHOTO

JANUARY 27—Gerald Ford began his statement to Congress last week with the obvious: "The state of the union," he observed, "is not good." Earlier in the month the *Wall Street Journal* (3 January) reported that business and government economists, who had almost universally predicted an upturn in mid-1974, were now confused and uncertain, but agreed that "the direction is down." George Meany of the AFL-CIO announced that "economic disaster is facing America."

That the capitalist economy is in a mess is not hard to divine. During the fourth quarter of 1974 industrial production fell at an annual rate of 12 percent, the steepest drop since World War II. New claims for unemployment compensation in the last week of December alone were up more than 600,000 over the previous week, an all-time record. Meanwhile, the consumer price index rose more than 13 percent last year and wholesale prices shot up 20.9 percent, the largest increase since 1946 (*New York Times*, 16 December).

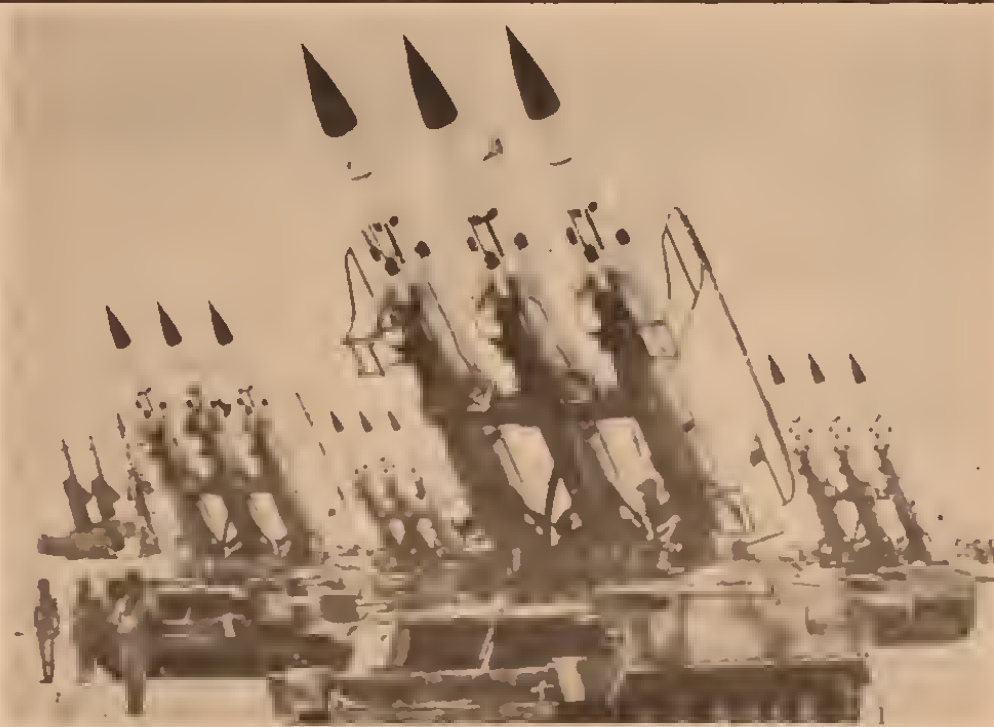
The Ford administration has actually had a difficult time figuring out just what was happening under its nose. At the beginning of the fall its economic prognosis was for "sideways waffling." Then, as car sales and housing construction went through the floor, there was talk of a "V"-shaped recession. By late November high government officials modified this to a "U"-shaped curve, and in December there began to be leaks about a possible "L"-shaped depression.

Policy Muddle

Washington was even more confused about what to do about the economic crisis. Following his "economic summits" in September, Ford declared inflation to be the number one enemy and proposed a 5 percent income tax surcharge to fight it. Expansion of the

continued on page 10

U.S. troops in desert maneuver. DER SPIEGEL



Russian Sam-6 missiles. DER SPIEGEL

Kissinger Threatens Invasion

Near East Realpolitik

JANUARY 24—Secretary of State Kissinger's recent announcement, made in an interview with *Business Week* (13 January), that U.S. military intervention in the Near East could occur in the event of an "actual strangulation of the industrialized world," sent shock waves through Arab capitals, while causing consternation in Europe. His remarks coincided with official concern over the plummeting economy following dismal fourth-quarter reports here, and with a recent proliferation of rumors that Israel would soon launch a "preventive" war against bordering Arab states. In this context the interview seemed a direct threat of armed American intervention in that arena.

Lately, as in the not-so-distant past, U.S. policy makers have demonstrated a willingness to translate their bellicose words into deeds. Desert-training activities by American armed forces have been stepped up (one such exercise code-named "Petroland") and the aircraft carrier Constellation barged into the Persian Gulf last month with the "reluctant" approval of the Secretary of State. Escalating his verbal brinksmanship, Kissinger's sham reluctance turned to reported "anger" when a naval task force missed an opportunity to sail into the Gulf of Tonkin as a show of force in response to NLF and DRV victories in Vietnam this year.

President Ford has been pressuring Congress to increase American financial aid and military assistance to the Thieu regime while renewing reconnaissance flights over the North. This open act of aggression is in direct violation of the Paris "peace" accords, a fact "justified" by Defense Secretary Schlesinger with references to "different circumstances" (*New York Times*, 15 January). Congress, in turn, has continued to push for a resumption of cold-war policies against the Soviet Union, with liberal Democrats (Jackson, Kennedy) leading a successful effort to sabotage the U.S.-USSR trade bill.

The significance of the world economic and political situation and the rightward shift in liberal opinion has not been lost on the establishment intelligentsia. Robert W. Tucker, a "responsible" critic of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, has written an article in this month's *Commentary* which in great detail lays out the case for American invasion of the Persian Gulf in the near, if not immediate, future.

Professor Tucker was astonished, it seems, that no one, including the normally reliable Pentagon, has been publicly advocating military intervention. A rejection of the use of armed force seems to this one-time Vietnam dove incompatible "with avoiding the distinct possibility of an economic and political disaster bearing more than a superficial resemblance to the disaster of the 1930's. . . ."

Is a military foray feasible? Certainly, if the U.S. bites off a 400-mile treeless (already defoliated) strip running down the coast from Kuwait through Saudi Arabia to Qatar. The cost would be low against these militarily defenseless states and the payoff would be 50 percent of the reserves of the oil-exporting countries (40 percent of

continued on page 8

Confessions of a "Renegade": Wohlforth Terminated. . . 4

Scraping the Bottom of the Barrel–The SWP's New Gimmick:

Socialism through Constitutional Amendment?

The Socialist Workers Party has launched its latest scheme to reform U.S. capitalism into oblivion. Although inflation, layoffs and the threat of war in the Near East are currently dominating the news, the SWP has a different theme: the Spirit of '76. With the approach of bicentennial celebrations of the American Revolution these reformist ex-Trotskyists naturally want to get into the patriotic swing of things.

Announcing a "'76 Presidential Drive" the *Militant* (17 January) put the emphasis on the SWP's latest electoral gimmick: amending the Constitution with a new "Bill of Rights for working people":

> "We propose expanding the Bill of Rights in the Constitution to include protection from the new problems created by present-day capitalist society."

The proposed additions include "the right to a job," "the right to an adequate income," as well as rights to free education, free medical care, to "know the truth" about economic and political policies, and for minorities to control their own affairs. Topping it all off is "the right of workers to decide economic and political policy."

The SWP would have us believe that George Washington and the other "founding fathers" simply forgot these extra "rights," or didn't fully anticipate the "new problems created by present-day capitalist society." As Peter Camejo, the group's presidential candidate, says: "Nearly 200 years after winning independence, America faces a growing crisis. . . . The colonists who fought against British rule and the abolitionists who fought against slavery learned they could have no faith in colonial governors or slave owner parties." The conclusion: vote SWP!

The Communist Party used to go in big for this kind of "proletarian patriotism." During the late 1930's the CP's Earl Browder proclaimed: "Communism is twentieth-century Americanism." But even the ultra-reformist Stalinists choked on the "socialism by constitutional amendment" quackery now being dished out by the SWP.

In 1966 a draft "New Program" of the CPUSA was published with a paragraph beginning: "One obligatory Constitutional amendment in a socialist transformation would abolish the capitalist form of property. . . ." Following a storm of criticism, this section was dropped in the second (March 1968) draft of the program.

A January 1969 revised second draft, however, came up with a new angle: President Roosevelt's "Economic Bill of Rights," which reportedly included "the right to a useful and remunerative job," "the right to adequate medical care" and "the right to a good education." But, the CP added, "In capitalist society this Economic Bill of Rights cannot be fully realized. . . ." In contrast, neither in the *Militant* article nor in a later campaign pamphlet does the SWP clearly says that its "bill of rights for working people" cannot be implemented by the ballot box.

Revolutionary-minded workers know that capitalism cannot be reformed into its opposite. In the words of the 1938 Declaration of the Socialist Workers Party, which the degenerated SWP of today would doubtless like to forget (having categorically renounced violence in court in order to further its "socialist lawsuit"):

> "The belief that in such a country as the United States we live in a free, democratic society in which fundamental economic change can be effected by persuasion, by education, by legal and purely parliamentary methods, is an illusion. In the United States . . .we live in actuality under a capitalist dictatorship; and the possibilities for purely legal and constitutional change are therefore limited to those which fall within the framework of capitalist property and social relations. . . .
>
> "While relying primarily on mass actions, propaganda and agitation as the means for furthering its revolutionary aim, the Party will also participate in electoral campaigns, though at all times contending against the fatal illusion that the masses can accomplish their emancipation through the ballot box."

As Marxists we know how to appreciate the tremendous achievements wrought as a consequence of bourgeois-democratic revolutions of the past, including the American Revolution of 1776. As consistent defenders of proletarian democracy we resolutely fight for all the democratic rights which can be won under capitalism.

But in mobilizing the international working class for the conquest of power we fight not in the spirit of '76—the spirit of bourgeois democracy, long since grown reactionary—but in the spirit of '17, of the Russian Revolution which, for the first time in history, erected a workers republic under soviet rule, the first stage on the road to socialism. ■

NYC Bomb Atrocity Paves Way for Repression

Free Puerto Rican Nationalist political prisoners: From left: Irving Flores, Rafael Cancel-Miranda, Lolita Lebrón, Andrés Figueroa.

On January 24 a massive explosion occurred at the Fraunces Tavern and adjacent Anglers Club in lower Manhattan, killing four persons and injuring 44 others. Many of the victims, including passers-by on the street, suffered from shrapnel wounds, while others had cuts, bruises and shards of glass in their bodies.

An hour after the incident callers identifying themselves as members of the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) of Puerto Rico claimed credit for the bombing and directed police to a note left in a nearby telephone booth. The message stated: "We did this in retaliation for the CIA ordered bomb that murdered Angel Luis Chavonier and Eddie Ramos, two innocent young workers who supported Puerto Rican independence." It demanded release of five Puerto Rican political prisoners held in U.S. jails for over twenty years.

Last Friday's blast was the second major bombing claimed by the "FALN." On October 26 large explosions occurred at five banks and corporate headquarters in New York City. On that occasion, however, no one was hurt.

The January 24 bombing was an act of *indiscriminate* terror and a crime against working people! The four victims who died in the Fraunces Tavern were apparently unremarkable wealthy individuals; moreover the injured included clerks and secretaries from the Wall Street area and the list of emergency-room cases as published by the press included several persons with Spanish surnames, quite possibly Puerto Rican restaurant employees.

Unlike the explosions of October 26, which took place at 3 a.m. with the areas relatively deserted, this latest bomb was set to go off during the lunch hour when the restaurants were jammed with customers, and was placed in the doorway where it would inevitably injure, if not kill, pedestrians on the crowded sidewalks. Even the reported note did not claim any special significance for the target. Under the circumstances, the large number of injured can only be regarded as deliberate.

We in no way defend this senseless and criminal act or its perpetrators, no matter what their motivation. Had we the power to do so, we would ourselves bring the authors of such an outrage before a tribunal of working people, which would hardly be inclined to mercy.

However, we have no confidence in the police or bourgeois courts to "bring them to justice," as Mayor Beame pledged. The agencies of the bourgeois state yearly jail and kill hundreds and thousands of innocent victims in order to enforce the brutal "law and order" of class oppression. The authorities may well want to use this incident as an excuse to launch a campaign of intimidation and cop terror directed against the entire Puerto Rican population, in the limit emulating the infamous "Zebra" dragnet in San Francisco.

In particular, leftists and nationalist militants are certain to be singled out for victimization. After the October 26 explosions, NY Police Department Assistant Chief of Detectives John Sullivan said, in reference to the "FALN": "This is a new name, but we feel it is affiliated with Puerto Rican independence groups in the past that are continuing into the present." The threat implicit in these remarks is obvious. Already in March 1974, three armed attacks were carried out against the San Juan offices of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP) newspaper, *Claridad*, and its printing plant while police stood idly by, refusing to intervene.

The Puerto Rican Nationalist Party political prisoners named by the FALN were also perpetrators of terrorist acts, but of a different kind. Oscar Collazo was sentenced to life imprisonment after trying to shoot his way into Blair House in 1950 in order to assassinate President Truman. Lebrón, Miranda, Cordero and Flores carried out an attack on the House of Representatives in 1954, wounding five Congressmen. This was not the random terror of the "FALN." The targets were bourgeois politicians responsible for the colonial oppression of Puerto Rico and the perpetuation of capitalist exploitation.

Marxists have always strongly counseled would-be revolutionaries against individual terrorism, which is an impotent strategy of despair—heroic gestures by those who have no faith in the capacities of the proletariat. We nevertheless defend militants who, however misguided their outlook, strike against the class enemy in the name of the oppressed masses.

We express our militant support for the cause of Puerto Rican independence.

BAY AREA FORUM

VIETNAM SINCE THE TREATY

Speaker: TWEET CARTER
SL Central Committee

Unitas House
2700 Bancroft Way
Berkeley, Calif.

Saturday
1 February
7:30 p.m.

If the January 24 bombing was, as reported, motivated by a desire to fight Yankee imperialism, it grows out of a just aspiration of the Puerto Rican masses to be finally freed after four centuries of colonial oppression. But the act itself is literally indefensible.

In fact, both actions attributed to the "FALN" were so stupid politically that they might as well have been the work of police provocateurs. The October 26 blasts took place immediately prior to Puerto Rican Solidarity Day and served to undermine that demonstration. The Fraunces Tavern bombing will not only dampen support for Puerto Rican independence in the U.S., but it can, and probably will, be used as an excuse for discrimination and violence directed against the several million Puerto Ricans living on the mainland.

The way forward for the liberation of the Puerto Rican masses is not indiscriminate mass terrorism nor impotent bombings of symbols of imperialism. It is through united class struggle, particularly with U.S. workers, for the revolutionary Marxist, i.e., Trotskyist program. As part of that struggle for working-class unity it is an immediate duty of all socialists and union militants to stand ready to defend Puerto Rican left and nationalist organizations, and the Puerto Rican population generally, against the chauvinist victimization which can be expected in the wake of the recent bombings.

- —Free Collazo, Cordero, Flores, Lebrón and Miranda!
- —Immediate Independence for Puerto Rico! For a Soviet Puerto Rico as Part of a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!
- —Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Pacifism and the Picket Line:

The UFW and Workers' Self-Defense

In the course of our efforts to defend the United Farm Workers against a vicious union-busting campaign by a coalition of growers, Teamsters' bureaucrats and cops, the Spartacist League has sharply criticized the defeatist policies of the UFW leadership. These include: reliance on the support of the Catholic hierarchy, liberal politicians and top AFL-CIO/UAW bureaucrats rather than on the ranks of labor; the union's chauvinist campaign against "illegal" Mexicans working in the fields; and Chavez' pacifism, which led to the abandonment of the 1973 grape and lettuce strikes in the face of violent attacks by Teamster goons and sheriffs' deputies.

The policies of several self-proclaimed socialist organizations were the opposite: in their efforts to cash in on Chavez' popularity in petty-bourgeois radical and left-liberal circles, they have been largely uncritical cheerleaders for the UFW bureaucracy, at most offering "helpful advice." To this date the Communist Party has not openly opposed the union's obscene attack on "illegal" aliens.

The Revolutionary Union, in turn, proffered its services to the UFW officials as goons to beat up and exclude SL supporters from Farm Workers support rallies and marches. And SWP leaders touted the UFW as the "vanguard of the U.S. trade-union movement" while the *Militant* sung the praises of the impotent consumer boycott strategy and defended Chavez' calling off of the lettuce/grape strikes.

While our strike support work was generally exemplary in contrast to such capitulation before the betrayals of Chavez and Co., the SL erroneously codified a tactic with very specific applicability into a general slogan: "For Armed Self-Defense of the Picket Lines." Although it is absolutely vital to the survival of the union to prepare for militant self-defense of the picket lines, in this situation to specify "armed" self-defense allows for misinterpretation and can be twisted by anti-union demagogues into the spectre of workers shooting it out with sheriffs' deputies.

As a Marxist organization we are far from glorifying the purely military aspect of the class struggle, as do various Castroites, Maoists and renegades from Trotskyism, who distinguish revolutionary from reformist by the "moral" criterion of willingness to "pick up the gun." We raise the call for workers self-defense as part of a *political* program which demonstrates to the class the need to struggle against the capitalist order rather than accept a pacifist strategy of meek submission to defeat. As Trotsky wrote about self-defense in the Transitional Program: "Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense.*"

Farm workers experience capitalist "law and order."

EL MALCRIADO

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

Women participated in labor's battles of 1936-37.

Cesar Chavez has chosen moralistic crusades rather than class struggle and thus has aided and abetted the Teamster/grower/cop alliance in its wrecking operation on the UFW. Even conservative business unionists do occasionally see the need to protect picket lines from violent attack, but the best examples of workers self-defense are from labor organizations and struggles under revolutionary leadership.

An instructive case was the 1934 Teamsters strike in Minneapolis, led by Trotskyist militants of the Communist League of America (CLA). At the height of that mass struggle, which involved 6,000 truck drivers, there was a pitched battle as several hundred police sought to remove pickets from the city's market district. Recognizing that a showdown was approaching, the union had concentrated 1,500 strikers in two different points ready to move into battle when needed.

In the fight which ensued, the armed police and special deputies were taught a good lesson about the strength of proletarian organization and dispersed after some roughing up. The only "arms" of the strikers were clubs and several trucks. Simultaneously, the women's auxiliary, also led by comrades of the CLA, led 700 in a march on city hall (see Farrell Dobbs, *Teamster Rebellion* for an account of the strike).

Revolutionary Marxists do not, of course, renounce the right to defend themselves from capitalist terror and attack. We have always insisted that the idea that the ruling class will voluntarily give up power through the ballot box is a reformist pipedream. However, our purpose is not to engage in heroic posturing, but to *win*, and for that reason, also, to turn the call for armed self-defense into a general slogan is mechanistic and therefore wrong.

The question of *how* self-defense is to be accomplished is a tactical question, crucial to be sure, which can change abruptly in a matter of minutes. While success can depend on ability of the leadership to act correctly in such situations, both cautiously and audaciously, what is sure is that those who do not call for militant struggle, and instead make a strategy of apologizing for the betrayals of the present misleaders of the workers movement, will never be able to meet this test. ■

Teamster strikers battle police in Minneapolis, May 1934. Under Trotskyist leadership the workers energetically defended pickets, sent scores of cops to hospital and won the strike.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Letter

[India]
16 December 1974
Dear friend,

Will you care to publish an article on Trotskyism in China? Recently you may have seen an article in the *Intercontinental Press*—"India's forgotten political prisoners." A leader of the CLI [Communist League of India, section of the "United Secretariat"] went to Delhi in 1973 to attend a conference for the Naxalite prisoners. Appeals, comments, etc. demanding the release of the Maoists frequently appear in *Larai* ["Struggle," the Bengali-language publication of the CLI]. But not a word about the Chinese Trotskyists in Maoist prisons for two decades. United Secretariat issued an appeal for the Chinese Trotskyists only in 1972, unanimously; but perhaps it was a big fraud as they gave the least publicity to it. More was done for the French Trotskyists in India and abroad. In India the appeal for the Chinese Trotskyists remains suppressed despite protests from a section of the party. That these things are not accidental is borne out by the fact that even the disaffiliation of the Chinese section was contemplated on the eve of the Tenth Congress [of the United Secretariat] according to an internal document of the LTF [Leninist-Trotskyist Faction of the USec], though the idea was given up for some reason or other.

Farooq Alim

Confessions of a "Renegade":

Wohlforth Terminated

In an account reminiscent of Jay Lovestone's recitation of the crimes of Stalin, ex-Workers League National Secretary Tim Wohlforth has now surfaced with a long document about his frame-up and purge at the hands of Gerry Healy, boss of the British Workers Revolutionary Party and godfather of the Workers League. After more than a decade of glorying in his role of fawning American junior partner to Healy, Wohlforth was unceremoniously dumped and replaced by his long-time lieutenant, Fred Mazelis (see "Workers League Crumbles," *WV* No. 56, 8 November 1974). The ouster was carried out personally by none other than Healy himself.

While Wohlforth's lurid 39-page account ("The Workers League and the International Committee," 11 January 1975) is evidently truthful as a description, it betrays a stunning lack of political understanding. Throughout his reign as tinpot despot of the Workers League Wohlforth slavishly emulated his mentor's organizational practices of suppression and slander, the deliberate destruction of cadres and the invocation of the absolute authority of the "International Committee" to intimidate any stirrings of opposition among the membership. Now that Healy has turned the notorious Wohlforthite "method" against Wohlforth himself, the deposed former accomplice finds the only possible explanation to be that Healy has suddenly lost his mind:

> "He is seized by at times what approaches madness for subjective idealism is a form of madness as it rearranges the world according to the individual. He becomes convinced that he is surrounded by CIA agents and proceeds on that basis. Anyone who objects is denounced for being an anti-internationalist. . . ."

Subjective idealism must be pretty rampant in Healyite circles. Wohlforth makes the following modest assessment of the import of his removal as National Secretary: "The explosion which has taken place between Comrade Healy and the Workers League is of great historic significance. Condensed within this experience is all the past experience of the Fourth International." By way of contrast, the Spartacist tendency was compelled to break from Healy in 1962 in order to maintain our political integrity, but we refused to characterize Healy/Wohlforth's unprincipled organizational maneuvering as politically definitive (much less world-historic) until 1967 when it acquired a clear programmatic basis.

Wohlforth's testimony amply confirms every organizational allegation ever made by the Spartacist tendency, but for Wohlforth commencing only on 30-31 August 1974 when the skies fell in on him. Wohlforth's fundamental response to every exposure by us of the Workers League's cynical opportunism, Stalinist-style gansterism and fraudulent "mass" posturing has always been that Spartacist is no good because it is "anti-internationalist"—i.e., that we refused to unquestioningly accept the "discipline" of the International Committee. We replied that the IC is no Marxist international, and "the IC" is but an empty abstraction to cover rotten politics, akin to the Stalinists' abuse of "the Party."

The Horse's Mouth

Now let us see what Wohlforth has to say today about the International Committee:

> ". . . It never was allowed to go beyond the level of small groups basically functioning as appendages of the SLL-WRP [Socialist Labour League was the earlier name of the Workers Revolutionary Party, Healy's British group]. More precisely, the IC never went beyond being an international organization around a single individual, Gerry Healy. . . .
>
> ". . . That these differences were not openly confronted and fought out within the U.S. and internationally reflected the atmosphere which prevailed in international relations within the IC. Open discussion and political struggle was discouraged by Comrade Healy's tendency to push every discussion to the most extreme point and to seek to break the person who disagreed with Comrade Healy. Only a most muted discussion ever took place in the international movement under such conditions. . . .
>
> ". . . There are no elected bodies. The IC is, as we shall see, whatever the Workers Revolutionary Party wants it to be. It is the WRP which writes whatever statements are occasionally issued. It is the WRP which calls whatever meetings of the IC that are held and which determines what sections should attend. It is Comrade Gerry Healy who determines what the WRP determines. . . .
>
> ". . . To Gerry Healy there is a complete identity between the international movement and his national party, the Workers Revolutionary Party. Internationalism stops at the frontiers of Britain. It is seen as a 'principle' which requires the subordination of *other* parties to the international which is seen as identical with the WRP. To what is the WRP subordinate?"

Fred Mazelis WV PHOTO

Well, former head of the American section, you should know. Only, we always thought you liked it that way!

Healy as Big Daddy

Wohlforth always dismissed the Spartacist tendency's allegations about the grossly bureaucratic practices of the Healy/Wohlforth regimes with smug demands that we demonstrate upon what materially privileged stratum the WL regime is based. In his present document, however, Wohlforth (never one to worry too much about consistency) makes no attempt to locate any "material base" for Healy's conduct. He simply declares that the Workers League has reverted to centrism (a term, incidentally, which he employs for every variety of political animal, including Max Shachtman in 1956 as the latter prepared to liquidate into CIA-influenced American social democracy). Yet there is a certain sociological logic to the Healyites' practices.

The Healy organization's attempts to work within the British labor movement have been uniformly sterile and disastrous. At one or another time over the past twenty years they have amassed a certain following among dock workers, construction workers, coal miners and auto workers, and have nothing but their ex-supporters' bitterness at the Healyite oscillations between adventurism and opportunism to show for it. (Their present "mass base" in the television and film industries can be expected to go the same route, although perhaps somewhat more eccentrically considering the vision of social reality as refracted through a television camera.)

But the Healy organization has been quite successful in maintaining a relatively large, flashy, high-turnover youth operation which every year draws in sizeable numbers of militant British youth by offering them pageants, dancing, rock bands and sports events together with a dash of "socialism," miscellaneous marches and lots of newspaper selling. The British masses are infused virtually throughout with a relatively very high degree of class consciousness, so that even the semi-lumpenized youth from whom the Healyites recruit characteristically share a strongly class-conscious outlook, even if their capacity to intervene in the class struggle is marginal and episodic.

But since such layers lack both the discipline of the labor process and any obvious immediate personal use for knowledge, a high-volume, high-turnover operation aimed at them necessarily requires a strong dose of authoritarianism and the manipulative use of dogma as a substitute for program. Thus we can attribute to the Healyites a lumpenproletarian component as the context for their opportunist/adventurist oscillations and systematic organizational abuses.

Wohlforth as Huey P. Newton

Beginning in the summer of 1971 Wohlforth, evidently in association with Healy, launched the Workers League on a sharp turn "to the youth" intended to parallel the British technique. But the attempt to import the WRP style of semi-lumpen youth organizing intensified the contradiction between "Trotskyism" and the requirements of such an operation. The corresponding layers in American society to the raw material of Healy's Young Socialists are overwhelmingly ghettoized black and Spanish-speaking youth, a generation or two removed from rural isolation and poverty, very heavily chronically unemployed, in a country with no political class consciousness and themselves with so little access to the labor movement that economic class consciousness often appears as a privilege of older white workers aimed against minority-group youth. While Healy's pseudo-Trotskyism associated with a semi-lumpen base makes a certain kind of sense in class-conscious Britain, a nationalist or Maoist rhetoric corresponds far more closely to the ideological proclivities of American raw ghetto youth.

Very serious and dedicated revolutionists can indeed be recruited from such strata, but under prevailing conditions only by the individuals involved breaking, through a difficult, lengthy (and often unsuccessful) process, from ghetto existence and its dominant ideologies. But the Healy/Wohlforth approach—which is strikingly analogous to government summer programs for restless youth—is not intended to lead to the crystallization of black and Spanish-speaking communist cadres but to supply a "mass" base for a mock-extremist political operation. Therefore the Workers League found itself forced to parallel the techniques of, for example, the Black Panthers: an infallible leader and a militarized regime to impose discipline.

Tim Wohlforth WV PHOTO

The Workers League turn toward "youth in the neighborhoods" was evidently seen by Wohlforth as a bulwark against "liquidation" into "trade union work." He explains that political backwardness "makes it so easy for demagogic forces to maneuver within the unions disguising themselves as militants. Union policy alone is insufficient to flush them out." This is, of course, true given the Wohlforthites' crassly opportunist line in their every encounter with the union bureaucracy, which Wohlforth defends at some length over the example of support to Arnold Miller of the Mine Workers.

Not suprisingly, Wohlforth is unable to grasp what is wrong with his organization's incursions into the labor movement. For example, his only criticism of the "Trade Unionists for a Labor Party" operation is that the Workers League liquidated its public face into this front group; there is no mention of the fact that the front group's program deliberately omitted any mention of the crucial political issues facing the working class at that time, racial oppression and the Vietnam war. No wonder Wohlforth thinks that the only way to avoid opportunist trade unionists—i.e., cynical but articulate cadres who will sooner or later abandon the small change of the Workers League to carve out careers within the union bureaucracy—is to build a base in a milieu which is deeply alienated from the labor movement.

The document is full of vituperative attacks against "conservative," "abstract propagandist" forces in the Workers League who "represented a centrist retreat from the construction of a revolutionary youth movement" and counterposed a call for more trade-union work. (Before accepting the bogeyman of a Workers League totally submerged in the unions, we should point out that in the entire document the only trade-union fraction mentioned—although there are references to journalistic coverage of other industries—is a white collar fraction in the SSEU composed of college graduates.) These elements are castigated for holding themselves aloof from the militants drawn around the youth organizing; at the summer camps, for example, they even "hid behind bushes to keep away from the youth."

What these summer camps were actually like is testified to by Wohlforth:

> ". . . the first days of the [1974] camp became preoccupied with the question of discipline. It actually took longer this year than last to get some agreement on the rules which governed the camp. Even after this agreement was reached the disciplinary problem would plague the camp to its last day. . . . Anyone who now dismisses this experience as a 'disaster' dismisses the real material struggle to build a movement of workers. . . . The United States is

the center of the capitalist crisis. A peaceful, orderly camp would reflect only the unreal, idealist distance of such a camp from the class struggle in America."

It may be surmised that some of the Workers League members balked at serving as wardens for restless youth lured to these events by means such as those of which Wohlforth boasts in explaining the great "success" of the 1973 YS conference:

> "We held talent shows and bazaars and other events during the course of building for the conference.... At the end of the conference, a highly successful dance was held with a well-known band."

The Ax Falls

Internally in the Spartacist League around 1966, the following historical analogy was presented: Stalin/Healy, Foster/Wohlforth, Browder/Mazelis. Yet now even after the fact Tim Wohlforth is obviously unable to make head or tail of the reason for his dramatic fall from grace.

The first intimation of trouble occurred in 1973, when Wohlforth received a letter from the WRP's Mike Banda criticizing his draft resolution on American perspectives and insisting on "the primacy of the European Revolution—particularly in England" in apparent counterposition to Wohlforth's emphasis, allegedly based on Healy's remarks to a Workers League plenum, on the "understanding that the center of the world capitalist crisis was the crisis of American capitalism." In the present document Wohlforth criticizes Banda for the latter's infatuation with the Vietnamese and Chinese Stalinists, an astute observation coming a mere ten years or so after our tendency had noted that self-same fact. Wohlforth's response to becoming the recipient of two different lines from England was to try "as best we could to straddle the contradictory positions put forward by Healy in January and Banda in March."

But the ax was first unsheathed in conjunction with "a series of classes which we opened up to the Spartacist group" (i.e., the Workers League violated its long-standing practice of excluding Spartacist members from publicly advertised events). Wohlforth describes his peremptory summons to England:

> "In late June the British comrades called me over for consultations. They were particularly upset by a reference in one of the classes which suggested that the relations between the British and French movements had been one of compromise.... The British intervention, however, took on an extreme character. Every even potential difference was magnified to an absurd degree. I was even attacked as being an American pragmatist for purchasing an American rather than a British web offset press! As the week progressed the hyperbola progressed. By the end of the week's visit the British comrades—more exactly Comrade Healy—threatened to break a 12 year political relationship with the League over this single sentence.
>
> "The night before I was to fly back the discussion—actually a one way shouting match—went on until 2:30 a.m. I was sent to bed with all political relations broken. A public statement was to appear in the *Workers Press* [Healy's newspaper]. Then at 5:30 a.m. I was awakened for one last meeting with Comrade Healy at which I was told I would be given one last chance. I was to fight for the very life of the League against centrism within it.... Particularly I had to break with the centrist elements around me in the leadership and drive the movement forward into the working class. Special mention was made of Comrades Lucy St. John, Dennis O'Casey and Karen Frankel.
>
> "I returned to the United States shell-shocked. I immediately launched a bitter struggle within the leadership of the party and throughout all the branches in the country...."

Having evidently interpreted his instructions as a license to undertake a wholesale purge, Wohlforth proceeded to drive out of the Workers League virtually every prominent experienced cadre (see "Whatever Happened to the Workers League?" in *WV* No. 53, 27 September 1974). How hollow now ring Wohlforth's pious words about the preservation of cadres: "Such individuals embody great experience. This is why we must proceed with such care, with such restraint and caution, when moving organizationally with a cadre."

Apparently Healy had not anticipated such carnage, because he intervened again claiming that "the very struggle he had urged me to take up within the party leadership was 'factional'." But he apparently was not yet prepared to move against Wohlforth, for at the April 1974 International Committee conference he held up the Workers League "as a model" and squelched the Greek delegate who requested a full discussion on the hemorrhaging of leading Workers Leaguers.

A Method in Healy's Madness?

Wohlforth was finally removed at the 1974 Workers League summer camp. Wohlforth's own recitation of the events indicates that here was a man who was prepared to capitulate time after time over any political or organizational question, until he was brought face to face with the ultimate insult: Healy's charge that Comrade Fields, Wohlforth's close companion, was an agent of the CIA.

Wohlforth recounts that two weeks before the camp he was again summoned to England. When he arrived:

> "I was whisked to a special meeting with Comrade Healy also attended by Comrade Banda and other comrades. The following was immediately proposed: (1) the whole past year had been a mistake, a turn into community politics and a retreat from the working class; (2) the former party members who had left were driven out by myself and Comrade Fields who represented a clique leadership; (3) Comrade Fields was probably a CIA agent; (4) there was to be no national conference this Fall; (5) the group of former party members was to be urged to come to the camp for discussions and brought back into the party without discussion with the PC....
>
> "I returned to the United States a bit shell shocked. The British comrades, I thought, had always been right. They must now be right. I did my best to hold to that position while I proceeded to build the summer camp—now less than a week away....
>
> "Comrade Healy sent Comrade Slaughter ahead of him to make sure it was 'safe' for him to come. Comrade Slaughter was to call England to reassure Healy. A special Political Committee meeting of the WRP was scheduled to decide whether or not Comrade Healy would be allowed to come to the camp without risking his life....
>
> "Immediately upon arriving in Canada Comrade Healy began on the question of the CIA.... Comrade Healy was now convinced he was in the midst of a nest of the CIA. He even considered the thought that the whole Workers League was a CIA front....
>
> "A meeting was immediately organized of IC comrades at the camp. I was accused of harboring and covering for a CIA agent. It was stated that I had failed to report on Comrade Fields' past CIA 'connections'.... I tried as best I could to accept everything Comrade Healy stated in the way of criticism of the League and my functioning. I no doubt accepted more than I should have. But I simply could not accept this charge against Fields....
>
> "The Political Committee was taken in a large van accross to the other side of the lake. There we sat silently with the former party comrades and Comrade Healy proposed their readmission. Without so much as a word being said the Political Committee voted the comrades back into the party....
>
> "On Friday night Comrade Healy, at the suggestion of the German comrade, called a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Workers League, attended also by IC members present at the camp. At this meeting everyone was encouraged to denounce the leadership of the party in order to bolster the characterization of the past year of party work as liquidationism. Comrade Healy called the session 'Christmas' and thoroughly enjoyed it. It was at this meeting that Comrade Healy first proposed that I be removed as National Secretary of the party. In actual practice, the shift in leadership was already well underway....
>
> "Comrade Healy started the discussion [at the next Central Committee] meeting with his charges that Comrade Fields was an agent of the CIA. I was held complicit in the situation [by] not reporting it to the IC.... In the middle of these proceedings I stated that I disagreed with the whole proceedings. This produced an extreme reaction in Comrade Healy.
>
> "It was this mild resistance on my part which encouraged Comrade Healy to go ahead with the already well developed plans to remove me as National Secretary. Comrade Healy proposed that Comrade Mazelis put forward a motion to remove me as National Secretary and to suspend Comrade Fields from party membership pending an investigation into the CIA charges. This Mazelis did and it passed unanimously receiving even my vote and that of Comrade Fields. Then Comrade Healy proposed that I nominate Comrade Mazelis as National Secretary. I proceeded to do so and it passed unanimously....
>
> "I shortly discovered that the action taken on August 31 was definitive in character. A special meeting of the IC was called which after the fact: (1) endorsed Comrade Healy's totally unauthorized actions; (2) specifically barred me from any role in the day to day political leadership of the party; (3) barred Comrade Fields from any contact with the League of any sort. I offered my resignation from the League in response to this action. To continue in the League would have been a mockery of the entire struggle which had preceded August 31."

Gerry Healy

Subsequently a commission of inquiry consisting of two people including Mazelis cleared Fields of the charge of being a CIA agent (although, with typical arbitrariness, after being acquitted she was barred from holding office for two years). On the commission's invitation, Wohlforth reapplied for membership. Healy, however, ruled that Wohlforth must first appear before the IC, which Wohlforth refused to do.

Stalin is reported to have told the Lovestonite leaders in Moscow, "By the time you get back only your wives will support you." Is it possible that Healy was pursuing an analogous method in his choice of technique for the disposal of Wohlforth—finding in Wohlforth's relationship with Fields the key to one abuse which even Wohlforth, with his apparently limitless appetite for political self-abasement, would be unable to swallow?

What is even less clear in the Wohlforth document are the precise reasons for Healy's decision to heave his American epigone over the side. One can speculate about the role of Banda or the possibility that Healy felt threatened by an occasional twisting of his tail by Wohlforth who had actually achieved junior partner status after the rupture with the French made the Workers League a correspondingly larger component of the IC operation. But it is likely that Wohlforth's wholesale destruction of the Workers League cadre was a prime mover in the process, and thus Wohlforth is a victim primarily of his own gratuitous organizational brutality.

The prognosis for the Workers League is not good. The comparison of statistics Wohlforth adduces to document its decline is unreliable since the earlier counts were originally concocted with Wohlforth's well-known proclivity for mendacious multiplication, but it is obvious that the Workers League membership is shrinking. Healy/Mazelis' efforts to win back the separated brethren will have at best limited success, as the human material is badly damaged by its earlier experiences in Healyite "democratic centralism."

The new leadership is uninspired; even granting Mazelis a certain flair for legalistic stabbing-in-the-back, as demonstrated particularly at the 1966 London Conference (which Wohlforth sat out, sulking), he is so colorless as to be almost invisible. The disruption of the pecking order should continue to produce a lot of scrambling among ambitious WL cadres, among them David North, who figures prominently in the Wohlforth document. And the Healy organization in Britain has itself recently suffered a serious blow with the reported departure of some 200 members around one Alan Thornett.

No Tears for Wohlforth

As for Wohlforth, we can say with sincerity: it couldn't happen to a nicer guy. Wohlforth has spent twelve years masquerading as a Trotskyist and helping Healy to do the same, in the process politically destroying whatever serious elements from among militant minority-group youth his organization has encountered, repelling most of them, convincing them that "socialism" is just another con game whose purpose is their manipulation, and converting a few into cynical fellow operators.

Wohlforth's greatest crime—in which he was abetted by Healy and Art Phillips—was that, in pursuit of supreme authority for himself and short-cuts to influence and numbers, he broke up the left wing within the SWP in the 1961-62 period. He split the opposition to the SWP's sharp right turn, cut it off from the possibility of winning valuable comrades from a section of the old-time SWP membership, set up our tendency for expulsion from the SWP in a situation of weakness and isolation which almost destroyed us, certainly setting us back a number of years. No amount of new-found empirical "wisdom" on Wohlforth's part can undo the enormous objective service he rendered the Pabloists at that crucial juncture, nor his continued service to them as foil and horrible example of what happens to those who break away to the "left."

But his ignominious departure from the Healyite fold at least accords us an opportunity to display to him a little piece of Wohlforthite viciousness. One of the practices at which Wohlforth excelled was the art of gratuitous denunciation. He always insisted that any individual leaving the Marxist movement for any reason must be denounced as a "renegade." In particular he waxed eloquent over a statement circulated internally within the Spartacist League in response to the resignation of Geoff White, formerly a founding leader of our tendency. Our statement replied to the evolved anti-Trotskyist political positions of White but also expressed recognition of his years of collaboration during which, recognizing his increasing political distance (the product in part of the demoralization engendered by Wohlforth's wrecking operations), he sought to train younger cadres to carry the movement forward.

Now Wohlforth has become, in his own terms as well as ours, a "renegade." With his usual pomposity, and lavish use of the imperial "we," Wohlforth pontificates:

> "It is true we lost the skirmishes with the centrists but we won the theoretical fight at each point. We have left a priceless heritage in this theoretical struggle. This now passes on to the new generation of revolutionary fighters who face the big battles with the capitalist class itself."

Roughly translated, "I quit." And a final irony is that it was Geoff White who rendered the Marxist movement's verdict on Wohlforth when he remarked years ago, "Wohlforth is the living proof that crime does not pay." ■

The Struggle Against Black Oppression in the U.S.

Democratic Rights and Socialist Revolution

The degeneration of erstwhile Trotskyists is evident not only at the level of program and practice, but also in their transformation of scientific Marxist terminology into truisms, clichés and gibberish. Thus the Socialist Workers Party has transformed the right of "self-determination" (the right of a nation to a separate state) into freedom from all forms of oppression through real or illusory separatism. The Mandelites have transformed "workers control" (dual power at the point of production) into anything from more flexible production techniques à la Volvo to the dictatorship of the proletariat. And the Healyites have transformed "crisis" (a phase in the economic conjuncture) into "The Crisis," a new hyper-revolutionary historical epoch.

Joining this illustrious (?) revisionist tradition, the Revolutionary Socialist League is now waging a campaign to trivialize Trotsky's theory of the permanent revolution. A rapidly disintegrating left-Shachtmanite sect, the RSL's sole value is that it is so muddleheaded that its writings serve as a useful foil for elementary Marxist education.

What Was the Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution?

In a pretentious article entitled "Permanent Revolution: Key to Black Revolution" (*Torch*, October 1974), the RSL informs us that the permanent revolution is a "theory of the relation between democratic rights and the socialist struggle." Apparently Trotsky did not understand his own theory. In his most careful exposition of his political world view, the Transitional Program ("The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International") written in 1938, the concept of permanent revolution is applied only in the section on backward countries. And it is related to two specific and linked bourgeois-democratic tasks—agrarian revolution and national independence.

The theory of permanent revolution is not about democratic rights in general but about the historical tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, a very different matter. The great historical accomplishment of the bourgeois-democratic revolutions, culminating in the French revolution of 1789, was the elimination of pre-capitalist institutions which impeded economic development. This meant eliminating monarchical absolutism and its social base among a landed aristocracy retaining feudal-derived obligations from the peasantry. (The RSL's Chris Hudson has performed the remarkable feat of writing a lengthy article on the "permanent revolution" without once mentioning the peasant question!)

In order to rally the urban plebeian and peasant masses against autocracy, the bourgeois revolutionaries had to appeal to democratic and egalitarian ideals whose maximum programmatic expression was a sovereign parliament based on universal male suffrage. However, given the fact that propertyless toilers are much more numerous than exploiting property owners, it was feared that a government based on universal male suffrage could threaten capitalist property, so that in reality *all* bourgeois revolutions stopped short of and suppressed attempts to realize a full democratic program. In fact, universal male suffrage was not generally achieved in Western Europe until the twentieth century.

It was precisely the French bourgeoisie's betrayal of the program encapsulated in "The Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen" which led to the development of socialist theories by those revolutionary intellectuals faithful to the cause of "Liberty, Equality and Fraternity" (e.g., Babeuf, Buonarroti, Blanqui, Saint-Simon, Fourier). Far from being a discovery of Trotsky, the belief that the realization of democratic ideals could only be achieved by an anti-bourgeois popular revolution was the central premise of *pre*-Marxian socialism.

The position that full, consistent and permanent achievement of democratic rights could only be realized under socialism was a truism in the Second International and can be found in any of Kautsky's numerous expositions on socialism. In fact, Kautsky was nowhere more insistent on identifying the socialist revolution with bourgeois-democratic demands than in his classic attack against Lenin, Trotsky and the Russian Revolution (entitled *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*).

What Is Trotsky's Theary of the Permanent Revalution?

No one in the Second International (not even the ultra-revisionist Bernstein, much less Kautsky) believed that the Russian, or any other, bourgeoisie was capable of instituting some kind of ideal democratic regime. Rather, the traditional wisdom of the Second International (shared by the Mensheviks) was that the Russian liberal bourgeoisie, under pressure from a radicalized peasantry and social-democratic proletariat, could approximate the achievements of the great French revolution. This would have meant the overthrow of tsarist absolutism and its replacement by some form of representative government, along with the expropriation of the landed aristocracy for the benefit of the peasantry.

Trotsky rejected this view, denying that the Russian liberal bourgeoisie was capable of replicating 1789, or even the abortive bourgeois-democratic revolutions of 1848. Trotsky asserted that the growth of Western capitalism had arrested the development of the Russian bourgeoisie, which was fundamentally dependent upon the feudal-derived exploitation of the peasantry. Far from supporting a peasant uprising against the landed aristocracy, the Russian bourgeoisie would seek to suppress the agrarian revolution. Only a proletarian state, he said, could achieve the historical bourgeois-democratic tasks and defend the insurgent peasant masses. Trotsky differed also with Lenin, who projected (in 1905) the possibility of an anti-bourgeois peasant party coming to power and instituting a uniquely radical, but still capitalist, regime.

In countries even more backward than tsarist Russia (e.g., India, China) feudal regimes and Asiatic despotism had been displaced by the imperialist powers as state guarantors of peasant exploitation. Therefore, the struggle against autocracy in the classic bourgeois-democratic revolutions was replaced in the twentieth century by the struggle against imperialist domination. This is how Trotsky summarized it in the Transitional Program:

> "The central task of the colonial and semi-colonial countries is the *agrarian revolution*, i.e., liquidation of feudal heritages, and *national independence*, i.e., the overthrow of the imperialist yoke. Both tasks are closely linked with each other."

As the Third International degenerated under Stalin, its ideologues—notably Bukharin—reproduced the Menshevik theory of a "two-stage" revolution in backward countries, with a multi-class struggle against imperialism culminating in the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The program of a proletarian revolution, supported by the peasantry, such as was carried out in Russia in 1917 under Lenin's leadership, was declared by the epigones to be "Trotskyite" ultraleftist heresy.

The Menshevik-Stalinist "theory" was tested with exceptionally clear and disastrous results in the Chinese revolution of 1925-27. Ironically, one of the most precise statements of why the bourgeoisie of the backward countries would not lead an anti-imperialist democratic revolution comes from the Indian Bukharinite M. N. Roy venting his rage at the Kuomintang for betraying his naive faith in its revolutionary capacity:

> "Rather than sacrifice the sectional interests of the reactionary landlords and capitalists, the bourgeois nationalist leaders betrayed the revolution. Class solidarity cut across national solidarity. . . ."
>
> —quoted in Harold Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution*

Because the theory of permanent revolution defines the relationship between historically bourgeois-democratic tasks and the socialist revolution, it likewise defines the relationship between the bourgeois nationalist forces and the communist vanguard. In the advanced capitalist countries a revolutionary upsurge will necessarily be centered on the workers movement, though possibly saddled with a reformist leadership. In backward countries, however, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois nationalists often have hegemony over the urban plebeian and peasant masses during a revolutionary upheaval (e.g., China 1925-27, the "Quit India" movement in 1942, the Algerian war of independence, Bangladesh in 1971). The purpose of the theory of the *permanent* revolution is to enable the communist vanguard to win over the masses from the bourgeois nationalist leadership before the latter goes over to the camp of bloody counterrevolution. This is not the central strategic task in advanced capitalist countries.

The Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution in the U.S.

Because the United States originated as a settler-colony, it developed as one of the "purest" bourgeois societies among capitalist nations. However, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American society was burdened by institutions inherited from the first epoch of capitalism (the epoch of "primitive capitalist accumulation"), institutions which impeded further economic development. Chief among these were the colonial/mercantilist relation to Britain and a sectional economy in the South dependent upon black chattel slavery.

America had two bourgeois-democratic revolutions: the war to break the state tie to Britain in 1776-84, and the suppression of the Southern slaveholders' bid for a separate state in 1861-65 (which led to the abolition of

Cops attack demonstrator in Philadelphia, 1964.

Southern slaves picking cattan before Civil War.

Black and wh

a, 1964.

NMU seamen in the 1930's.

EGBERT JAPNGIE COLLECTION

Black and white auto workers, Detroit.

UAW SOLIDARITY

slavery). These were directed against the heritage from the age of mercantilist capitalism. Because America's bourgeois-democratic revolutions were not directed against an entrenched feudal order, they had an extremely narrow programmatic focus and radical plebeian elements were never a serious contender for power.

Thus a genuinely bourgeois-democratic program for the post-1865 South (the expropriation of the ex-slaveholding class and distribution of its land to the black freedmen), which was put forward by the Radical Republicans led by Thaddeus Stevens, was decisively defeated in 1867, *before* Reconstruction. Reconstruction was an inherently unstable situation in which the ex-slaveholders retained economic dominance (through a tenancy system) while being excluded from governmental power. Given this situation, some version of the Compromise of 1877 was inevitable.

The RSL's Chris Hudson recognizes that Northern capitalist politicians betrayed the bourgeois-democratic rights of black people in the South, attributing this to the fact that capitalism "was still not able to industrialize the whole South and remake it in the image of the Northeast." This is irrelevant: large parts of the Middle and Far West remained agrarian in the post-Civil War era and were at least as bourgeois-democratic as the industrial Northeast.

The surplus extracted from black slaves was largely channeled to Northern capital through the latter's control of commerce and finance. The Northern aim in the Civil War was not the elimination of the exploitation of blacks in the agrarian Southern system, but rather to eliminate the excessive *political* power of the slaveholding class which threatened a separate state. The abolition of slavery was a far from inevitable outcome of the Civil War. It was not Northern capital's original war aim, much less was that aim the full, "nine course" bourgeois-democratic program.

A further factor arresting the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the post-bellum South was that the existence of a class of enfranchised black freeholders would have been a dangerously radical element in the late nineteenth-century political alignment. Imagine the impact of the Populist movement if Southern blacks had had the same political and economic weight as Midwestern farmers.

The Basis of Black Oppression

The RSL identifies the oppression of blacks with the deprivation of bourgeois-democratic rights:

> "The rights denied to blacks are referred to by Marxists as bourgeois-democratic rights, as are the rights of women, the rights of nations to self-determination and equality, etc. These are rights promised equally to all regardless of race, class, sex, nationality, etc."

This is abstract and, in a sense, wrong. When Marxists refer to bourgeois-democratic rights they do not mean equality in general, but equality *before the law*: suffrage, the right of public political expression, to form political parties, etc. Except for certain areas in the South, blacks have the same legal political status as whites. The fundamental basis of black oppression lies elsewhere.

The basis of black oppression is that of an *economic caste* concentrated in the industrial reserve army—the most marginal, lowest levels of the proletariat—and in the lumpen population. The perpetuation of black caste oppression is not primarily the effect of legally sanctioned state action, but of the atomistic working of the bourgeois social economy (e.g., job and housing discrimination, poor housing, etc.). The attainment of full legal democratic rights and even their rigid enforcement (such as elimination of promiscuous police violence against the ghetto poor) would not fundamentally alter the condition of U.S. blacks. The elimination of the special caste status of black people in America is literally inconceivable without economic planning and the massive redistribution of wealth through proletarian revolution.

This caste oppression is not basically the heritage of some previous historical epoch. It is a new form of oppression, essentially the product of this epoch of capitalist decay. In the present period there is a universal tendency in advanced capitalist societies to transform the industrial reserve army into a national/racial caste. Despite certain unique features, the situation of black workers in the United States is analogous to the Irish in Britain and to Mediterranean labor in France and West Germany.

The notion that black oppression results from an uncompleted bourgeois-democratic revolution makes sense only if one maintains the one-time Stalinist position (now upheld by Nelson Perry's Communist Labor Party) that black people in the U.S. constitute a nation; or the latter-day Stalinist theory which projects an "anti-monopoly" revolution leading to a non-imperialist "advanced democracy." And in fact, the RSL's "permanent revolution" theory amounts to the bizarre notion that socialist revolution arises out of the struggle for what the Stalinists term "advanced democracy."

Self-Determination and Racist Terror

Given the Revolutionary Socialist League's infatuation with bourgeois-democratic demands, it was predictable that it would call for self-determination while admitting that blacks are not a nation!

> "...the future holds the possibility of the seething cauldron of racism boiling over into an apartheid-type totalitarian control of the black minority or the attempt at total extermination.
>
> "In this case the best defense of the black minority would still be socialist revolution. But the proletarian vanguard must still be ready to stand with blacks in their right to take the last desperate measure of self-defense—separation—if they so choose, explaining at the same time that it is only the dictatorship of the proletariat which can offer the possibility of blacks' creating their own state."

It is hard to believe that Hudson and the *Torch* editors read this article before printing it, since this passage contains an obvious logical contradiction. If a black state can "only" be achieved under "the dictatorship of the proletariat," then separatism *cannot* be "the last desperate measure of self-defense" against totalitarian racist terror.

Even discounting Hudson's imbecilic self-contradiction, the underlying political thrust is dead wrong. Revolutionary Marxists oppose self-determination for black people not because it is undesirable (i.e., socialism is better) but because it is either impossible or would be reactionary. An economic caste can only create a nation-state through Zionist-type methods—forced massive population transfers producing an anti-black "Palestinian" people.

The victory of fascism or some other form of racist bonapartism would indeed face blacks with South African-type terror and possible mass murder. Under such conditions, a nationalist movement of American blacks similar to Zionism could well emerge, seeking to create a settler colony. White American bonapartism might even support such a Zionist type of black nationalism. But the resulting conflict between the black settler-colony and the native population could only be totally reactionary and totally tragic. We do not call for such a development.

Faced with a totalitarian racist regime, there would indeed be an urgent democratic demand for the defense of blacks, and it is not self-determination. It is the same demand the world Trotskyist movement raised in the 1930's and 1940's on behalf of the Jews threatened with Nazism, a demand which was a *democratic alternative* to Zionism. This is open global immigration for a minority facing racist terror. It is only through emigration to several states that American black people could escape from racist terror without displacing and oppressing some other people.

Black Liberation as a Proletarian-Democratic Task

The current oppression of blacks in the U.S. is neither a remnant of some previous historical epoch, nor is it any kind of national question. The caste oppression of black people concentrated in the industrial reserve army is a product of this epoch of imperialist decay. The elimination of national/racial castes within and below the proletariat cannot be identified with classic bourgeois-democratic rights. Rather, black liberation is a proletarian democratic task, the realization of equality through socialist economic planning. ■

Continued from page 1

Near East Realpolitik

the world's total proven petroleum resources).

According to the *New York Times* (10 January), however, leading U.S. generals prefer the Mediterranean route—a surprise attack on Libya—because there would be less time to undertake the one effective means of retaliation available to Arab states: blowing up the wells.

The *Commentary* article goes on to examine the odds of great-power retaliation. The USSR? Not in its national interest, Tucker concludes. (Unfortunately, the Russian bureaucracy, which long ago usurped political power from the working class, also did not see the adequate arming of North Vietnam and the NLF as in its interest.) West Europe and Japan? The U.S. must act in "as even-handed a manner as possible" once it grabs the oil.

In recent years, particularly during the Vietnam era, speculations such as the above have been generally left to the pages of William Buckley's *National Review*. But for those who remember Dulles' talk of "rolling back Communist aggression" in East Europe and Kennedy's plans for closing the (non-existent) "missile gap," Kissinger's latest gambit is merely a throwback to the familiar delusions of an "American century." In fact, the "think tanks" which had their heyday in the 1960's were chock-full of intellectuals who used to routinely spend their days charting post-World War III survival statistics and their nights dreaming up scenarios for nuclear surprise attacks.

When bourgeois defeatism was in vogue during the late 1960's, Tucker (like many other liberal academicians) had a brief fling as a "neo-isolationist," a position he is willing to modify in light of recent developments. The good professor explains that he could not at that time predict that West Europe and Japan would remain "political eunuchs." (Kissinger, in his interview, referred to these governments as "impotent.")

Both this article and Kissinger's remarks have been widely discussed in the bourgeois press, indicating that they are not the theoretical whimsies or political blusterings of an "irresponsible" few. (Defense Secretary Schlesinger and President Ford explicitly reaffirmed Kissinger's threat.) However, one major impediment to such an undertaking—which has been "found to be militar[il]y feasible and highly risky" (*New York Times*, 19 January)—is the lack of popular sentiment for a military adventure.

As Tucker points out: "The difficulty, of course, is that the public has been long habituated to support the use of force only in cases which have been made to appear as necessary for the containment of Communism. . . ." The decline in American political and economic hegemony requires the revival of war as an instrument of "rational" foreign policy vis-à-vis other capitalist nations as well.

Anti-communism is no longer enough. It is necessary to heighten national chauvinism by campaigns against foreign workers and a wave of protectionist propaganda. While the Henry Jacksons push these policies in Congress and the Meany/Chavez/Woodcocks promote them in the trade unions, the Tuckers have the job of offering slick phrases and feasibility studies as intellectual rationales for a global bloodbath. The political result of the decomposition of capitalism, as Lenin pointed out, is inter-imperialist war. This time the bombs will be atomic.

The political and economic conditions for the next holocaust are already ripening. A key step along this road is the nuclear arming of the now "impotent" West Germany and Japan, an event to be expected in the not too distant future. The current unwillingness of the formerly subservient West German government to support U.S. oil policy, and its officially expressed "horror" at the Kissinger remarks, are evidence not of pacifism or neutralism but of appetites to again play an "independent" world role. (Hitler rearmed Germany after Versailles by playing on such sentiments for a revived "independent" role for German imperialism.)

The Near East could easily and soon erupt into a barbaric war on a smaller, but no less bloody, scale than the previous two world imperialist conflagrations. Since the 1973 Arab-Israeli war the U.S. has shown a willingness to fan the fires on both sides. Western arms sales to the Arab states now total in excess of $3 billion. Washington has decided to rearm Israel to a "21-day" capability, going so far as to gut some American reserve and training units of their heavy military hardware as a consequence. (Israel had only a six-day capability during the last war.)

Nixon's promise of nuclear reactors (i.e., the materials for nuclear weapons) to both Egypt and Israel after the 1973 war was recently rejected by the Rabin government in Tel Aviv. Israel is already known to have nuclear capacity and almost certainly actual weaponry. The rejection was partly due to Israel's reluctance to allow international inspection of its plutonium-making facilities. Just as important, it hopes by this move to build Congressional resistance to a reactor deal with Egypt.

(In addition, today's *New York Times* reports that the U.S. is delivering some 200 Lance missiles to Israel. This rocket, which is "just being introduced into the United States Army," is "primarily a nuclear weapon" because its cost would otherwise be prohibitive if fitted with conventional warheads.)

There are strong pressures now building in Israel for a "preventive" strike against the Arab states. Arms deliveries to the Arabs, paid for out of cartel-produced oil price rises, will not begin for about a year. Many Zionists argue for an attack now, before the military situation changes and before more political pressure for a Palestinian mini-state develops. Among these there are, of course, partisans of a "final solution."

A recent letter to the *New York Times* (13 January) developed this argument with characteristic Realpolitik rationality. Complaining that a recent *Times* contributor had connected the atrocities at Auschwitz to those at Hiroshima, the writer proposes that the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima was "rational" and even "humane," because it saved American lives.

The letter's author worries since "those who do not see much difference between Auschwitz and Hiroshima may lack the perspective to understand the relative merits in current controversies, including the ones between Israel and its neighbors." You see, if Israeli lives are threatened it could "[become] necessary to inflict another Hiroshima on Cairo, Damascus and even more noteworthy world capitals. . . ."

Legal considerations prevent us from here speculating as to the retribution workers' tribunals will exact from the Tuckers, Kissingers and such "humanitarians" as the author of the *Times* letter. Every class-conscious worker and would-be socialist should burn with impatience lest mere years remove these vampires from our hands.

In the past the Spartacist League has been virtually alone among ostensibly socialist groups in the U.S. in upholding a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the Arab-Israeli wars of 1948, 1967 and 1973. While reformists and centrists called on the Faisals, Husseins, Qaddafis and Sadats to unleash an "anti-imperialist" war against Israel, we warned that there would be nothing progressive in a victory of Arab sheiks and colonels over the imitation Prussian generals of Tel Aviv.

We uphold the right of self-determination for both the Arab and

British paratroopers invade Egypt, 1956.

DER SPIEGEL

U.S. Marines landing in Lebanon, 1958.

DER SPIEGEL

DER SPIEGEL

The spirit of '75 in Washington. Headline reads: "America threatens strike against the oil sheiks." Ford's comment: "Are we going to let these guys crap on us?"

Hebrew nations existing in historical Palestine, while recognizing that the counterposed national claims of these geographically interpenetrated peoples can only be democratically resolved in the framework of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The 1948, 1967 and 1973 wars were not fought over the question of the Palestinians' national rights, which were subordinated to a reactionary war between several independent capitalist states. Moreover, Hashemite Jordan adamantly opposes an independent Palestine, and in the case of the 1948 war *all* the Arab governments involved sought to carve up among themselves the areas not occupied by Israel.

Israel is, of course, allied with the imperialists, but the same has always been true of Jordan and Saudi Arabia. Moreover, the 1973 conflict made clear the ability of the Western powers to switch their support to the Arabs. In the October War, France and Britain maintained a position of pro-Arab neutrality and every country in Europe except Portugal refused to allow U.S. planes to land on the way to Israel. General Moshe Dayan, who ought to know, has charged that it was Nixon's refusal to adequately resupply Israeli forces which caused the war to end in military stalemate.

SYGMA

Henry Kissinger: "I am not saying that there's no circumstance where we would not use force. But it is one thing to use it in the case of a dispute over price, it's another where there's some actual strangulation of the industrialized world."

DER SPIEGEL

Arab states have threatened to blow up oil wells if invaded by imperialist powers.

While it is absurd to talk, as do various opportunists, of a classless "Arab Revolution" against imperialism, the Western powers have on several occasions militarily attacked Arab regimes in the Near East. In the case of the 1956 Franco-British invasion of Egypt (in alliance with Israel), the Spartacist League called for a policy of revolutionary defensism on the Arab side.

In the abstract, Washington would no doubt prefer to solve its "oil problem" by engineering palace coups, such as those which toppled King Saud in 1966 and Mossadegh (Iran) in 1952. But in the event of another Near East war in the next few months, it is almost inevitable that the Arab oil boycott would be reactivated. This could make real Kissinger's threats of armed U.S. intervention. In the event of an imperialist grab for Near East oil, it is the duty of all revolutionary socialists to call for revolutionary defensism on the Arab side.

It is necessary to oppose the "humane" solutions of the imperialists, no matter how anti-communist the Arab regimes may be. But we give no *political* support whatever to these reactionary forces or to *any* bourgeois government. Nor do we place confidence in the rulers of the Russian deformed workers state, a parasitic bureaucratic caste which time and again has demonstrated that in its desire to work out a "deal" with imperialism it will cold-bloodedly sacrifice the interests of the working masses and socialist revolution.

The only guarantee for victory to the working people is a policy of proletarian internationalism in all countries: against national chauvinism and threats of imperialist invasion in the U.S. and Europe, against Zionism and Arab nationalism in the Near East, and for political revolution in the deformed workers states. Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

U.S. Steel's Answer to Pollution: Layoffs

"Smiling Ed" Sadlowski—who recently won overwhelmingly against the candidate of the United Steel Workers (USW) International bureaucracy in a Labor Department-supervised election for director of the union's District 31 (Chicago-Gary region)—has just encountered his first test as a union leader and "honest reformer." Before the fight began he threw in the towel.

The giant U.S. Steel Corporation has been trying for a year and a half to upset, reverse or otherwise avoid a court order on meeting air pollution standards for the open-hearth furnaces at its Gary works. The order was obtained by the federal government's Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). U.S. Steel had requested a third extension (from December 31 until the end of June) of the compliance deadline for the 10 open hearths which still remained functioning. Most of the aged open hearths have been replaced by the cleaner (and more productive) basic oxygen process furnaces.

U.S. District Court judge Allen Sharp ruled out an extension but then, under pressure from Richard Hatcher (mayor of Gary) and Vance Hartke (U.S. senator from Indiana), agreed to a three-month extension if U.S. Steel would pay a $2300-a-day fine. The corporate giant disdained to pay what for it was a mere nuisance surcharge, electing instead to close the open hearths and threatening to lay off 2,500 workers. In effect the government ruling amounts to a cost-cutting measure for the company and penalizes the workers for the bosses' pollution.

Brother Sadlowski, fresh from his "historic victory" (according to the Communist Party's *Daily World*, 2 January) said little and did nothing, save to sagely observe that "U.S. Steel is more concerned about chasing the buck than about the welfare of workers and the community." Despite the rave notices on his election by various reformist "socialists," Sadlowski had clearly underlined his lack of any class-struggle instincts before his victory over Sam Evett. In early November he had sponsored a scheme to compensate steel workers laid off as a result of the coal strike by paying them out of the union's strike fund. U.S. Steel would certainly not object to that!

The layoffs in Gary will not be as extensive as threatened by the company. However, hundreds will be laid off and hundreds more will find themselves working short-time. Sadlowski's response to these cutbacks has been to "threaten" that the union might enter the government's suit against the company. With such leadership steel workers have much to worry about, since orders for steel are now declining and industry-wide layoffs will soon be on the agenda as the economy continues its precipitous decline.

It was evident that Sadlowski's militant rhetoric was pure bluster (see our article "Ed Sadlowski: Out-Bureaucrat on the Make," *WV* 22 November 1974), as his demagogy about democracy will also prove to be. Nevertheless, several supposedly revolutionary groups (the October League, the International Socialists and, of course, the CP) quickly hopped on the bandwagon, hoping Sadlowski's popularity would rub off on them. Only his betrayals will.

If the trade-union bureaucracy has nothing but an occasional (and increasingly rare) crumb to offer working people, the petty-bourgeois ecology movement has even less—but not for lack of an issue. U.S. Steel is the worst polluter of air in the industry and the Gary works are the filthiest in the country, emitting 20,000 pounds of particulate matter per hour. There is little question that the air in Gary (where the sun glows like a dying ember and street lights seem like far-away stars) is so foul as to imminently endanger human health. (At one point a rain combined with the emittants from steel plants to produce sulphuric acid, severely damaging local foliage.)

Ed Sadlowski

CHICAGO TRIBUNE

In a city where most of the population are steel workers or their relatives, the betrayal of the bureaucrats of the USW in allowing this gaseous cesspool to develop and continue is glaringly obvious. The conservationists, on this occasion the League for Women Voters and "Community Action to Reverse Pollution," had an even more barren "strategy." They simply demanded enforcement of Judge Sharp's original order.

The EPA and the good judge were, of course, willing to compromise. The federal agency has recently passed the buck to normally reactionary state legislatures, allowing them to determine what degree of air pollution they desire up to the minimally safe federal standards. And then there is the question of jobs.

The efforts of these sometimes well-meaning liberals to pressure the bourgeois state to regulate the class it represents are shown to be especially fruitless in times like these. During a period of capitalist economic crisis it is obvious that costs, both in the private and "public" sectors, are to be trimmed because of decreasing profits and revenues. One of the first social cutbacks is to be in terms of the now "unrealistic" clean air and water standards—standards which were, at best, minimal concessions. (In his "State of the Union" address President Ford called for "deferring" auto pollution controls until 1980.)

The labor bureaucracy is the major obstacle to the development of the only movement which could win both adequate health safeguards and jobs for all—a class-conscious working-class movement fighting for the overthrow of capitalism. Preventing the erosion of the environment is only part of the struggle to prevent attacks in social welfare and living standards of working people generally.

In the final analysis capitalism is not capable of responding significantly to any, let alone all, of these demands. The working class must be prepared to assume the task of organizing and rationalizing production by taking control of society as a whole.

Steelworkers must demand: no layoffs—make the company, not the workers, pay for real pollution safeguards.

As part of the fight for a workers government to expropriate capital, the union misleaders—from reactionaries like the USW's current president, I.W. ("No Strike") Abel, to the "progressive" Ed Sadlowski, whom the liberals are already grooming as Abel's successor—must be ousted by a militant new leadership based on a class-struggle program. ■

Continued from page 1

More Layoffs . . .

money supply was sharply cut back from about 7 percent annually to 2.8 percent.

Even after finally admitting the existence of a recession, Ford told the plutocrats and financiers of the Business Council that he was opposed to "quick fixes" and, "If there are any among you who want me to take a 180-degree turn from inflation fighting to recessionary pump-priming, they will be disappointed" (*New York Times*, 12 December). A gasoline tax increase, he said, was definitely out. Reminded of this statement a few weeks later, as he was announcing the new Ford program of income tax cuts and import duties on foreign oil, the White House press secretary said, "Well, it could be 179 degrees."

The new "anti-recession" program announced by President Ford in his "state of the union" speech was quite simple: a 12 percent across-the-board tax cut on personal income for 1974, a 5 percent increase in investment tax credits for business, a $3 per barrel import duty hike on foreign oil and a smattering of federal job programs.

Among bourgeois economists and commentators there was virtual unanimity that the administration proposals would not turn the economy around. "Ford's 'Quick Fix' Seen as Too Weak With Energy Plan Only Shuffling Funds," was the headline of the *New York Times'* (15 January) analysis. "Ford's Plan to Battle Slump Risks Creation Of Further Problems," was the *Wall Street Journal's* conclusion, pointing in particular to new inflation or a severe credit crunch. George Meany called the program "the weirdest one I've ever seen."

The combined cut in personal and business income taxes would come to a total of $16 billion, which most economists termed a drop in the bucket. Even Ford seemed to agree, repeatedly dodging reporters' questions as to when the impact of the tax cut would take hold. Alan Greenspan, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, earlier testified in Congress that a cut of $10-15 billion would not significantly stimulate the economy. What was important, he said, was to "dissipate the extraordinary uncertainty and gloom" about the economy. The problem was "psychological" but "not irrational" (*New York Times*, 7 January). The vaunted "quick fix," then, turns out to be nothing but a psychological upper, a kind of economic methedrine.

More Layoffs, More Price Rises

Congressional and labor criticism of the administration program focused in part on the disproportionate benefits of a straight-rate tax cut for the rich. A family of four which earned $5,000 last year would receive a $12 rebate on 1974 taxes; with a family income of $10,000 the return would be $50, but with before-tax earnings of $40,000 this would rise to $1,000. The regressive impact of the plan (redistributing income in favor of the rich) was deliberate: government economists expressed fear that a large tax cut for workers would be spent for food, while a lump-sum $1,000 check sent to "better-off" families might lead to the purchase of a new car.

The second main area of criticism was on the oil import tax, which would mean a 27 percent increase in the price of crude petroleum. Such a sharp rise, though as a tax it would have a depressing effect on the economy, would be quickly "passed through" in the form of price rises for manufactured products using oil products. In regions primarily dependent on foreign oil for generating electricity (Northeast, Midwest) the tariff increase would mean a jump of more than 25 percent in power costs. This could lead to heavy layoffs and the shutting down of entire plants in some areas.

On consumers, primarily working people, the impact of the oil tax would be just as sharp. Government figures released last week showed that for just about every income category the additional costs as a result of the $30 billion increase in oil taxes would exceed the amount received in the form of a tax cut.

WV PHOTO

Leonard Woodcock

Democrats Have No Answers

When Democrats met at a "mini-convention" in Kansas City last month, the main item in their eight-point economic program was a call for income tax reduction, which the administration opposed at the time. Now that Ford has made an about-face on the tax issue and announced that his budget will have a $32 billion deficit, the liberals are reduced to calling for a "fairer" distribution of the rebate and bigger job programs.

In addition, Congressional Democrats proposed a lowering of interest rates by expanding the money supply and revival of something like the Reconstruction Finance Agency as a means of channeling money to companies threatened by a cash crisis. However, Ford will probably take up both these proposals, which have also been endorsed by the *Wall Street Journal*. Thus on the basic points of their economic programs conservatives and liberals are united. Yet both admit, tacitly or openly, that their proposals will not solve the present crisis.

The main area of controversy is over the oil import duty ordered by Ford on Friday and the proposed tax on domestic petroleum production. Congressional leaders are pushing through legislation for a 90-day freeze of Ford's executive order (as well as questioning his legal authority to issue the decree), but have given no position of their own.

At the recent meeting of its general board, the AFL-CIO leadership announced its program for the economic crisis. This platform is almost a word-for-word repeat of the Congressional Democrats' proposals (including a $5 billion tax cut for business and strict enforcement of speed limits) with two differences: the union tops call for a ban on Arab oil and protectionist tariff legislation against "foreign competition." Thus these "labor statesmen" have come up with an "answer" to the economic crisis which is, if anything, somewhat to the *right* of the Democrats and Republicans!

The Labor Lieutenants of the Capitalist Class

This fact has not been lost on the bourgeoisie. Late last year the *Wall Street Journal* published two editorials whose headlines accurately portray the relationship between big business and the labor bureaucracy. The first, "Arm in Arm With George Meany" (21 November), began with the remark that, "If George Meany, 80, ever decides it is time to begin a second career, perhaps he would consider a job writing editorials for this newspaper. . . . in recent years his view of the world has frequently come to coincide with ours." The second, "Arm in Arm With Leonard Woodcock" (16 December), praised the UAW leader's opposition to an auto price cut because the companies' profit margins are "razor thin."

Of course, it is unlikely that George Meany, 80, will take up the *Journal's* offer. He is much more effective as an agent of the capitalists *within* the labor movement. And in that respect he is no different from the rest of the union brass. Though some may talk more militantly than others (particularly if they are lower on the totem pole, or currently out of office), the entire labor bureaucracy—from Meanyite reactionaries and Woodcock liberals to the reformist fakers now in power in some local unions—supports the continuation of capitalism.

Therefore, they must also accept layoffs. It is no accident that when Chrysler threatened to permanently close down the Jefferson Avenue assembly plant in Detroit last November, UAW International vice president Ken Bannon replied the union had no power to stop this but "moral persuasion." Nor is it an accident that a number of local union presidents have recently taken up the Maoists' slogan of "Jobs or Income" as their answer to the crisis. What they really mean is *abandoning* the struggle for jobs, in favor of pressuring city councils and Gerald Ford for a bigger dole and a few public works programs.

A Transitional Pragram

Beyond the mainstream labor bureaucracy there are a number of reformist groups which, despite their socialist pretensions, have as their policy being just one step more militant than the Woodcocks. If the UAW calls for a tax cut for all incomes under $25,000, then they call for no taxes on incomes under $25,000. If the AFL-CIO calls for a $20 billion federal jobs program, they will demand twice the amount.

Revolutionary Marxists must tell the truth to the workers, not fool them with such gimmicks. The truth is that no amount of tinkering with the tax system or countercyclical "Keynesian" measures for government spending can end the crisis, which is the product of the boom-bust cycle inherent in capitalism. (And because of those forces, the period of crisis will eventually come to an end, although at a great cost in suffering for the working people, as a new cycle begins.)

The struggles of the working class must be aimed toward the revolutionary expropriation of this oppressive system. That does not mean that communists ignore the immediate issues facing the workers or oppose reform struggles. We demand from the capitalist state unconditional, unlimited unemployment compensation and massive programs of public works, planned and carried out under union control. We demand of the labor movement the creation of *union* unemployed committees and that all seniority rights be preserved indefinitely.

But we seek to direct the fight toward eliminating the real cause of the crisis, the capitalist system of production for profit. Thus, rather than jobs or income, Trotskyists demand "jobs for all," through a shorter workweek *with no loss in pay*. Rather than divisive schemes like "reverse seniority layoffs," "voluntary retirement" or preferences for particular groups (women or minorities), we demand "no layoffs": factory occupations (sit-down strikes) must be labor's answer to plant shutdowns and mass layoffs. Against inflation we demand full cost-of-living escalators for all workers, welfare recipients and pensioners. Rather than reformist plans for taxing the corporations, we call for expropriation of industry without compensation, and for workers control.

Such a program is one of militant class struggle rather than tailing after the liberal politicians and capitalism's labor lieutenants in the union bureaucracy. It must be fought for through intervention in the struggles of the masses and by painstakingly building a new leadership in the unions, through opposition caucuses based on a full transitional program. This includes the need for a class political alternative, an independent party of labor counterposed to the twin parties of capital, i.e., a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. ■

FORUM

The Middle East: National War or Socialist Revolution

Speaker: LEN MEYERS

Tuesday, January 28, 7:30 p.m.
University of Illinois
Circle Center $.50 Donation

CHICAGO

For information call: (312) 427-0003

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____ 61

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues
☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

SUBSCRIBE TO Young Spartacus

Monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

$2
11 ISSUES

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____ 61

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. P.O., N.Y., N.Y. 10013

Continued from page 12

...ILWU Local 10

have been full members, for firing because they had been critical of the union leadership.) Some of the victims subsequently took the union to court, a move that Gow and Keylor now point out was an error which will only hurt the union.

Gow came into the ILWU in 1959 in Local 10. Both he and Keylor were at one time supporters of Longshore Victory, a now-defunct opposition group, and initial backers of Mills and Stout. Experience has shown, they point out, that simple honesty and good intentions are not enough—it is program that is decisive.

Gow and Keylor campaigned on a program "to make the ILWU defend its members' real interests and to put the working class in control of society." They called for international working-class solidarity, including use of labor boycotts to support the struggles of Chilean workers, farm workers in the U.S., etc. They demanded nationalization of the longshore-transport industry, without compensation, and called for workers control.

Their joint program also called for a struggle to build a workers party based on the unions, a struggle directed at ousting—not simply pressuring—the present pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy. Finally, they denounced appeals to the courts against the union, such as the B-men suit and a Mills-Stout suit to stop Bridges' hall-grabbing.

> "The question of B-men and the hall has to be fought out within the union. To rely on the government to come in and do it for us is worse than futile.... Opening the door to the government is opening the door for it to smash us. The worst enemy of the ILWU and of all labor is the capitalist government."
> —"Defend the ILWU—Stop Bridges' '75 Contract Sellout," 31 December 1974

The new officers quickly made a ruling which kept both Keylor and the other candidate tied for last place off the executive board. Formerly it had usually been the practice that the five full-time offices (president, secretary-treasurer, business agents, etc.) are filled by members who also run for executive board. Since officers sit on the executive board ex-officio, those that are elected to both positions have been replaced on the board by the five candidates who received the next highest votes.

Application of this principle has varied in the past, however, thereby creating an opportunity for bureaucratic abuse by the officials. In this case, instead of calling a run-off election to resolve the tie for last place, the new officers decided to leave the vice president on the board. Thus Local 10 officials were relieved of an opponent on the executive board, and the membership was deprived of the right to choose its representatives.

The new president of Local 10 is Larry Wing, a business agent in the previous administration. Wing was brutally beaten last September by a goon squad of Bridges supporters who were demanding that the leadership turn over its keys to the Local's hiring hall. It was also Wing who first authorized and then called off the "hot-cargo" boycott of LASH barges belonging to Alioto's Pacific Far East Lines. The boycott by Local 10 members was in solidarity with the Stockton Local, which had been denied longshore work on the barges.

Perhaps because of his reputation as the most militant member of the Mills-Stout team, Wing received the highest vote—850—of any candidate in the election (his pro-Bridges opponent got 753). Wing's lack of an alternative program for the union was shown, however, when he called off the boycott while it was still going strong. Moreover, he has done nothing to oppose the new move to deregister (and thus fire) those B-men with the least hours worked in 1973.

Besides Wing, the chief business agent is also an anti-Bridges member. The other three officers, however, are pro-Bridges. In the key race for secretary-treasurer—who signs the checks for payments to the Local's separate hiring hall ownership corporation—a Bridges man with a notoriously unreliable reputation was elected by a single vote, 761 to 760. The winner, Carl Smith, played a prominent role in the first purge of B-men in 1963. Smith may now be in a position to force sale of the hall by simply refusing to make payments necessary to meet hall expenses.

The executive board was divided between the various factions in the Local. Marshall, one of the International supporters accused of participating in the goon attack on Wing, was elected with 362 votes. Archie Brown, a well-known supporter of Communist Party positions, was elected by 416 votes and also returned to the Publicity Committee, where he runs the Local's news sheet.

At the Local meeting following the election, in an apparent reference to rumors of irregularities, Brown made a token attempt to question the election committee's report certifying the election as proper. However, he did not pursue the subject, thereby "making the record" while avoiding a serious attempt to track down rumors.

At the first meeting of the new executive board yesterday, the new leadership already revealed its bankruptcy in the face of mounting attacks jointly engineered by the International and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association. In the face of the Coast Caucus' capitulation to Bridges, who has already stated his willingness to arbitrate any differences in order to ram through a hurried-up contract, the PMA began openly provoking the union by ordering "steady men," who are only supposed to do maintenance and other specified work, to work in the holds of ships. (Steady men, who work regularly for one employer rather than being assigned jobs through the hall, were first allowed by Bridges in the 1966 contract.) Instead of acting against this threat to the union hiring hall, the executive board voted, 20 to 7, to refer the question to the International.

Meanwhile, star chamber proceedings have been scheduled by a joint union-management labor relations committee to "hear" the cases of B-men threatened with deregistration. These men, who should be full members and who have met contractual requirements of availability for work, are now supposed to testify as to why they should not be fired!

Gow and Keylor had prepared motions for an immediate mobilization against this attack: for an immediate halt to deregistration proceedings, for granting full "A" hiring status to B-men immediately and for full union membership for B-men. However, their motions were shoved to the last place on the agenda, and consideration of them conveniently avoided through adjournment. An immediate fight must now be taken to the membership to stop this illegal and undemocratic railroading of working longshoremen and union members.

In their last leaflet issued before the election, Gow and Keylor made their position clear on the question of support, critical or otherwise, to the "militant, democratic" opposition to Bridges.

> "Many brothers in Local 10 have asked us if we are supporting some of the anti-International candidates like Wing, George Kaye or Archie Brown. No. None of them offer any real alternative program to Bridges. We went through it once with Stout and particularly Herb Mills and learned that in relation to events like the goon squad and the monitorship [semi-receivership of the Local instituted by Bridges], being honest and democratic isn't enough.... "Those of us that have been around long enough remember that Archie Brown actively supported the deregistration of the B-men in '63 and that he threw his full prestige behind the treacherous M&M contract....Then, just before the 1973 contract, Brown retreated from his previous total opposition to 9.43 [a contract clause providing for "steady men"] and made a resolution for an equalization of hours formula."

The leaflet called for the formation of a caucus on a class-struggle program, to construct a union leadership which will not capitulate to capitalist politicians like Alioto, to the bosses' anti-labor laws, which outlaw militant actions such as labor boycotts, or to the employers' drive to maximize profits. It is precisely the lack of a class-struggle program which causes immediate capitulation to the companies and the class-collaborationist policies of the union bureaucracy by even those militants who begin with honest intentions to fight for the rank and file's interests.

Gow and Keylor made clear that they would base the struggle for such a program on the mobilization of the membership (as over the boycott of Alioto's barges) rather than reliance on the bureaucracy of the International or on "militant democrats" (no better than Stout-Mills-Wing in Local 10) in power in other locals such as Los Angeles. They have thus begun to lay the basis for the building of an alternative, class-struggle leadership throughout the ILWU. This struggle within the unions is a vital support to the building of a revolutionary vanguard party which alone can lead the working class to victory over capitalism.■

Continued from page 12

...Oakland Strike

picketing) was criticizing the inadequate terms of the KNC settlement, the microphone was seized from him by a supporter of the leadership. In addition, according to a leallet distributed at East Bay warehouses today, at the end of the meeting ILWU International secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt "warned" Mandel that a move was afoot to expel him from the union.

The class-collaborationist ILWU officialdom, like the rest of the union bureaucracy, is committed to the conception that management and labor must live in harmony. These defeatists and professional capitulators argue that if labor fails to make peace with the employers it will be crushed by them and their government. Not only must class-struggle oppositionists therefore be silenced, but the workers must be mobilized in support of the interests of the employers.

Thus Goldblatt spoke at length at the meeting on the theme that "foreign" money is "turning the U.S. into a colony." This is a bald-faced attempt to whip up national chauvinism in preparation for inter-imperialist trade rivalries and wars in which all workers will be the losers. Moreover, the immediate effect of Goldblatt's line is to drive a wedge within the Local 6 membership itself, portraying Spanish-speaking workers (such as the KNC strikers) as the "enemy within"!

Only the building of a new class-struggle leadership, counterposed to the class collaborationism of the Bridges, Goldblatts and McLains, can spread the militant methods of the KNC strike, in order to stop future "Borons" and strengthen international labor solidarity.■

Spartacist Local Directory

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BAY AREA . . . . . (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BINGHAMTON
c/o SYL, Box RCY, SUNY
Binghamton, NY 13901

BOSTON . . . . . (617) 282-7587
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO . . . . . (716) 834-7610
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO . . . . . (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND . . . . . (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT . . . . . (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON . . . . . (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA . . . . . (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES . . . (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

MILWAUKEE
Box 6061,
Milwaukee, WI 53209

NEW HAVEN . . . . . (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS . . . (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK . . . . . (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA . . (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

TORONTO . . . . . (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00—6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

S38 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room S22
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

Workers Vote for Class-Struggle Candidates in ILWU Local 10

SAN FRANCISCO, January 25—While a major longshore contract betrayal loomed in the background, elections for officers and executive board members held recently in the Bay Area waterfront local of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union failed to provide a way out of the impasse facing the union. With about two thirds of Local 10's 2,400 members voting, key offices were divided between supporters and opponents of ILWU president Harry Bridges.

Support for the anti-Bridges forces in the Local slipped somewhat from last year's elections, in which an entire slate of oppositionists under Mills and Stout had been elected. In addition, questions were raised in the minds of some members over the handling of the election when a key Bridges supporter was elected by only one vote and an outspoken opponent of both wings of the Local leadership was maneuvered out of a seat on the executive board after having tied for last place.

Local 10 has been the center of resistance to the International leadership over the last four years as Bridges has allowed automation to drastically erode jobs and working conditions. Recently he has also attempted to force the sale of the Local's hiring hall to commercial developers aligned with his friend, S.F. mayor Joe Alioto.

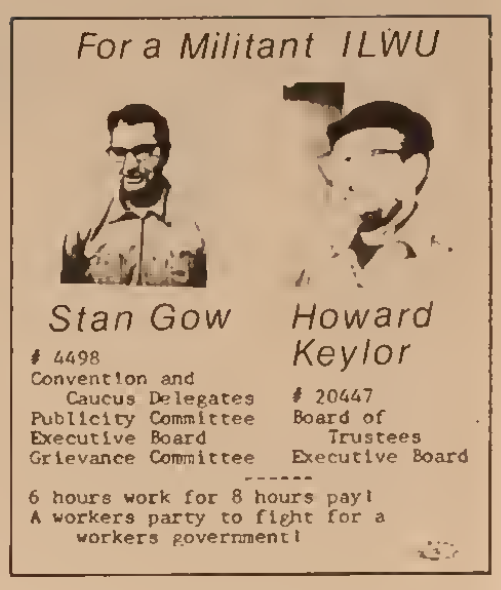
The Mills-Stout regime, although a nuisance to Bridges, was completely unable to lead the Local in a qualitatively different direction. It folded under pressure instead of mobilizing the ranks to defend a spreading boycott of work on automated LASH barges (owned by Alioto's shipping company) which had been worked by non-longshore labor. It also capitulated to Bridges' demands for an immediate contract settlement (six months ahead of schedule!) at the recent December meeting of the Coast Longshore Caucus. And it bowed to a new plan by the International to railroad hundreds of B-men (second-class members) out of the union, despite a contractual clause requiring their elevation to full membership this year.

Increasing support for a class-struggle alternative was revealed, however, in the votes for two militants, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, for executive board. Gow and Keylor, who between them have 37 years on the West Coast docks, ran as a team counterposed to both the pro- and anti-Bridges wings in the Local leadership.

The two militants called for resistance to the impending contract sellout, a sliding scale of hours to make more jobs with no loss in pay and immediate full membership status for all B-men. They also denounced the leadership's alliance with Alioto, calling for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the building of a workers party to fight for a workers government. Gow, who was a member of the outgoing executive board, was re-elected with 239 votes, an increase over his vote last year. Keylor tied for last place, ahead of 19 other candidates, with 221 votes (also an increase in his showing in Local elections).

Keylor came into the union in Stockton in 1953. He helped lead opposition to the first purge of B-men in 1963. (Bridges at that time singled out 82 working longshoremen, who should

continued on page 11



Labor Solidarity Halts Union-Busting in Oakland Strike

OAKLAND, January 28—Mass picketing initiated by militants in the warehouse local of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has stopped a union-busting drive which could have been the spark for a similar assault on all of Bay Area labor. The employer, KNC Glass Company in Union City, had sought to repeat the crushing blow delivered to ILWU Local 30 by U.S. Borax last fall.

In that strike, management used several hundred scabs to keep its mine in Boron, California, operating. Borax also sent a warning letter to its striking employees, threatening them with permanent replacement if they didn't return to work immediately, without a contract. The threat worked because AFL-CIO craft unions crossed the picket lines and the ILWU International failed to organize solidarity actions, even within the union itself. Thus, ILWU longshoremen in Los Angeles were forced to ship scab borax. As a result, hundreds of workers were thrown out of their jobs and other union gains were sacrificed.

The Boron strike was held up as an example to all employers by a feature story in the December issue of *Fortune* magazine. The pattern is familiar—scabs, cops and the passivity of the trade-union bureaucracy—but this open union-busting is a sharply increased danger in the present period, as unemployment swells the pool of potential strikebreakers.

The KNC strike looked like it would become a Boron in the Bay Area, paving the way for a general anti-labor assault by the Distributors Association (the warehouse employers' group) during contract negotiations approaching in the next few months. The company kept its offer low, hired notorious strikebreaking guards and sent a Boron-style ultimatum to the strikers: go back without a contract or be fired. The ILWU leadership under Local 6 president McLain also followed the pattern, by failing to respond with militant union action to stop the scabbing.

However, a class-struggle program raised by three warehouse militants, Bob Mandel (a member of the Local 6 executive board), John Dow and Pete Farrugio, pointed the way forward. Denouncing the do-nothing policy of the union leadership, they demanded mass picketing and a "hot-cargoing" labor boycott of material going to and from the plant. Response to their leaflet was impressive: hundreds of workers from surrounding ILWU shops joined the picket lines over a period of days. Local 6 and even International leaders were forced to show up.

Teamster officials—themselves feeling the pinch of employer union-busting through increased owner-operator trucking—turned out despite their bureaucratic rivalry with ILWU officials over warehouse and longshore container jurisdictions. And militants from several other unions also appeared, including members of the Militant Action Caucus of the Communications Workers and the Committee for a Militant UAW from the Fremont GM assembly plant.

Mass picketing by 75-100 workers and union officials on January 9 stopped the scabs, but the company sought an injunction to put an end to picketing. This had been anticipated by Mandel and the other militants, who tried to get the Local 6 stewards council to defy the injunction. But members of the stewards council influenced by the Communist Party and Revolutionary Union helped the ILWU bureaucracy table Mandel's motions.

WV PHOTO

ILWU members defend picket line against scabs, cops in KNC strike.

Nevertheless, sentiment among the ranks for defying the injunction—and thus confronting the leadership's class collaborationism head-on—mounted rapidly. ILWU members from the Local hiring hall, from the longshoremen's local and from shops such as Associated Grocers and St. Regis Paper continued to man picket lines, keeping out scabs in defiance of the injunction. Emboldened by the court action the professional strikebreaker guards became increasingly vicious, waving guns and unleashing dogs. In response, members circulated petitions in a number of Local 6 houses demanding shop meetings with union officials to organize defense. At Associated Grocers workers voted to walk off their jobs if necessary to defend the strike.

The mass support for KNC strikers impressed both employers and the union leadership, neither of which had any desire to see it spread and influence upcoming disputes. The company backed off from its attempt to break the union while union leaders hastily accepted a slightly improved management offer. Despite a personal show of militancy on the picket line, and despite his complaints about the ILWU International's failure to wage a militant defense of the Boron strike, when the chips were down in his own Local McLain refused to further mobilize the members for the achievement of lasting gains in the KNC strike. Thus this plant is still saddled with a substandard contract which holds down the wages of other Local 6 members. Furthermore, it has no cost of living provision whatsoever and no attempt was made to give KNC a contract termination date together with the majority of Local 6 agreements.

Workers Vanguard interviews with KNC workers revealed the important lessons that were learned during the strike. It was the solidarity of other workers in the union, and of other locals and industries, which made the limited victory possible. A subsequent Local 6 meeting showed that the leadership had also learned something from the strike. While John Dow (one of the militants who had initiated the mass

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 62 14 February 1975

Strike Wave Sweeps Spain

Franco Dictatorship Totters

WV PHOTO

Barcelona plant during recent strike.

FEBRUARY 8—During the last four months Spain has experienced the greatest wave of working-class unrest in the 36 years since the end of the bloody 1930's civil war. The bonapartist Franco regime, obviously on its last legs, has been unable to suppress the strikes which have hit every major industrial center in the country. Hardly a day has gone by since mid-October without at least one major plant on strike.

As in the past, the centers of strike militancy have been Madrid construction trades, Barcelona and Basque region metal workers, and Asturias miners. But the scope of the current upsurge is so great that sectors of the petty bourgeoisie are being drawn in as well. Late in 1974 medical doctors carried out a major strike and on February 5 government officials of five ministries walked off the job in Madrid for the first time.

In part the strikes are a response to the current economic crisis, which has hit Spain especially hard among European countries. In 1974 prices rose more than 30 percent, the highest rate on the continent. There have also been threats of massive layoffs. Most militant of all the plants has been the Barcelona SEAT works, a subsidiary of Italian-owned Fiat, which threatens to lay off its 25,000 employees for 40 days this spring.

While the capitalist crisis has been a prime cause, the walkouts have not centered solely on economic demands. SEAT workers have issued leaflets calling for a provisional "democratic" government, which would guarantee political and trade-union freedoms.

After Franco, What?

The near-death of dictator Generalissimo Franco last July set off a flurry of political maneuvering among all sectors of society, and has posed the need for a revolutionary perspective clearly in front of the workers movement. Arch-reactionaries grouped around the Falange have sought to muster their forces ever since the death of Premier Carrero Blanco in a Basque nationalist bomb explosion in December 1973. As a result of numerous court intrigues, the hard-line ultras were able to remove several "liberal" ministers, most notably the Defense Minister Diez Alegría.

Some sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie, however, have no particular love for the present archaic regime and are concerned about the strength of the massive strike upsurges. They increasingly feel the need to undermine the workers offensive from within. This has led to speculation about an eventual "popular front" of reformist workers parties and a section of the liberal bourgeoisie, i.e., a reincarnation of the ill-fated Republican government which lost to Franco in the Civil War.

The cravenly reformist Communist Party (PCE), headed by Santiago Carrillo and Dolores Ibarruri, has made it clear that it is ready to ally with anyone, from liberal generals to sections of the monarchy. Already in 1972 the Stalinists managed to set up a proto-popular front in Barcelona called the Assembly of Catalonia. It included liberal church figures, Christian Democrats and a number of smaller leftist groups (among them the fake-Trotskyist Liga Comunista Revolucionaria, representative of the European majority of the "United Secretariat"). But Carrillo & Co. were after bigger game.

Following Franco's stroke they got their chance. On July 30, Calvo Serrer—political advisor to Don Juan de Borbón, the father of heir-apparent Prince Juan Carlos—announced the formation of a "Democratic Junta" together with the PCE. Seeing that Carrillo had begun to achieve respectability, the Kremlin (which had been pushing a rival PCE headed by Major Lister) moved toward reconciliation. A joint PCE-CPSU communique on October 16 stated that peaceful coexistence "does not hinder the class struggle. . . ."

This was also the policy of the Stalinists during the Spanish Civil War, when the PCE called for "victory now, revolution later." Their program was summed up in a terse communique published by the French CP newspaper *L'Humanité* in August 1936: "The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Spain requests us to inform the public . . . that the Spanish people are not striving for the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but know only one aim: the defense of the republi-

continued on page 11

Unemployment Hits 33-Year High

UAW Demonstrates in Washington

WIDE WORLD PHOTO

UAW rally for jobs in Washington, February 5.

FEBRUARY 9—Some 10,000 auto workers rallied in Washington Wednesday to protest the massive layoffs sweeping the country in recent weeks. Since the beginning of the year more than a million workers have joined the ranks of the officially jobless and hundreds of thousands have withdrawn from the labor force (given up looking for jobs). Two days after the United Auto Workers' demonstration the government announced that unemployment had risen to 8.2 percent, or 7.5 million workers (*New York Times*, 8 February).

At the Washington rally the UAW leaders' message was clear: vote Democratic in 1976. Speakers tried to whip up nostalgia for the "good old days" under FDR. They neglected to mention, however, that under Roosevelt unemployment averaged over 17 percent until well into the Second World War.

Mild-mannered Leonard Woodcock, president of the auto workers union, hoarsely demanded that the government cut taxes, pay unemployment compensation until the end of the crisis, cut the cost of food stamps and not cut back Social Security payments. The same demands were echoed by liberal senators and congressmen, notably presidential-hopefuls Walter Mondale and Teddy Kennedy and ex-McGovernite Bella Abzug.

Woodcock's version of the fight against unemployment is for congressional action to provide two years of unemployment compensation at 70 percent (!) of base pay, plus an "excess profits" tax on corporations. (At the same time, he has repeatedly complained that the profits of the giant auto corporations are *too low*. To remedy this situation, the UAW chief calls for a cutback of anti-pollution devices.) His lieutenant, UAW vice-president Irving Bluestone, had earlier called for auto workers to shore up the sinking Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund by contributing 10 cents an hour from their forthcoming 15 cent an hour cost-of-living raise. GM, Ford, Chrysler and American Motors can hardly object to such "statesmanlike" proposals.

Protectionism and Layoffs

At the January 24 meeting of the AFL-CIO's general executive board, the top U.S. labor bureaucrats issued a platform to fight unemployment which centers on a ban on imports of Arab oil. Earlier, UAW tops had made a similar call for protectionist legislation to put prohibitive tariffs on the import of foreign automobiles. Thus both conservative and liberal wings of the

continued on page 11

Auto Militants Hit *Guardian* Red-Baiting

EDITORS' NOTE: We print below excerpts from a letter by the Committee for a Militant UAW to the Guardian *protesting a recent act of redbaiting by the Maoist publication. The authors are laid-off women auto workers at the Fremont, California, General Motors plant.*

To the Editor:

The *Guardian* of January 22, 1975, carried an article on a lawsuit brought by eight women auto workers against GM at Fremont, California. This article was filled with distortions, slanders, lies and some of the most vicious red-baiting we have seen in a long time. We are writing this letter which we hope (without much confidence) that the *Guardian* will print, because we want the readers of the *Guardian* to hear the real facts of the case....

The article, entitled "Women Sue GM on Unfair Layoffs" referred to a recent demonstration against the suit outside a court building in San Francisco as a "counterdemonstration" even though it had been organized and publicized at the plant long before the other, pro-suit demonstration. The entire reference to the anti-suit demonstration was as follows:

> "A counterdemonstration by the Trotskyist Spartacist League (SL) displayed signs reading, 'Oppose the lawsuit.' SL members from the Fremont plant had been released from work by GM to take part in the counterdemonstration."

This statement is a calculated attempt to slander and red-bait our Committee and the other militants from Fremont that supported the Spartacist League demonstration against the suit. Although we have actively opposed the suit in the plant the article fails to mention us at all. Instead it attempts to identify us and the other workers who supported the demonstration as an "outside" organization, thus providing anti-communists and reactionaries of all stripes with grist for their mills to discredit the class struggle program of legitimate union members.

We defend the right of all labor and socialist organizations, regardless of their views, to be legitimate members of the labor movement. Bureaucratic anti-communism must be smashed! The *Guardian* however is clearly trying to aid anti-communism in the unions with its crass baitings. Could it be that the *Guardian* has forgotten the witch hunts of reds and militants in the 1940s and '50s which resulted in a mass purge and in the official anti-communism which continues to victimize militants to this day? Such "forgetfulness" is unlikely. It is more likely that the *Guardian* seeks to aid those whom it supports in the union—such as the backers of this suit—by providing bureaucratic anti-communists and the company with a weapon against their opponents.

We would like to remind the *Guardian* that the forces it would apparently like to see unleashed against class struggle militants like ourselves will not stop with us. Given the chance, these elements will purge the unions of every militant who wants to fight the company, including supporters of the liberal-Maoist views of the *Guardian*.

We cannot speak for all the Fremont auto workers who attended the court hearings and demonstrations that day and who, incidentally, included supporters of both sides of the question. For ourselves, however, members of the Committee for a Militant UAW can easily disprove the lie that we were "released from work by GM" to take part in the demonstration. Members of our Committee and people from the Local 1364 Women's Committee asked the local President Vern Dias for official time off to attend the demonstration. Dias granted the request and official records will verify this—for those interested in verification (a supporter of the suit Charlotte Casey argued unsuccessfully at the union's Women's Committee against our being given union time off).

We demand an *immediate retraction* from the *Guardian* of this attempt to red-bait and company-bait the members of the Committee for a Militant UAW and the other Local 1364 members who supported the anti-suit demonstration called by the SL.

This however by no means exhausts our complaints against the article. Spartacist League signs at the demonstration did not read, "Oppose the Lawsuit" as alleged by you, implying that opponents of the suit care nothing for the plight of layoffs and discrimination. SL signs read, "Drop the Suit, Save the Seniority System," "No Lawsuits Against the Union," "The Union Must Fight Racial and Sexual Discrimination" and "No Layoffs, Jobs for All." Members of the Committee for a Militant UAW carried signs reading "Drop the Suit, No Government Interference in the Union," "End Women's and Racial Discrimination," "For Union Control of Hiring, Jobs for All" and "No Support to the International's Brief." The latter was a reference to the attempt of the UAW International to enter the case as a neutral "friend of the court," opposing the aims of the suit with however no program to combat discrimination and layoffs. The reformist UAW bureaucracy is pro-company and is completely incapable of raising such a program....

The caption above the picture says: "Auto workers at GM plant in Fremont, Calif., demonstrated recently against layoffs and in support of sex discrimination suit brought by women workers. They also demanded a shorter work week." This is another lie. The demonstration was called by Local 1364. Not only was it not in support of the women's suit, but the only mention of the suit at the rally was made by Joan Putnam speaking for the Committee for a Militant UAW. She opposed the suit and her proposals for a sit-down strike to oppose the layoffs were booed by the suit's backers. Alice Brody, a supporter of the suit, also spoke and didn't even mention it!...

The *Guardian* article implies that the suit enjoys widespread support in the plant. This allegation could not be further from the truth. Leaflets quoting directly from the suit and several copies of the suit itself were widely distributed throughout the plant. Workers were none too happy to see that in addition to calling into question seniority rights, the suit made allegations against some union brothers claiming that maintenance men deliberately do a lousy job cleaning the women's restrooms, including directly fingering one man to the company thus breaking one of the most elementary rules of trade unionism, that one never turns in a fellow member to the company. Furthermore blacks and chicanos were quick to point out that the very people whose seniority rights would be trampled on by the recall of women out of line of seniority would be minority men who were not hired in significant numbers until 1959. It is little wonder then that the suit is generally resented for what it is—an attempt to use the bourgeois courts to undermine the chief gains of the union itself and divide the work force....

Over 650 Fremont GM workers, including hundreds of women and minorities, have signed the following petition circulated by the Committee for a Militant UAW:

> "I. GM has traditionally discriminated against women and minorities in hiring. The UAW must be made to combat this practice.
>
> "II. The court suit filed by eight women from this plant August 28, 1974 will not combat discrimination because it will weaken the union which is the only weapon we have. The suit will open the door to government interference, inviting the courts to rewrite our contract and break the seniority system.
>
> "III. Therefore, we call on the signers of this suit to drop the case, and we demand that the union fight all forms of discrimination, and mount a campaign to end layoffs, not just for women, but for all workers."

...The backers of this suit have consistently opposed proposals from the Committee for a Militant UAW for fighting layoffs through strikes against layoffs (a motion for which passed in the local during last winter's "energy crisis" layoffs over their objections) and a protest sitdown strike against layoffs. They oppose our slogan of jobs for all through a shorter work week with no loss in pay. Instead, they call for a short work week, with no mention of pay, which workers immediately see as a proposal for a *pay cut*.

Although the Committee for a Militant UAW's members are currently laid off, we intend to go on fighting for the kind of program that can unite auto workers and all workers in the struggle against the bosses and their state. Mass layoffs and plant closings should be opposed by sitdown strikes, which pose concretely the question of who should run industry, the capitalists or the workers. This must be coupled with the demand to expropriate capitalist industry. For the immediate nationalization of the oil and auto industries without compensation under workers control! This requires that we have the leadership and organization to stand up to the intervention of the bosses' state through the courts and other repressive arms, and through the class-collaborationism of the reformist bureaucracy. Oust the bureaucrats! For a workers party to fight for a workers government! Never has the need been so great for a class struggle alternative in the unions, through the fight for such a program. ■

WV PHOTO

S.F. demonstration against Maoist-backed anti-union lowsuit, January 1975.

WV PHOTO

CMUAW at Fremont demonstration last month.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Letters

New York
7 February

To the Editor:

The execellent polemic against the Revolutionary Socialist League's muddle-headed misapplication of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution to the American black question in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, entitled "Democratic Rights and Socialist Revolution," did not discuss the one time Trotsky mentioned the possible application of permanent revolution in this regard. This occurred during discussions between Trotsky and Arne Swabeck, a founder of the American Trotskyist movement and veteran communist, in Prinkipo, Turkey, in February 1933. A subsequent discussion between Trotsky and his supporters concerning the black question took place in Mexico in 1939.

Since these discussions have been used both by the Socialist Workers Party to cloak its adaptation to black nationalism with the authority of Trotsky and by the RSL to debase the permanent revolution to "consistent democracy," it is worthwhile to carefully examine these discussions and place them in their historical context.

First, it must be pointed out that both discussions were conducted in English, a language Trotsky did not speak with ease. The only record of these discussions consists of rough, uncorrected transcripts, reprinted by the SWP in the late 1960's in a pamphlet entitled *Leon Trotsky on Black Nationalism and Self-Determination*.

An examination of these discussions shows that Trotsky tried to view the American black question through the lens of the Russian Revolution. The relationship between liberation of oppressed nationalities and the proletarian revolution is explained by Trotsky in his chapter on "The Problem of Nationalities" in volume three of his *History of the Russian Revolution*:

> "The Ukrainian peasantry had not made national demands in the past for the reasons that the Ukrainian peasantry had not in general risen to the height of political being. The chief service of the February Revolution—perhaps its only service, but one amply sufficient—lay exactly in this, that it gave the oppressed classes and nations of Russia at last an opportunity to speak out. . . ."

When Trotsky admits in his discussion with Swabeck that "I have never studied this [the American black] question and in my remarks I proceed from the general considerations," there is no doubt from the discussions that these "general considerations" followed from the experience of the Russian Revolution and in particular the awakening of the oppressed nations within the tsarist empire. Thus he asks Swabeck:

> "I am not sure if the Negroes do not also in the Southern states speak their own Negro language. Now that they are being lynched just because of being Negroes they naturally fear to speak their Negro language; but when they are set free their Negro language will again become alive. . . .
> "The Russian experiences have shown to us that the groups who live on a peasant basis retain peculiarities, their customs, their language, etc., and given the opportunity they develop again."

Elsewhere, Trotsky refers to the "overwhelming Negro territory" where black people might "separate a piece of land for themselves." It is obvious that he is thinking here of the "black belt" in the South. That Trotsky might have seen the black question as primarily an agrarian and peasant question concentrated in the South at least had some objective basis at the time: according to the 1930 census, 79 percent of all black people lived in the South and 57 percent lived in rural areas. It was only the great northern migrations and urbanization of black people during World War II that decisively subordinated the agrarian component of the black question.

Thus when Trotsky says to Swabeck, "Weisbord is correct in a certain sense that the 'self-determination' of the Negroes belongs to the question of the permanent revolution in America," it is because Trotsky conceived of the black question as analogous to that of the Ukrainian peasantry and the peoples and tribes of Central Asia. Trotsky believed that a great social upheaval in the U.S. would awaken black people to suppressed national aspirations, that their own language, customs and culture would undergo a renaissance. Thus the right to self-determination would be posed.

Given Trotsky's relative unfamiliarity with the black question and the concentration of blacks in the South and on the land prior to World War II, his failure to recognize the black question as that of an oppressed economic caste rather than an embryonic peasant-national question is understandable. For the RSL and the SWP, however, their attempt to reduce the black question to a matter of unfulfilled democratic rights, and therefore to pose a false solution through some sort of "self-determination," represents simultaneous adaptation to black nationalism and liberalism.

Comradely,
Reuben Samuels

■

EDITORS' NOTE: We recently received the following unsolicited letter from a perennial gadfly of the British left. While the author is an impressionistic revisionist, he is one who has been known to us for many years as honest within the limits of his understanding. We convey the letter to our readers for the interesting information it contains. A political document of the Thornett group has been published in the Intercontinental Press *of 10 February.*

London
27 January 1975

Dear comrades,

Doubtless you have seen the reports of the split in the WRP [Workers Revolutionary Party, headed by Gerry Healy] which have occurred in the *Intercontinental Press*. I myself went to the first public meeting of the WSL (or weasels) as I call them of Alan Thornett [a former WRP central committee member and leader of those recently expelled by Healy]. This was held here in North London on Friday last, 24th Jan. I shall give you my impressions, first of all of the situation of the WRP and the next of the meeting and the politics of the WSL.

I believe the WSL when they say that 200 were expelled. They do not claim in conversation to have more than about 140 with them. Healy has lost nearly all his workers, his central committee is composed almost entirely of actors and dramatists now, apart from the old faithfuls Banda and Slaughter. I do not believe he has lost much less than a third of his membership remembering that in any faction fight lots of people leave out of disgust and tiredness. He might have lost more like half. The crucial point is the angels—will they get tired of forking out dough with nothing to show. IF that is the case I do not see how he can continue to run a paper. The first sign of financial crisis will be if *Keep Left* [the Healyites' youth paper] is scrapped. Blick of the OCI [the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste]... tells me that a lot of meetings that the WRP advertises never in fact take place as his people turn up at them to sell their literature and confront the Healyites. So *Workers Press* is fooling its own readers (and angels, *more important*)!! Blick concurs in this estimate of the WRP's numbers as do the leadership of the IS [International Socialists].

At the meeting Thornett spoke first and I thought very well. He concentrated on the use of the tactic of transitional demands to raise the political level and gave several examples of his work in Oxford and elsewhere in the vicinity, Ayesbury and Banbury. He pointed out that they were Trotskyists and ended with the fact that they wanted a youth group and had an international perspective of 'splitting the IC' [International Committee, dominated by the WRP]. I am not sure if he realises the exiguous nature of the IC.

Next spoke a comrade called Lister who alas had the Mark of the Healyite Beast on him. He raved on announcing that they were going to conduct an uncompromising struggle with the Pabloists, revisionists, Stalinists, etc. etc., and announced that they put great store on the questions of philosophy! Healy's conclusions were right but his method was wrong. I confess this is quite beyond my simple understanding. Also he announced that they intended to do some work in the LP [Labour Party]. Frankly I think it is a bit mad to announce your intention of entry work at a public meeting.

As the meeting ended, Chris Pallis at the back of the hall, who was one of the political undead who turned up, announced in a loud voice that 'This was Healyism with a human face', a *mot juste* I much appreciated.

The IMG [International Marxist Group] with a series of carefully contrived 'spontaneous' contributions from the floor managed to monopolise most of the time available. Thornett summed up, stated that there was no division between him and Lister, their respective speeches were merely a division of labour and went on justifiably to slam the IMG over Ceylon, the Lawless affair and their behaviour at Cowley but failed to answer the question of where he stood on Ireland. He ended very well I thought by saying that they intended to recruit and train workers as cadres who could lead the class. He thought they could do it. Time would tell. The expulsions were just before Xmas. 'We have come a long way in seven weeks', he ended.

My impressions are that Thornett is a very impressive guy and be may well have some good people around him in the factory but that many of the others are pretty lobotomised. There may well be tensions. I think they are a group in motion. Their present historical analysis of the WRP does not appear to go back much further than 1973.

That is about all.

FRATS,
[A Reader]

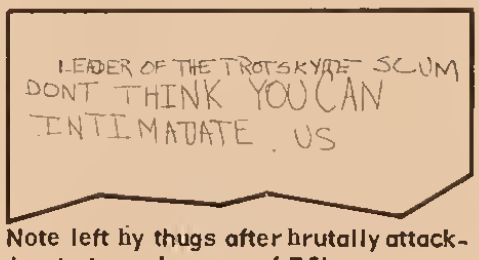
Savage Anti-Communist Violence in L.A.

At 8:30 p.m. on February 4 the Los Angeles headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was bombed by rightists. At about the same time, another bomb exploded in the East L.A. bookstore of the October League (OL). It is purely chance that no casualties were sustained in the attack on the SWP, as there were about 25 people present in the hall at the time. The 15-inch pipe bomb, hurled at SWP L.A. organizer Lew Jones, exploded with tremendous force, demolishing the entrance door, blowing out a half dozen windows and ripping off part of the downstairs street door.

Two days before the bombings, an indoor rally sponsored by the Los Angeles Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case (LACRRC) was tear gassed ten minutes after the program began. No injuries or damages were reported beyond the noxious effects of the tear gas itself.

Los Angeles has a history of right-wing and cop violence against the left. In May 1970 a gang of gusanos, subsequently linked to the CIA, held four campaign workers on the floor of SWP headquarters at gunpoint as they spread gasoline and then ignited it. In the two years prior to that, the SWP experienced six bombing and shooting attacks locally, while arson and bombings were carried out against numerous other left and liberal organizations and gathering places.

There have also been brutal attacks directed against individuals connected with left organizations. Last December an L.A. spokesman of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), Sandy Young, walked into her living room, having just put her child to bed, to find herself face-to-face with two thugs who proceeded to break a bottle in her face and knock her unconscious. Even then they continued to beat her, breaking three ribs in the process. A note was left with the message: "Leader of the Trotskyite scum don't think you can intimadate [*sic*] us."



Note left by thugs after brutally attacking L.A. spokesman of RSL.

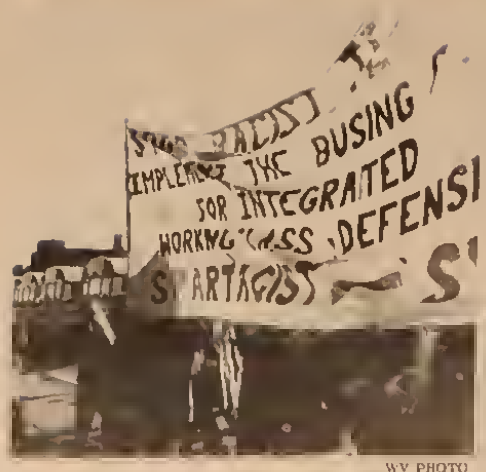
The perpetrators of this atrocity remain unknown. While cop provocateurs or right-wing savages have grown used to committing similar acts of terrorism with complete impunity, the incident also comes in an atmosphere of thug attacks by Stalinist elements, particularly Maoists, against other left groups. Only a few days before the vicious assault against Young, the RSL had written a letter protesting physical threats by the Revolutionary Union (RU) against RSLers attending a forum at the "Long March" movement center.

The response of the legalistic SWP to the bombing attack on its office—like its response to virtually every other question—has simply been to seek to bring liberal pressure to bear on Mayor Bradley, calling on him to enforce bourgeois democracy's laws and apprehend the criminals. (Neither it nor the OL showed the slightest interest in united-front defense action with other left groups.) Having long since abandoned Marxism, the SWP makes no mention of the fact that socialist and labor organizations must depend on their own strength because they cannot rely on the class enemy, the bourgeois state, for justice.

In fact, liberal Mayor Bradley, the city's first black mayor, has proven to be as dedicated a defender of the L.A. Police Department's gestapo-like methods as his reactionary predecessor, Sam Yorty. Last spring the L.A.P.D. massacred several members of the "Symbionese Liberation Army" in a bloody orgy of heavy weapons fire, which gravely threatened residents of the surrounding black neighborhood. Currently all 7,200 city cops are being given riot-control training in anticipation of *food riots* growing out of the sharp economic slump.

What is needed is not pious appeals to the liberals but a struggle for workers democracy within and among labor and socialist organizations. The repeated use of hooliganism in particular by the RU against its left opponents plays directly into the hands of the reactionaries and must be stopped, as must the rightist attacks, by united-front action of the workers movement. An attack on one is an attack on all! Enforce workers democracy in the left! For united-front action against rightist terrorism! ■

BOSTON



WV PHOTO

SL marchers in Boston last fall.

The Only Answer: Black/Labor Defense

Busing Yes, Troops No!

In the aftermath of the December 14 demonstration in Boston the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has been forced to take the offensive against the revolutionary policy of the Spartacist League. At the demonstration—called by various liberal and community groups to protest the wave of vicious anti-black violence precipitated by the school busing controversy—the Leninist approach of the SL was forcefully counterposed to the reformism of the SWP. As the SL-led contingent chanted "No trust in capitalist troops—for a black/labor defense," the SWP countered with its slogan, "Federal troops to Boston."

In preparation for its latest liberal organizational scheme, the National Student Conference Against Racism scheduled to meet in Boston February 14-18, the SWP has churned out several articles defending its call for troops, including a page-long polemic against the SL (*Militant*, 7 February).

The first argument put forward in the *Militant* article is the claim that the SL is inconsistent in demanding the implementation of the (bourgeois) court's pro-busing ruling while denouncing the call for the (bourgeois) army to occupy Boston. This bit of sophomoric "logic" should fool nobody. Revolutionists distinguish between making demands on a bourgeois government and building confidence in that government and its troops. The SWP's argument is analogous to the claim, for example, that workers' demands for laws recognizing their right to strike are equivalent to their calling in the cops during a strike to "protect" them against scabs.

The fundamental argument put forward by the SWP is the claim that "mass pressure" can force the armed forces of the bourgeois state to intervene on the side of the oppressed:

> "Is it possible that the government can be compelled to use armed force to defend the Black students? According to the Spartacists this is out of the question....
>
> "The fact is that the capitalist state—the enemy of working people—can sometimes be forced to *make concessions*...and the government can sometimes be forced to deploy its armed forces in the interests of working people.
>
> "For example, the pressure of the civil rights movement forced the government to send federal troops to Little Rock, Ark., in 1957 to protect the lives of Black students desegregating the schools there."

In that case, one wonders why the "mass movement" of which the SWP is so proud—the antiwar movement—did not result in the U.S. army in Vietnam turning itself around and fighting on the

continued on page 11

Socialist Collective Falls Apart, Quits I.S.

Joe Johnson's Fatal Fusion Maneuver

Early last autumn the Socialist Collective (SC), a small grouping of black socialist militants based in Los Angeles, joined the International Socialists (IS), the "third camp" wing of American social democracy. Commenting upon this, *Workers' Power*, the bi-weekly newspaper of the IS, trumpeted:

> "The nature of American society had led the two revolutionary socialits [*sic*] groups to develop separately, one composed of black members, the other predominantly white. The joining together of black and white revolutionaries in a common organization marks a significant step in the process of creating a revolutionary party in this country."
>
> —*Workers' Power*, 1 October 1974

(How shamelessly do the IS reformists label themselves revolutionaries and bandy about the word revolution! It is both laughable and a sign of the times that such anti-Soviet social democrats now feel compelled to hide behind the banner of "revolution," while in the '50's and early '60's their tendency was among the foremost advocates of State Department "socialism.")

WORKERS' POWER

Joel Geier (left) and Joe Johnson during heyday of the short-lived IS-Sociolist Collective "fusion."

Eager to make political capital out of the acquisition of the SC, the IS organized a barnstorming national tour around the theme "Building the Revolutionary Party" and featuring IS National Chairman Joel Geier and SC leader Joe ("L'il Joe") Johnson.

But alas! Joe Johnson's name and photo have recently disappeared from the handbills announcing these meetings. The IS/SC honeymoon, it seems, has ended; the marriage has been annulled before it was ever consummated. Joe Johnson and the former SC membership have quit the IS.

Just four short months ago Johnson, too, described the IS in glowing terms. For example, the SC fusion statement declared:

> "...the Socialist Collective saw the International Socialists (IS) as the only revolutionary organization whose commitment to the revolution has been realized by way of consistent political motion, both practical and theoretical—the basis of building a revolutionary party."
>
> —*Workers' Power*, 1 October 1974

The statement goes on to praise the IS for its high level of internal democracy and states the SC's complete agreement with the IS on the question of the relation between party and class. The statement also notes agreement with the conclusions of the IS position on the Stalinist countries and praises IS trade-union work.

The IS/SC split exposes all these syrupy proclamations of unity for what they were—so much eyewash to cover a cheap, cynical maneuver. In fact, the IS/SC mutual admiration society was a fraud from the outset. Many of the Socialist Collective members stood to the left of the IS and considered the latter to be a reformist sewer. The IS/SC tryst, engineered by Joe Johnson, was greeted with surprise and apprehension by many of the SC ranks. To sell the fusion Johnson had to portray it as an entry tactic, a "French turn," which would enable the SC to use the IS as a springboard on the road to becoming a national organization.

In fact, Johnson's maneuver only succeeded in breathing new life into a virulent strain of Stalinophobic left reformism, enabling some latter-day Shachtmanites to pose themselves as a serious pole of attraction to subjectively anti-capitalist militants. Indeed, the IS was as surprised and delighted by Johnson's unexpectedly proferred favors as the SC ranks were apprehensive.

What followed the "fusion" was an elaborate charade in which Johnson and the cliques which make up the IS leadership made move and countermove to determine who would be the horse and who the rider. Political differences broke out early on when Johnson (to his credit) came out in support of busing and opposed calling for federal troops in the Boston busing crisis. By late 1974 Johnson felt compelled to form a new "SC," a Socialist Caucus inside the IS. In the "Preliminary Statement of the Socialist Caucus" Johnson and former SCer Connie H. complain:

> "Since our entry into the I.S., several problems have emerged. First and foremost, it is quite clear that the 'old I.S. comrades,' as they call themselves, do not intend to either take seriously the former S.C.er's differences with the I.S. majority nor to respect their ideas. The 'old I.S.ers' are interested only in the 'political assimilation' of the former Socialist Collective comrades. In the process of 'assimilation,' the 'old I.S.-ers' have become more and more aggressive in 'laying down the political and philosophical law,' i.e., telling the former S.C.ers the way things are going to be—period! Well, the way things *were* is not the way things *are* nor is it the way things *will be*! Remember all of the old talk about how the Socialist Collective's 'merger' with the I.S. would transform (change) both organizations in the unfolding of a higher unity—i.e., a *new* organization?"
>
> —Preliminary Statement of the Socialist Caucus

Evidently, in addition to a train ticket to Detroit and seat on the IS Executive Committee for Johnson, the IS made a strong implicit promise that upon entering the IS the SCers could "do their own thing." But since most of the SCers were to the left of the IS it was necessary to squelch them and prevent them from making their politics public. This was the International Socialists' answer to Johnson's "French turn": take in the SCers promising them everything, chew them up and spit out the unassimilable elements. Unfortunately for the IS, by purging itself of its left wing some time ago it transformed itself into a much more homogeneous, and much more brittle, organization—one incapable of tolerating the "left antics" of dissident SCers. Its "assimilation" tactic was thus doomed to fail.

Johnson's hand may have been forced by the resignation from the IS of those former members of the SC still residing in Los Angeles. Echoing the same complaint as the Socialist Caucus document, the Los Angeles group announced that joining the IS was a political mistake—one based upon political ignorance of IS politics and practice. Rather than see his slim base drift out of the IS and away from him, Johnson probably decided to cut his losses and lead the remnants of the SC out of the IS.

But the SC is not even back at ground zero. A small group previously concentrated in one city, they are now fewer in number and scattered across the country—doubtless very demoralized following their misadventures under the misleadership of Joe Johnson.

To those comrades of the SC who still aspire to be revolutionaries and communists we can only say that we tried to warn you, and our warnings were correct. You may not have been fully aware of the reformist practices and policies of the IS. But we can assure you that Joe Johnson, who has had some years of experience as a self-proclaimed socialist, knew what he was getting you into. He must be held accountable for his misleadership and unprincipled behavior. (Do not be misled when Johnson comes out with his political criticisms of the IS, terming them reformist and guilty of adapting to the class as it is. He has held these criticisms all along.)

Above all, however, what is required is not simply a critical re-examination of the SC's recent history, but a rejection of the "scientific socialism" of Joe Johnson. Johnson rejects the concept of a Leninist combat party of professional revolutionaries in favor of an all-encompassing workers party of the whole class. Johnson claims that the October Revolution of 1917 was a bourgeois-democratic revolution.

Stalinism to him is simply the naked dictatorial rule of state monopoly capitalism. Furthermore, he states that he has no disagreements with the "third campers" on the political conclusions they draw on the Russian question. Finally, Johnson holds that the strategy of the "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" is the correct strategy for revolutionaries to follow in the colonial and formerly colonial countries—i.e., he explicitly rejects Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution.

In toto, these positions lay the basis for capitulation to either the Stalinists or social democracy. They fly in the face of the entire experience of the workers movement over the past 75 years. And what is more, their refutation is not only to be found in the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the documents of the Communist International, but has been demonstrated also by dozens of failed revolutions and the blood of millions of workers and peasants. Johnson's idiosyncratic, eclectic and iconoclastic views are a recipe for defeat and confusion. They make a fitting piece to his pathetic antics in the IS over the past months.

It is also fitting that Johnson now bases himself in Detroit (thanks to the IS). The city is not only the auto capital of the world but also the elephants' graveyard for refugees from Trotskyism. Johnson will take his place alongside the other illustrious (?) eccentrics and has-beens—Raya Dunayevskaya, C.L.R. James, Art Phillips and others. Welcome home, Joe. ■

CWA Abandons Victimized Militants

SAN FRANCISCO, February 7—The case of ten fired militants in the telephone company here, accused of leading a wildcat strike against the 1974 contract betrayal, was "settled" recently. The end came when the Communications Workers of America (CWA) leadership finally did what it had wanted to do from the beginning: it declared that the Company was right and threw in the towel. To add insult to injury, Local 9410 President Kirkpatrick then purged the victimized militants from the union.

The S.F. phone wildcat last August was a small and ill-advised protest against a series of abuses by the union leadership, beginning with the failure of the International to call a strike when the contract expired on July 18. Similar but much larger protests occurred in Detroit, Cleveland and other cities. In San Francisco the protest action followed Kirkpatrick's refusal to summon a special meeting of the Local to discuss contract issues after he was presented with a petition bearing twice the necessary number of signatures demanding such a meeting.

This unconstitutional and provocative behavior on the part of Kirkpatrick was equalled by the pompous final action on the company firings taken by CWA Northern California Area Director E.J. Cruice. Just prior to what would have been the International-level hearing with the company on the case of the ten victimized militants, he wrote in a letter to Kirkpatrick:

"I, again, completely reviewed each case and all of our documentation, both Company and Union. It was necessary in each case to weigh the negative and positive arguments. In each of the above cases, the negative arguments outweighed those on the positive side; and it was necessary to withdraw these cases without prejudice on this date . . ."

No doubt one of the "negative arguments" in Cruice's mind was the fact that all ten were members of militant oppositional groupings which had denounced the contract as a sellout!

The International, under the late and unlamented Joe Beirne and his handpicked successor Glen Watts, had set the goal of eliminating bothersome local strikes over national issues, such as in New York State in 1971. Through a bureaucratic scheme deceptively termed "national bargaining," locals were bound by a national mail referendum on the contract (with local issues handled separately afterward). This had the desired effect of keeping local leaderships in line, while a drawn-out period of working without a contract drove frustrated militants to undertake unofficial actions without union defense.

In the San Francisco and Oakland locals (9410 and 9415), however, the Militant Action Caucus, an opposition group in the CWA based on a class-struggle program, argued against wildcatting because of the danger of victimization. MAC instead raised the demand for a nationwide strike under the slogan, "no contract, no work." At an August meeting of the San Francisco Local attended by 400 angry workers, MAC speakers were alone in raising this demand, despite the presence of members of Workers Action Movement (which is supported by Progressive Labor) and Traffic Jam (a telephone workers group backed by the Revolutionary Union).

MAC subsequently initiated the petition for a special meeting to discuss the contract and strike issues. This was belatedly supported and circulated by WAM and Traffic Jam members, but when Kirkpatrick failed to call the meeting, WAM and Traffic Jam had run out of patience. They formed a Strike Organizing Committee which immediately issued a leaflet entitled, "This Contract Stinks; Let's Take a Walk."

PL's *Challenge* (29 August) described how the action should automatically grow "from 50 to 100 to 1,000 fairly rapidly," but it didn't work out that way. Only 100 to 150 workers in four or five of the smaller buildings in San Francisco went out for five days because union leadership in the key building opposed the wildcat and there was no recognized alternative leadership. The only tangible results of the strike were disciplinary actions, suspensions and the firing of WAM and Traffic Jam members. Also fired was one member of the Militant Action Caucus, Rosalind Benedet, for honoring the picket lines.

Immediately seizing the opportunity to rid himself of troublesome opponents, the fanatical witchhunter Kirkpatrick ruled that a worker who has been fired by the company will be dropped from the union regardless of whether or not a grievance is being processed and dues kept up! Nowhere in the Local constitution or by-laws is there any official rule on this question, which was just fine for the bureaucracy.

However, Kirkpatrick only felt strong enough to enforce this atrocious mockery of union democracy at the January meeting after the International had withdrawn the grievances. One reason he was able to get away with this at all was that WAM and Traffic Jam refused proposals by the Militant Action Caucus for a united-front defense of all the fired workers.

This knee-jerk, Stalinist sectarianism was merely a continuation of WAM and Traffic Jam's bureaucratic behavior at Strike Organizing Committee meetings during the action, when they expelled MAC from the committee in order to silence its warnings against the danger of isolated wildcat strikes. The Militant Action Caucus continues to insist that the victims be rehired and reinstated in the union and has announced its intention to protest this betrayal at the next International convention.

The CWA officials' bureaucratic capitulation to the arbitrary injustices of Ma Bell comes at a time when the chief weakness of Watts' contract is becoming daily more evident. As pointed out by MAC last August, the contract contains absolutely no protection against layoffs. Hundreds—possibly close to 1,000 according to some rumors—are due to be laid off from California Bell in the next two months. This is part of a pattern of spreading layoffs in the phone company. A total of 4,000 workers at Western Electric (AT&T's wholly-owned equipment subsidiary) were laid off in 1974.

The Militant Action Caucus, which is not a makeshift group appearing only at contract time or during union elections, is continuing its struggle against bureaucratic capitulation by agitating for union action against layoffs. Among its demands are a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to make jobs for all. A recent leaflet calls for union committees to defend jobs by building support for a strike against layoffs.

MAC also demands that the financial books and all secrets of the telephone company be thrown open for public inspection by workers committees in order to reveal how the parasitic monopoly is raping the public. The MAC also exposes the government's phony anti-trust suit against AT&T as a reactionary fraud (and denounces the CWA tops' predictable defense of the company). MAC calls for workers control and nationalization of the profit-bloated telephone company without compensation to present owners, and for labor to break with the class collaborationism of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and form a workers party to fight for a workers government.

MAC's warnings last August of the dangers of isolated wildcats, coupled with its principled action in honoring the picket lines, and its call for an effective, nationwide strike and the building of an alternative, class-struggle leadership within the union, sounded a responsive chord among wide sections of the membership fed up with both bureaucratic betrayal and hopeless adventurism. No confidence is warranted, however, in the ability of WAM or Traffic Jam to learn from their sorry experience.

These frustrated reformists commit themselves to stupid, losing tactics in order to accommodate to what they *think* is the current level of the workers' consciousness. Usually, however, the rank and file is at least one step ahead of such capitulators. The task is not to tail after but to raise the consciousness of the ranks. That is why genuine class-struggle militants fight to remain in the unions with the workers, rather than allowing the company and union bureaucracy to get rid of them for isolated two-bit adventures born of impatience. ■

Vietnam in Crisis: Why the War Goes On

Speaker: JEFF WALLACE

Wednesday, February 19, 12 noon
University of Illinois
Circle Center
Room to be posted.

Wednesday, February 19, 7:30 p.m.
University of Chicago
Reynolds Club North

Thursday, February 20, 7:30 p.m.
Northwestern University
Norris 2 A

CHICAGO

For information call: (312) 427-0003

Speech Backing Perón Falsified

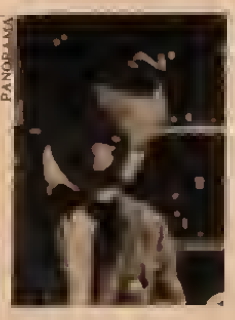
SWP "Translates" Juan Carlos Coral

WORKERS PRESS

Joseph Hansen

NEWS LTD (AUSTALIA)

Ernest Mandel


PANORAMA

Juan Carlos Coral

The wave of rightist terror which engulfed Argentina following the death of President Juan Perón last July 1 has resulted in more than one political murder per day, a total of 227 in 1974. Many, perhaps most, of these assassinations are carried out by special squads of plain-clothes military and police officials.

In this perilous situation it is vital for revolutionaries not only to call for united-front defense of left and militant trade-union organizations, but also to warn the masses against placing any confidence in the treacherous anti-working class Peronist regime. The Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party) has done precisely the opposite, seeking to protect itself by repeated expressions of support for the "process of institutionalization" and for the "continuity" of the government. While seven of its own members were gunned down by pro-government thugs last year, the PST continues to proclaim that the main danger is a coup d'état!

Workers Vanguard was the first publication outside Argentina to publicly call attention to the scandalous behavior of the (purportedly Trotskyist) PST which issued, together with the local Stalinists and six bourgeois parties, a declaration calling for bourgeois law and order on the occasion of a meeting with Perón last March 21 (see "PST Caught Redhanded," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974). The declaration supports "in all instances the institutional process" and condemns "all those who in one way or another attempt to change it."

This expression of support for the capitalist state is a betrayal of the most fundamental Marxist principles so gross that even the professional hypocrites of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," of which the PST is a sympathizing organization, finally made a public protest. However, for appearance's sake, the USec "acknowledged" the PST's cock-and-bull story that its representative, Juan Carlos Coral, did not sign the document even though the PST newspaper (*Avanzada Socialista*) reproduced the document as having been signed by him. This "editorial error" was not corrected by *AS* for a full *three months*!

Moreover, only a few days after this "correction" was published the PST attended another meeting of "the eight," this time with the General's wife (and vice president) María Estela, as Perón lay dying. A second declaration was issued, declaring the participants' "support for the process of institutionalization. . . ." Challenged by the USec leadership, the PST again answered that Coral had not actually signed the statement.

The PST supported the declaration's content, however, with the excuse that "the word 'institutionalization' has aquired a meaning in Argentine politics different from the one given in the dictionary. It has become a synonym of fighting to defend or win democratic rights" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 4 July 1974). In fact, "institutionalization" in the mouths of Argentine liberals and the PST social democrats has been used to mean support for bourgeois law and order, as against the terrorism of the police . . . and of left-wing Peronist and supposedly Marxist guerrillas.

Unable to stay away from these prestigious "summit" meetings of the bourgeois parties, the ubiquitous Coral attended yet another such gathering, called "the multisectorial," on October 8. As we reported in *Workers Vanguard* No. 57 (22 November 1974), he told President María Estela de Perón that the PST "will fight for the continuity of this government, because it was elected by the majority of the Argentine workers and because it permits the exercise of some democratic liberties. . . ."

Coming less than two weeks after the regime's new "security law" outlawing strikes (a measure the PST leader failed to criticize, although he "applaud[ed] without reservation" many clauses of the government's labor legislation), and given his "categorical"

continued on page 11

JVP Trials Conclude

Harsh Sentences for Ceylonese Youth Rebels

by Edmund Samarakkody

Suspects rounded up in Anuradhopura, Ceylon, during JVP revolt.

EDITORS' NOTE: We reprint below an article on the recently concluded trial of militants accused of leading a 1971 uprising. The article is translated from the current issue of Vimukthi *(Class Struggle), newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Ceylon. Comrade Samarakkody, the author, is a long time Trotskyist as well as a lawyer who was involved in the defense of the JVP.*

COLOMBO—The outcome of the main trial of 32 young persons before the Criminal Justice Commission for their alleged participation in the April youth uprising will not be a surprise to anybody. Barring four persons, all others have been found guilty, and have been sentenced to long jail terms, while the leader of the JVP [Janata Vimukthi Peramuna—Peoples Liberation Front], Rohana Wijeweera, was sentenced to life imprisonment or 20 years.

The trial and convictions of these defendants, and the long jail sentences in the case of the leading members of the JVP, were the continuation of the savage repression of the militant youth who dared to oppose and fight against the capitalist coalition government, when it had exposed its capitalist aims and proved its bankruptcy in relation to their pressing problems. This repression of the youth was also the testing out of the machinery for the coming repression and suppression of the working class and toilers when they reach out, sooner or later, to win their own emancipation from capitalist oppression and rule.

The government achieved these convictions by the use of draconian legislation which it rushed through in Parliament with the full backing of the LSSP [Lanka Sama Samaja Party] and CP [Communist Party], two working-class based parties in the coalition alliance. This was the notorious Criminal Justice Commission Act—a special law of criminal procedure for the express purpose of trying these and other defendants alleged to have been implicated in the April 1971 youth uprising. It was when the government found that, despite the known ingenuity and ability of the police to fabricate cases, and despite its learned law officers, there was no possibility in terms of the ordinary criminal law [of convicting] these defendants [for] the offences of attempting to overthrow the government, etc., that it resorted to this device.

We have in this so-called Criminal Justice Commission Act what is called in legal language "retrospective legislation"—law passed after the commission of an act, which was not an offence at the time it was committed in terms of prevailing law. And while bourgeois justice is always class justice, this type of retrospective legislation is, even according to bourgeois norms, a negation of justice.

In a trial before a commission appointed under this act, the investigator of the alleged crime or crimes, the prosecutor in the court case and the judges are the same. It is not difficult to see that a trial of accused persons under such circumstances becomes farcical and turns into a miscarriage of justice and a crime against those very defendants.

Under the ordinary law in Sri Lanka [Ceylon] confessions of accused persons made to police officers are not admissible, because it is a notorious fact that the police in this country obtain such confessions through assault and, invariably, torture. But under the Criminal Justice Commission Act this salutary provision is thrown aside, and confessions made to police officers have been made admissible. It is precisely by such alleged confessions alone, that these defendants were found guilty. This meant that the defendants were forced to admit crimes they never committed, and it was through such confessions to police officers that most of these defendants were given long jail sentences in this case.

What is more, the rights of a defendant in a trial before a commission are severely restricted. Their lawyers have hardly any chance of defending them, as the commissioners (the judges) could impose time limits to submissions and cross examination of witnesses. They could even decide on a secret trial—excluding the public.

Rohana Wijeweera

Government troops orrest suspect during 1971 Ceylonese youth uprising.

However, apart from this monstrous Criminal Justice Act, which virtually made the defendants guilty of the charges before the trial was begun, these defendants received a stab in the back by their own comrades. This was the treachery of the defendants Loku Atula, T.D. Silva, Somasiri Kumanayake and W.T. Karunaratne, who pleaded guilty to the charges at the very commencement of the trial.

Political, Not Legal Defence

In all the circumstances of this case—the political nature of the trial, the purposes of the government and the disabilities arising from the notorious Criminal Justice Act (the judgment and sentences being foregone conclusions)—the defendants could gain nothing from legal defence, through legal arguments and submissions on the interpretation of the law, as [they might] in cases before the ordinary courts. What was therefore possible and necessary was a political defence. It was necessary in the real interests of the defendants, and the cause for which thousands of youth sacrificed their lives, that they develop a political defence, as against a fruitless legal battle.

And it was precisely a political defence that was launched by eight of the defending counsel, who in agreement with their clients staged a protest and walked out of the court when the commissioners (judges) refused to give a ruling on important objections raised by them in regard to the trial at its very commencement.

The defendants responded by denouncing [with] slogans the Criminal Justice Commission Act and the government. The reaction of the attorney general, the chief law officer of the government, was to immediately denounce the lawyers and their defendants for their protest action, and to make allegations that these lawyers had conspired with their defendants to insult and obstruct the Commission. And here was the opening for the political defence of those accused.

But this political defence, which was launched by a section of the defendants and their lawyers, could not be continued because the rest of the lawyers did not join this protest. And what was worse, Bala Tampoe, who was defending some of the accused persons, having stayed at home on the day of the lawyers' protest, returned to the Commission sittings only to emphatically dissociate himself from the protest action of the lawyers. Tampoe further took the opportunity to establish very cordial relations with the attorney general who denounced the lawyers who protested, and also with the commissioners.

In this context, the defence degenerated into a competition among the defendants to prove their innocence in regard to the charges they faced; and sometimes, to win the good will of the commissioners, some defendants attacked their erstwhile comrades. Even JVP leader Wijeweera expressed confidence in the Commission.

Any attempts by leader Wijeweera and some defendants to talk in terms of Marxism in regard to the charges against them failed to change the character of the defence, which was generally a pleading of innocence of the defendants by their counsel.

Tampoe's kowtowing before the Commission and his betrayal in dissociating himself from the protest of the lawyers brought him only temporary glory. Very soon some of the defendants who understood the part Tampoe was playing dropped him as their lawyer. Tampoe was left with only two or three of his former clients. And what was worse for Tampoe, the Commission, having tolerated his antics and mock heroics, dismissed him. The commissioners refused to hear him and ordered him out.

JVP Disintegrates

With the long-term jail sentences for the erstwhile leaders of the JVP movement, and also the imposing of suspended sentences on about 2,500 other youth who had pleaded guilty to charges in their cases relating to the April uprising, the government has completely crushed this youth movement.

However, long before the end of these cases, and in fact even before the end of 1971 (the year of the uprising), the JVP movement had disintegrated due to inherent political weaknesses.

The Uprising

There cannot be any doubt that with all their weaknesses, mistakes, blunders—both in regard to the struggle they launched and in regard to their defence and conduct of their trials—the youth of this movement, a large number of whose leaders will languish in jail for long periods, and hundreds of whom lost their lives in this struggle, did wage a just struggle against the capitalist government in what they believed to be a struggle for socialism. And undoubtedly this struggle of the youth to overthrow a capitalist government is unprecedented. Undoubtedly, also, the youth of the JVP who participated in this struggle showed rare courage, determination, self sacrifice and heroism.

Contrary to the false allegations of the LSSP, CP and SLFP [Sri Lanka Freedom Party], the armed uprising was not by reactionary rightist forces but from the left, from the side of the workers and toilers. Police investigations over a long period have not been able to report anything to support the allegations of the coalition parties. The reality in this regard was that it was a just struggle of the exploited and oppressed—of the youth, largely of poor peasants and of workers who had been denied their right to proper education and employment at the hands of all governments including the coalition government.

Thus, the place of revolutionary

continued on page 10

Maoism Without Mao?

Chinese Old Guard Patched Up

FEBRUARY 9—After ten years of postponement and five years of false starts, more than 2,000 bureaucratically selected delegates finally met in Peking in January for the fourth National People's Congress. A colossal portrait of Mao Tse-tung rose 30 feet above the speakers' rostrum, his image dominating the congress visually and his "communist" household homilies lacing the main speech delivered by Chou En-lai. Nevertheless, the life-sized Mao was not present, although that month he entertained several bourgeois notables at his home in Hunan. His absence, and the problem of his successor, was the unstated but ever-present question at the congress.

The Chinese bureaucracy is desperately attempting to organize an orderly succession to replace the much-mythologized 81-year-old "Great Helmsman." Faced with a deteriorating economic situation, all the cliques in the clique-ridden Communist Party fear that more disruption may mobilize the working class to throw them out of their privileged bureaucratic positions.

DER SPIEGEL

"Big character" wall newspaper in 1974 anti-Confucius campaign.

"Poisonous Weeds" Flower in Mao's Garden

So the theme of the congress was "unity and victory." Now present in positions of authority, were such former non-persons as Teng Hsiao-ping, who in the days of the "Cultural Revolution" was reviled as "a renegade and a freak." The not-so-distant echo of the "number one capitalist roader" himself, Liu Shao-chi, was heard as the durable Chou En-lai gave an address stressing the theme of production, in order to make China a leading industrial power in ten years' time. Even Mao reportedly called for an end to the economically disruptive "Cultural Revolution" campaigns, bidding the Chinese people to "settle down."

If a paper peace reigns at the top, the presence of many rehabilitated Liuists in top party-state positions provides dramatic evidence that the clique warfare among Chinese Stalinists is far from over. While all Chinese leaders ritually praise Mao Thought and proclaim the Cultural Revolution "a great victory," there is no evidence of a clear victory for any of the contending groups.

During the bureaucratically sparked turmoil of the late 1960's Mao relied heavily on his designated heir-apparent, Lin Piao, who controlled the army. Now Lin is branded a "bourgeois spy" and various top army generals have been shunted off to areas where they could not develop dangerous "autonomous military regions."

The 1966-67 highpoint of mass mobilization of the first "cultural revolution" ended with the formation of so-called "three-in-one" committees including representatives of the party, the army and the "rebel" mass organizations. Now, as the campaign to criticize Confucius and Lin Piao winds down, a new version of these committees has arisen. The fourth People's Congress issued a revised constitution stating that "every leading body must be a three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young"! This is reflected in the Political Bureau itself, with the old being those over 70 (Mao, Chou, Teng), a group of 60-to-70-year-old middle-agers and . . . the "youth" consisting of Wang Hung-wen, the only member under 60.

The Constitution Revised

Just as the Cultural Revolution did not reform a fundamentally unreformable Stalinist bureaucracy, the "anti-Confucius" campaign has in no way defused the explosive clique warfare in the party, state apparatus and army. Unchecked by democratic control by workers soviets, the bureaucracy is rent with powerful centrifugal tendencies.

The revised constitution "adopted" without public discussion by the delegates at the congress pretends to homogenize party control over the political life of China. It does away with the position of head of state, puts the army under the command of the chairman of the central committee and eliminates the legal right of citizens to choose their place of residency. Such clauses indicate above all the extreme nervousness with which the fragmented ruling caste views the not-distant departure of its bonapartist arbiter, Mao.

Mao Tse-tung

DER SPIEGEL

Dam construction on Chinese commune.

Of course, behind the new Constitution are all the old Stalinist policies of "socialism in one country," peaceful coexistence with imperialism and the touting of such "progressives" as the Shah of Iran as "anti-imperialist." Chou still recites Lin Piao's phrase that the "third world" is "the main force combatting colonialism, imperialism and hegemonism" (what about the international working class?). Eager to find partners for China's nationalist border war with the USSR, Chou exhorts "Western European countries to get united in the struggle (against the superpowers)" (*New York Times*, 20 January).

Although the new constitution includes the right to strike (reportedly at Mao's request)—a "right" the workers are already making use of even without legal permission—it does not loosen bureaucratic control of the Chinese working masses one iota. As against those fake lefts who supported Mao and the Red Guards during the "Cultural Revolution," the international Spartacist tendency has consistently called for the ouster of the parasitic party/state/army caste which today rules the Chinese deformed workers state. Not reform but proletarian political revolution is necessary to put the Chinese workers in power. ■

Wildcat Strikes in Hong Kong

Peking Props Up British Colony

As China proceeds to build "socialism in one country" through "cultural revolutions" bureaucratically orchestrated by the Communist Party (CCP) and People's Liberation Army, Hong Kong, now the world's most populous colony, remains one of capitalism's worst sweatshops. Suffering under conditions reminiscent of those prevalent in the early nineteenth century, its working class lacks the protection of maximum-hour or meaningful child-labor laws and unemployment compensation.

These deplorable conditions are now rapidly deteriorating. Grinding inflation caused real wages to drop 11 percent in the year preceding March 1974, while unemployment has soared past the 100,000 mark. (Hong Kong has just over 4,000,000 people.)

Mass demonstrations in Hong Kong during the 1967 "Great Cultural Revolution" showed that the Maoists dominate the local left and have the power to shake the foundations of British rule at will. Yet recently they have failed to mount *a single significant strike*—even in the face of the current economic catastrophe—although they are the major force in the trade-union movement, controlling the Hong Kong Federation of Trade Unions. Instead, one of the major campaigns by the Maoist press during the downturn has been to call on the British Education Department to correct the errors in Chinese history and geography in textbooks used by the colony's schools!

Hong Kong workers have not been content with fighting Confucius. Tremendous economic pressures and the inertia displayed by the Maoist trade-union bureaucrats have led to hundreds of wildcat strikes by desperate workers. In virtually every case these strikes end in defeat, sold out by the "communist" union leaders (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 5 October 1974).

continued on page 10

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

Hong Kong slums: the Kowloon Walled City.

SYL WEST COAST EDUCATIONAL—PUBLIC SESSION

Origins of Marxism—
An Historical Materialist World View

SPEAKER: Reuben Samuels,
SL Central Committee

San Francisco State
Room to be announced
For more information call (415) 653-4668

8:30 PM
Friday
February 14

BAY AREA

Nationalists Conciliate Vorster Regime

Pax South Africana?

The unprecedented flurry of diplomatic maneuvering which has swept across southern Africa in the past two months represents a serious effort by both the white-supremacist South African government and neighboring African nationalist regimes to reach a modus vivendi. New political alignments precipitated by the Portuguese coup of last April—in particular the scheduled independence under majority rule of Mozambique and Angola by the end of 1975—have prompted the unreconstructed Boertrekkers who rule in Pretoria to improve their relations with black Africa.

The South African bourgeoisie, along with its senior partners in Britain and the U.S., has long recognized the dangers of being surrounded by hostile African regimes. More recently, faced with increasing economic difficulties and "the responsibilities of power," a number of erstwhile Pan-Africanist heads of state now appear anxious to establish a détente with capital-rich South Africa. The major obstacle at this point is Ian Smith's minority regime in Rhodesia.

Kenneth Kaunda, president of Zambia and long-time benefactor of independence movements in Angola, Rhodesia and Mozambique, has set two preconditions for normalizing diplomatic and economic relations between Pretoria and the rest of the subcontinent: a settlement leading to majority rule in Zimbabwe (the African name for Rhodesia) and, secondarily, independence for Southwest Africa (Namibia), which South Africa has ruled since World War I.

While the suddenly "enlightened" defenders of apartheid may be quite liberal in bargaining away white supremacy north of the Limpopo, and although Kaunda may be flexible about "timetables" for majority rule south of the Zambezi, it is not likely that African guerrillas and white settlers in Rhodesia itself will come to such a friendly understanding. But if the present negotiations are destined to break down, they should at least help to dispel the gross misconceptions many leftists have had concerning the capacity of so-called "revolutionary" nationalists and Pan-Africanists to break the stranglehold of imperialism.

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY

South African Prime Minister Vorster (left) and Rhodesian leader Ian Smith.

GAMMA

Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda

LSM INFORMATION CENTER

Zimbabwe African People's Union guerrilla fighters.

Vorster's "Peace Offensive"

South African Premier Vorster, who along with Kaunda has been the major architect of the Rhodesian deal, publicly launched his "peace offensive" in a speech on October 23, stating: "South Africa has come to the crossroads. I think southern Africa has to make a choice . . . between peace on the one hand or an escalation of strife on the other." His offers did not fall on deaf ears.

Vorster announced shortly afterwards, on November 5, that he had received "assurances" from Frelimo leaders that the new Mozambican government would honor agreements with South Africa concerning the use of harbors, railways, power from the new Cabora Bassa dam and *labor supply to South African gold mines*. (Taken together, these acount for the bulk of Mozambique's foreign exchange and are also crucial to the South African economy.) Four days later Kaunda also responded, characterizing Vorster's speech as the "voice of reason for which Africa and the world had waited."

Vorster, who is a former Nazi sympathizer (detained by the pro-British South African government during World War II), was as Justice Minister during the early 1960's a notoriously brutal enforcer of apartheid pass laws against the oppressed African population. His "voice of reason" does not extend to the black majority in South Africa. Rather it is a part of the "*verligte*" (outward-looking) foreign policy he has followed since 1967. His aim: a southern Africa co-prosperity sphere dominated by Johannesburg capital.

This policy has the support of the key sections of the local bourgeoisie as well. Thus the *Johannesburg Star* (16 October) commented even before the "peace offensive" was announced: "Can we still afford to bail out Rhodesia?... Black rule in Mozambique makes the 'white buffer' less important to us strategically. Economically she is largely a burden."

Vorster's plan calls for a gradual transition to majority rule in Rhodesia. A constitutional conference would be held on a franchise including Africans over 21 years of age and having at least one year of secondary school. This would produce an electorate of roughly equal numbers of black and white voters, though whites would retain a parliamentary majority since educated Africans are concentrated in underrepresented urban districts. After five years new elections would be held on a franchise allowing an African majority.

In return, Zimbabwe nationalists would give up guerrilla warfare, South Africa would remove its 2,000 police from Rhodesia and the UN would drop its economic sanctions. Trade in the region would increase as a result and South Africa would prosper as the dominating power of a southern African common market. The remaining potential trouble spot, Namibia, could be easily dealt with (from Pretoria's point of view). Vorster proposes a national conference dominated by traditional leaders of various tribes and ethnic groups to decide the territory's future.

Reluctant Rhodesians

Ian Smith's Rhodesian government has been a reluctant participant in this bargaining. On the one hand, Smith cannot simply refuse to talk, as he is highly dependent upon South African and British capital which, in turn, is far more concerned with South Africa than the puny Rhodesian market. The Salisbury regime is also feeling pressure from guerrilla activity in the northeast and growing support for the nationalist groups throughout the African population. In addition, there is the danger that Mozambique might deny Rhodesia use of its ports.

On the other hand, the 270,000-strong white minority that is the social base of the Rhodesian Front government (there is not a single opposition member of parliament) is not likely to give up legally enforced job trusting, legal exclusion of Africans from choice agricultural land and other privileges which would doubtless be eliminated under even the most pusillanimous African government. The Rhodesian white population is proportionately one of the largest European minorities in black Africa.

These conflicting pressures have moved Smith to adopt apparently contradictory postures toward negotiations with African nationalists during recent weeks. The initial breakthrough was marked by his decision to release from prison Joshua Nkomo, leader of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), and Rev. Ndabaningi Sithole, head of the rival Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). They were flown to Zambia, where they conferred with Kaunda, President Nyerere of Tanzania and representatives of the Rhodesian government.

The tentative agreement arrived at in the Lusaka negotiations provided for a ceasefire, release of 300 African political prisoners, removal of South African police and the convening of a constitutional conference. However, to date there is no deadline for the conference, and the ceasefire has been only partially implemented, while Smith continues to assure the Rhodesian white electorate that there will be no drastic changes in the franchise. Even the tenuous unity between ZANU and ZAPU in the "African National Council" seems far from stable. Thus the current debate among bourgeois commentators is whether negotiations will break down before or during the projected constitutional conference.

Bourgeois Nationalists Cannot Accomplish National Emancipation

If the recent negotiations over Rhodesia demonstrate the extent to which national interests supersede even racial solidarity for the South African bourgeoisie, they underline the same point with respect to the supposedly "anti-imperialist" nationalists in power in Zambia, Mozambique and elsewhere. The deal being worked out between Kaunda and Vorster will almost certainly fail to liberate the African majority in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, but it will facilitate a rapprochement between Lusaka and Pretoria.

It is a fundamental thesis of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution that the bourgeoisies of the backward countries are too weak vis-à-vis imperialism and feudalism—and too threatened by the proletariat—to carry out the tasks of the bourgeois revolution, notably national emancipation, agrarian revolution and bourgeois democracy. This is being amply confirmed in Africa today.

For instance, the Mozambique government headed by Prime Minister Joachim Chissano (a leader of Frelimo) is a coalition with the Portuguese armed forces movement; it has declared its commitment to defending the "legitimate interests" of Portugal, continues to supply South Africa with hundreds of thousands of contract laborers, has outlawed strikes and said nothing about suppressing forced labor or expropriating the large plantations owned by Portuguese corporations. As to the fate of South African blacks, Chissano remarked soon after taking office: "We do not pretend to be saviors of the world. We will not be the saviors or reformers of South Africa. That belongs to the people of South Africa" (*New York Times*, 18 September 1974).

"Anti-Imperialist" Zambia?

The Stalinists argue that the fundamental division in backward capitalist countries is between "revolutionary nationalists" and "neo-colonialist" stooges of imperialism. Kenneth Kaunda's Zambia belongs, according to this myth, to the "anti-imperialist" category.

However, the reality is different. The Zambian economy is dominated by the copper industry (90 percent of all exports), which from independence on

has been controlled by the giant South African trust, Anglo American Corporation and a Rhodesian firm controlled by American Metal Climax (Roan Consolidated Mines). Although Zambia became majority partner in the copper mines in 1970, the South African/American monopolies have continued their control through "management agreements" which have enabled them to siphon off substantial profits far beyond their nominal 49 percent share.

Kaunda's current initiatives are clearly motivated by a desire to maximize copper profits. Cut off from secure access to the sea for many years by Rhodesia's "unilateral declaration of independence" and Portuguese control of Angola, Kaunda went along with Nyerere's plan for a railway line, financed by China, linking Lusaka to Dar es Salaam.

The "Tan-Zam Railway" is China's biggest foreign aid project in Africa and was intended to have the same impact as Russian financing of the Aswan Dam in Egypt. However, neither Peking nor Moscow has been noticeably lucky with their chosen "revolutionary nationalists."

The Tan-Zam Railway is now nearing completion, but Zambia is already looking for other outlets. For several years it has been shipping tens of thousands of tons of copper to Dar es Salaam by truck. Once the shipments arrive at the Tanzanian port, however, they sit there for weeks and even months because of incredible congestion in the harbor. On the other side of the continent, the Benguela railway through Angola has been hit by repeated strikes as independence draws near. Thus Kaunda has been concerned to find some other outlet to the sea.

His chance came with a recent offer by the "neo-colonialist" Malawi government to build an extension of its rail system (financed by a loan from South Africa) to hook up with the Tan-Zam inside Zambia, thereby providing access once again to Mozambican ports. Kaunda hastily accepted the offer.

Politics is concentrated economics, as Marx said, and Zambia's concern to guarantee a stable access to the Indian Ocean is reflected in Kaunda's new receptiveness to South African diplomatic proposals. This, in turn, has certain implications regarding "anti-imperialist" Zambia's attitude toward the black liberation struggle in South Africa. The government-owned Lusaka *Daily Mail* (19 October) wrote last fall:

> "In hard economic terms any improvement in relations between South Africa and black Africa would be enormously beneficial to both sides. The closure of the border between Zambia and Rhodesia has cost South Africa millions ... in export and other business. And it has cost Zambia millions ... because of the costly rerouting operation it has entailed.... And countries such as Zambia which now import a large range of goods from Europe would be able to make considerable savings in exchange by taking South African goods."

There can be no doubt that these "considerable savings" will be realized only as part of a deal which guarantees that black African states will give no aid to insurgents in South Africa. (Kaunda has already declared: "The people of South Africa face the primary task of shaping their own destiny.") And there is likewise no doubt that the only road to national emancipation, agrarian revolution and the achievement of democratic rights for the masses lies not in the Stalinist policy of support for the bourgeois nationalists of the Kaunda stripe, but in the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution. For the formation of Trotskyist parties in black Africa! For the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

ZAPU leader Joshua Nkomo (left) and Ndabaningi Sithole of ZANU

KEYSTONE

Continued from page 12

KNC or Boron – Victory or Defeat?

the KNC strike and the fraudulent censure of Mandel cannot be swept under the rug by the leadership. The Militant Caucus declares in its newsletter its intention of carrying the fight into the March Constitutional Convention of Local 6. In the current bargaining it calls for common expiration dates on all Local 6 contracts, strike support committees, bringing substandard houses (like KNC) up to standard and the unlimited right to strike. It also demands a union-wide strike for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to make jobs for all. It concludes,

> "The actions of the Union City police, the court injunction limiting picketing, and the NLRB order against boycotting scab goods make it clear that the government is of and for the bosses. We cannot look to the capitalist government as being 'neutral'; we must depend on the strength of organized labor. That goes for cleaning our own house as well. We are opposed to any government interference in the union and oppose the use of court suits to resolve internal union issues. We need a workers government. As a step towards achieving that we need a workers party. No more Fords or Operation Zebra Aliolos!"

The outcome of the struggle in ILWU Local 6 is of clear import to all workers in the current economic downturn. The employers grow more brazen by the hour. Those workers that aren't laid off are forced by union misleaders to cough up concessions to the employer for the "right" to continue being exploited. The bourgeoisie holds up Boron as the model for how to break the union in a period of mass unemployment, when scabs are easy to come by. But KNC demonstrated that the unemployed (who came down from the hiring hall to the picket line) can be mobilized to defend, not break strikes, and that militant methods can stop scabbing.

Build Class-Struggle Caucuses!

The union leaderships, including the "progressive" Bridges regime in the ILWU, are committed to pro-capitalist business unionism which worships every letter of bourgeois legality. Under such leaderships, unions scab on each other (AFL-CIO craft unions crossed picket lines at Boron) and tamely they will submit to injunctions against mass picketing or proscriptions against "secondary boycotts."

The labor bureaucracy dooms the unions themselves to an ignominious end unless it is uprooted and replaced with class-struggle leadership. Knowing this, it is the organizers of defeats such as Boron who seek to snuff out every voice which speaks for a militant course. Through class-struggle caucuses, however, militants can turn one voice into many and build an alternative leadership capable of defeating such bureaucratic witchhunts and ousting the misleaders who perpetrate them. The Militant Caucus of ILWU Local 6 represents a beginning, a step in the direction of future victories rather than defeats for the ILWU and all unions. ■

ILWU DISPATCHER

ILWU Local 30 strikers picket U.S. Borax mine in the Mojave Desert town of Boron, California, last fall. The strike went down to a crushing defeat in its fifth month, losing hundreds of jobs permanently to scabs, because the "progressive" Bridges leadership of the ILWU refused to organize "hot-cargo" labor boycotts of scab borax. Even ILWU longshoremen at Borax's Wilmington facility shipped the struck product! The December issue of Fortune magazine ran a "how-to-break-the-union" feature on the Boron fiasco.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name_____

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY,NY 10001

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00–6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Continued from page 6

...Ceylonese Youth

Marxists in this struggle was the side of the oppressed youth who were being massacred by the government. And in this regard, this is what the Revolutionary Workers Party [RWP] resolution on the JVP armed struggle stated:

> "...as this struggle was between the oppressed youth on the one side and the forces of capitalism on the other, the side of the revolutionary Marxists is the side of the fighting youth, meaning thereby, that they should defend the fighting youth against the actions of the capitalist state. Concretely, this meant that revolutionary Marxists should oppose and fight the government in its attempts to kill, torture, imprison and harm the fighting youth, their supporters and relatives."

But consequent to the disorientation resulting from coalition politics the working class—the organised trade unions—not only failed to come to the defence of the youth when they were being beaten and killed by the police and the armed forces, but some trade-union officials organised by the LSSP and CP rushed to the defence of the police stations!

Of the left parties and groups, only the RWP categorically denounced the massacres and called upon the working class to rally to the defence of the youth. Here are some relevant quotes from the RWP to the prime minister: "I am directed by the Bureau of our party to vehemently protest and strongly condemn the murderous campaign that your government has launched against the youth of our country." And here were some of the demands made of the government in the same letter:

> (a) "that you stop forthwith the massacre of the youth";
> (b) "stop the mass murder of innocent people by the armed forces";
> (c) "that you release forthwith all persons detained without trial."

The RWP followed up by a circular letter to all trade unions, and raised with them the urgency of taking trade-union action to stop the massacre of these youth, etc., and the urgency of a trade-union conference in this regard. The RWP failed to receive any response from the trade unions. In regard to Bala Tampoe, the secretary of the CMU [Ceylon Mercantile Union], he said he did not favour a trade-union conference but informed [us] that his union was writing a letter to the prime minister in that regard.

Of the other left parties the CP (pro-Peking), whose leader, Shanmugadasan, was himself under detention on suspicion of complicity with the uprising, did nothing in regard to the question of this murderous campaign against the youth.

With regard to the LSSP(R) [Lanka Sama Samaja Party (Revolutionary)], Tampoe failed to do anything in defence of the youth against this repression. There was not even a word of protest in his letter to the prime minister. This document was an appeal to the prime minister to be merciful, and not to order a concerted action of the armed forces, which she announced would become necessary if the fighting youth did not surrender.

Subsequently the CMU, under the leadership of Tampoe, adopted a resolution in which it obliquely lined up with the prime minister and the coalition government in "their fight against imperialism."

> "The general council accordingly calls upon the government...to consult all mass organisations of the people and not only those whose leaders are subservient to the government, as to all other *measures that may be necessary to break Ceylon free of the stranglehold of imperialism upon it*, and thereby to enable the people to *set about the establishment* of a *genuine socialist Democracy in Ceylon*." [our emphasis, E.S.]

As for the Revolutionary Communist League (the Healyite group), it failed to make any relevant intervention. Their inaction amounted to abstentionism.

While it was the duty of all those who claim to be revolutionaries to come to the defence of the JVP youth against the murderous campaign by the government, it was their imperative [task] to point out that devotion, heroism, self sacrifice alone cannot lead to success in the struggle for socialism; on the contrary, it was imperative to show that the experience of the masses in struggle both in Sri Lanka and elsewhere has proved that the struggle for the emancipation of the toilers from capitalism [and] imperialism cannot be divorced from Marxism-Leninism-Trotskyism.

However, the truth was that the leaders of the JVP movement, while claiming to be Marxist-Leninist, rejected Marxism, i.e., scientific socialism. This is why their movement ended in hopeless failure, and this is why this movement disintegrated so soon after the April uprising. Here is what the RWP stated in regard to the politics of the JVP in the resolution "Revolutionary Workers Party and the armed struggle":

> "The JVP claims to be Marxist-Leninist in political orientation. They sought to decorate their politics with Maoist slogans.
> "They did not accept the vanguard role of the working class and have completely discounted the Tamil Speaking plantation workers. In this regard, they have failed to publicly explain what they meant by 'Indian Expansionism,' to which they said they are opposed....
> "The socialism of the JVP is petty-bourgeois socialism, meaning thereby that they are severely critical of capitalist exploitation and capitalist society, but do not call for the anti-capitalist struggle."

The resolution says this on the armed struggle:

> "The rebels did not make any attempt to win the participation of the working class or any other section of the oppressed either before or after the armed struggle began. They had no plans for mass mobilisation. They relied entirely on their own forces for success in the struggle against the forces of the capitalist state....
> "It was thus that the armed struggle was only a courageous but reckless undertaking, without any hope of success from the very outset."

In contrast, Tampoe (LSSP[R]) and the United Secretariat, by their uncritical support of the politics of the JVP, must bear some responsibility for the adventurist April uprising of the JVP.

Here is what Tampoe reported to the Eleventh Delegates Meeting of the CMU on 27 November 1970 regarding a joint meeting they held, to protest the shooting of an estate worker in "Keenakele" Tea Estate, with a JVP leader and another reformist, Tamil communalist trade-union leader Illangecheleyan:

> "A historic feature of the meeting was the coming together on the same platform of the most well-known leaders of the Dravidian Progressive Movement (DMK) and the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna, Illangecheleyan and Rohana Wijeweera. Each has been described as a racialist, the one Dravidian and the other Singhala, but both spoke in terms of Marxism-Leninism."

Nor could we dismiss all this as just Tampoe's own irresponsibility and opportunism, which cannot be [foisted] on the leaders of the United Secretariat. The statement issued by the United Secretariat when the uprising took place is no less irresponsible and no less opportunistic, and therefore anti-Marxist. Here is the relevant passage:

> "The government had failed to consider even the most meagre measures for the problems of high prices and the continual erosion of the living standards of the masses. Unhappily for the coalition leaders, they had now to take account of another factor—the emergence of a single revolutionary front between the JVP, the LSSP(R), Ceylon Section of the Fourth International, and the Young Socialist Front, the new revolutionary nucleus formed among the plantation workers."

Thus not only Tampoe but his mentors of the United Secretariat—the Mandels and Pierre Franks—solidarised themselves politically with the petty-bourgeois Sinhalese chauvinist politics of the JVP. Thus the Tampoes and the Mandels must bear responsibility for disorienting the Sri Lanka youth and pushing the JVP movement headlong to its doom.

Outcome of the JVP Armed Struggle

The killing and torturing of hundreds of youth, the long jail sentences for the leaders of the JVP movement including life imprisonment for Rohana Wijeweera are not the only outcome of this struggle.

The struggle debunked the theories of bourgeois reformists, the Stalinists

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

Ceylon Prime Minister Bandaranaike

and the reformist LSSP and petty-bourgeois politicians in Sri Lanka that no armed struggle is possible, because it is a land where people are predominantly Buddhists, where violence is against their tradition and culture.

However, thanks to the adventurist nature of the struggle and its failure to draw the working class and toilers behind it, and thanks to the treachery of the LSSP and CP and the reformist leaders of the trade-union movement, the capitalist state in Sri Lanka has been strengthened as never before. The capitalist ruling class led by the SLFP leader Sirima Bandaranaike has modernised and streamlined the repressive apparatus of the state, both organisationally and technically. The armed forces, the army, navy, air force and the police have been expanded and equipped with the most modern armaments for the effective suppression of the working class and toilers.

Repressive laws never before known in this country have been passed as regulations under the Public Security Act, including the notorious Criminal Justice Commission Act.

Thus the capitalist state in the hands of bourgeois leader Sirima Bandaranaike is in the process of establishing its strong state—the naked dictatorship of the capitalist class to crush the trade-union movement and the working class, and to destroy the left movement by a bloodbath as in the case of the suppression of the youth, if that becomes necessary.

But this catastrophe for the working class and the left movement is by no means inevitable. This could well be averted if only the working class, the youth, the poor peasants and exploited break from coalition politics, and those treacherous leaders of the LSSP and CP, and speedily take the road of class struggle, and at the same time take meaningful steps to build the new leadership—the revolutionary Marxist party. This is the only road that could smash all repressive legislation and the murderous apparatus of the state, free all political prisoners, end capitalist rule and open the road to socialism. ■

Bulletin der Österreichischen Bolschewiki-Leninisten

Preis:
US $2 — 4 Nummern

Bestellungen und Überweisungen an:
Postfach 39
1033 Vienna
Austria

Continued from page 7

Peking...

In this atmosphere it is not surprising that various left tendencies have begun to mushroom, including anarchist, syndicalist and quasi-Trotskyist groupings. At times these have reportedly been able to lead strikes while defeating the bankrupt Maoist leadership.

Among the new formations is the Daily Combatting Bulletin (DCB) group, which is under the influence of the majority faction of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). The OCB claims to have a certain amount of mass support, having reportedly organized last year a May 5 demonstration against inflation which attracted 5,000 participants. It has also demonstrated against the deportation of 118 Vietnamese refugees to Saigon, a protest which received no support whatever from local representatives of the China-first Peking regime. This chauvinist attitude should be no surprise to anyone who has followed the Mao-Chou détente politicking, which was a key element in inducing the North Vietnamese to accept the 1973 Paris "peace" accords. The OCB group also organized demonstrations supporting "the Korean mass struggle," a focus which apparently stirred the Maoists' ire, since Kim Il Sung is not on Mao's list of "progressive" personalities

Spartacist Local Directory

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND . . . . . (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON . . . . . (617) 282-7587
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO . . . . . (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO . . . . . (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND . . . . . (216) 621-3379
Box 6785,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT . . . . . (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON . . . . . (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA . . . . . (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES . . . (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN . . . . . (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS . . . (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK . . . . . (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA . . (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO . . . . . (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

(such as the Shah of Iran and Yahya Khan).

It is criminal that Peking, in its efforts to seduce the bourgeois governments of the world, props up one of the last, and most lucrative, outposts of British imperialism. In its drive to line up "non-superpowers" (e.g., Japan, European NATO countries, etc.) against the "number one enemy"—"Soviet social-imperialism"—the Maoist bureaucracy deliberately supports the continuation of colonial rule. Thus the struggle of Hong Kong workers for their liberation from Britain and capitalist exploitation has as its foremost and most immediate enemy..."People's China"! It is not possible to lead these struggles forward to victory without a clear policy toward the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy of the Chinese deformed workers state. The fake Trotskyists of the USec unfortunately do not have the stomach (or the principles) for a fight against Maoism, as militants in the DCB group will soon discover.

In the 1950's the International Secretariat (now the USec majority) hoped to reform the recently triumphant CCP through friendship (rather than calling for political revolution), and so its leaders "forgot" to champion the cause of hundreds of Chinese Trotskyists languishing in Mao's jails. During the "Great Cultural Revolution" the USec supported the Mao clique in the intrabureaucratic struggles that were going on, trying as it normally does to operate as a left pressure group on Stalinist forces. Because of the dynamics of the Hong Kong situation, the DCB group finds itself forced to confront the Maoist union bureaucracy; it nevertheless already recapitulates the USec tradition. To disillusioned Maoists it explains that "the compromise policy of the Hong Kong Maoists . . . is a consequence of the degeneration of the Chinese Revolution" (*Inprecor*, 6 June 1974).

But the Chinese Revolution was deformed from its very inception! There were no Chinese soviets in 1949, or since; there are not even germs, let alone vestiges, of workers democracy in the land of Mao Tse-tung thought. In fact, the same elements which constituted the bureaucracy of the CCP in its supposedly "undegenerate" (i.e., revolutionary) period are still, in various combinations, the leaders of the CCP today.

The very methodology of the USec is to substitute maneuver and pressure for the principled programmatic struggle of revolutionary Trotskyism. Little Hong Kong lies sandwiched between China and the sea. Historically it has been a key juncture between Western and Japanese imperialisms and China. Only a fiercely internationalist movement can have any hope of carrying out a proletarian revolution under such conditions.

A Hong Kong workers republic is unimaginable—in the absence of revolutionary uprisings in China or Japan a Hong Kong Commune would have, at best, a few days of life before it would be smashed by one or several of these powers. At the same time, however, a revolutionary Trotskyist movement here could serve both as a catalyst and a crucial link between the powerful Chinese and Japanese proletariats. The USec has demonstrated its inability to build such parties. ■

Continued from page 4

Busing . . .

side of the social revolution and against U.S. imperialism!

Of the SL's call for the formation of a bi-racial defense force based on the trade unions and black community organizations, the SWP has this to say:

> "Such a defense force would be an ideal solution, but unfortunately it does not correspond to the level of organization or consciousness. . . ."

But to paraphrase a remark of Eugene V. Debs which the SWP's J.P. Cannon was fond of quoting, it's better to call for what you want and not get it than to call for what you *don't* want and get it. In other words, if the SL's call for organized self-defense and proletarian class solidarity is not now taken up by the masses (thanks in part to the calculated misleadership of reformists like the SWP), it nonetheless is what is urgently needed. But the SWP's demand for federal troops, far from "pav[ing] the way for the movement, as it gathers strength, to take further measures," is *counterposed* to the development of class consciousness and militant organization.

The bourgeoisie has demonstrated that it will sometimes grant the SWP's demand—but only to intervene on the side of the racists and reactionaries *against* the embattled black masses! In Detroit (1943), Little Rock, Ark. (1957), Birmingham, Ala. (1963), Selma, Ala. (1965), Uncle Sam's troops went in to crush nascent movements of black self-defense (see *Young Spartacus* No. 27, December 1974). The SWP now prates about Little Rock where federal troops were supposedly sent in "to protect the lives of Black students." But in fact the purpose of the intervention was to suppress armed blacks who had begun to fight back in defense of their community. As the bourgeois *Amsterdam News* headlined (28 September 1957), "Ike Moves As Negroes Hit Back."

The current *Militant* article leans heavily on the example of black nationalist Robert F. Williams whose book *Negroes With Guns*, describes the organization of a black self-defense grouping in Monroe County, North Carolina. The SWP is attempting to show that self-defense and appeals to the bourgeois armed forces for protection went "hand in hand." In fact, the SWP succeeds only in showing once again that it was only the threat of armed blacks organizing which pushed the city officials into banning the Ku Klux Klan.

The root of the SWP's call for federal troops to police Boston goes deeper than naïveté over the efficacy of asking the U.S. imperialist army to "protect lives." The SWP's entire strategy is based upon an attempt to prove itself "respectable" enough to be of assistance to the liberal politicians and nonviolent black "leaders" who are calling for troops. Accordingly, the SWP presents the capitalist state—the repressive apparatus of the bourgeoisie—as an institution which in effect can transform its class character if only sufficient "mass pressure" is mobilized. The SWP's fundamental revisionism on the *nature of the state* is a decisive link in the chain which it is eagerly forging—the chain which ties it to the bourgeoisie. ■

Continued from page 1

Franco . . .

can order while respecting private property."—quoted in Felix Morrow, *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Spain*.

For a Workers Government

The Stalinists' defense of private property and the bourgeois order has not changed from 1936 until today. Peaceful coexistence and the Democratic Junta are simply the current expressions of their policies of class collaboration. Until recently in Spain this policy was expressed by sharply limiting the demands put forward by Stalinist-led workers commissions (the clandestine trade unions) to purely economic demands. Even demands for legal trade unions independent of the state and for the right to strike were too "advanced," they argued.

Now that such enforced apoliticism is no longer possible, these betrayers have been agitating for a "democratic" (i.e., liberal bourgeois) government, presumably on the model of the Chilean Popular Unity or the current military-Stalinist-social democratic coalition in Portugal. And just as the popular-front regime in Chile prepared the way for a bloody coup by preaching faith in the "constitutionalist" military, just as the Stalinists today suppress strikes in Lisbon, so such a "democratic" government would be a noose around the neck of the working class.

We warn that, given the chance, Carrillo will repeat this infamous treachery tomorrow in Spain. Only by raising the need to break with the Assembly of Catalonia and the Democratic Junta, only by openly fighting against the class-collaborationist policies of popular frontism can revolutionaries show the way forward to the working masses. The struggle for a workers government, based on democratically elected bodies representing the working class, is crucial if the tragic fate of the Spanish Republic is to be avoided. ■

Continued from page 5

. . . Coral

denunciation of "terrorist and guerrillaist forms of violence," it is not surprising that Coral's speech to the "multisectorial" was widely interpreted by press and television as support for the government. However, according to the 15 October *Avanzada Socialista* the version of the speech distributed by the government's press office contained "omissions" which altered its meaning; therefore *AS* published a "textual reconstruction" of Coral's words.

As a "fraternal service" to the PST, its ally in the factional battle raging in the USec, the SWP recently published an English version of Coral's statement (*Intercontinental Press*, 13 January). However, *IP* apparently did a little "reconstructing" itself in order to spruce up the key passage.

For the most part the English translation accurately reproduces the Spanish text. Coral repeats his "firm condemnation of the death of the latest victim of the terror, who happens to be an officer of the armed forces," announces that "all inhabitants of the country should bear the consequences equally" if there is a grave national emergency, equates guerrillaism to coups d'état ("although the aims are different"), etc.

But when we come to the section in which Coral announces that the PST "luchará por la continuidad de este gobierno" ("will fight for the continuity of this government"), this is rendered as: "... will fight to keep this government's term of office from being cut short illegitimately..."! This is something quite different. Apparently Joseph Hansen, like Coral & Co., feels that dictionaries are inadequate to interpret what the PST is saying.

Lenin and Trotsky repeatedly stressed the need to defend democratic rights and oppose bonapartist coups. However, the PST "translates" this into supporting "bourgeois democracy," "institutionalization" (including against leftist guerrillas) and the "continuity" of the present government. Aside from the fact that the "democracy" of the bonapartist Peronist regime is in any case quite limited, such a statement can mean nothing but political support for the government and for the parliamentary form of bourgeois class dictatorship. ■

Continued from page 1

UAW Demo . . .

union bureaucracy have the same program for layoffs: support your local capitalists and rely on the federal government.

This is also the program of Detroit's Mayor Coleman Young, who endorsed the UAW Washington demonstration remarking that, "The people this time want the government to provide jobs..." (*Daily World*, 9 January). While calling on "higher-ups" in Washington to allocate more money to job programs, Young had just laid off 1,500 city employees!

In addition to the labor bureaucracy and liberal Democrats, many supposed socialist and militant trade-union organizations have the same perspective of pressuring the capitalist government. At a recent (January 17) Detroit city council hearing on unemployment, the United National Caucus (UNC) of the UAW put out a leaflet entitled "Jobs Not Jive" which apologized for Young: "We must recognize that neither the Common Council nor Mayor Young has the kind of power needed to deal with a disaster of this magnitude."

While the UNC, like the present Woodcock leadership of the UAW, called for better unemployment compensation and decreased military expenditures, the Maoist Communist Labor Party (CLP) came up with an even better gimmick: declare Detroit a "national disaster area" and fully implement the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) of 1973! CLP spokesmen at the city council hearings called for transforming CETA into a weapon in the hands of the workers.

Jobs for All!

The reformists have no answer to layoffs. Their entire program is to give support to the left wing of the capitalist class while masking their capitulations in "revolutionary" rhetoric. But in their desire to become one with the labor bureaucracy they are often led to unwillingly expose their own capitulation. Thus at the Detroit city council meeting Hank Wilson, president of the Dearborn Assembly unit of UAW Local 600 (River Rouge), spoke for the CLP-led Workers Action Coalition for Jobs, saying to the council: "We elected you. We have confidence in the Council. Now join us in this fight!"

As against such fake naïveté, speakers for the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League at the January 17 unemployment hearings stressed the need for working-class independence from the bourgeoisie. "The city government and Coleman Young have already given us a clear indication of how they intend to deal with the problem of massive unemployment," declared Ron Anderson of the SL, pointing to the recent hiring of cops and firing of city workers. Revolutionary socialists support the demand that there be no cutbacks in government-funded jobs programs, he continued, and call for unconditional and unlimited unemployment compensation, as well as public works programs at union scale and under union control. "But the fight for *jobs for all* is the key fight!"

The Woodcock bureaucracy occasionally makes noises in the direction of social-democratic reformism, for instance its support for Canada's New Democratic Party. At the recent convention of Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), several auto union officials were prominent participants, including former vice-president Victor Reuther, vice-president Doug Fraser, Chicago district International representative Carl Sheir and others. And at the February 5 Washington rally, UAW vice-president Bannon even mumbled something about planned production.

But while Bannon and Co. call on workers to give up cost-of-living pay in order to maintain supplemental unemployment benefits, the Spartacist League calls on the government to take over the SUB fund and merge it with unemployment and welfare programs. As for planned production, the SL/SYL spokesman at the Detroit unemployment hearings pointed out: "Neither Democrats nor Republicans will fight against the ravages of unemployment because they are tied to the coattails of the corporate magnates. What is necessary is the routing of the present labor leaders and the construction of a workers party to fight for the expropriation of industry, without compensation, and the planning of production under a workers government." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

ILWU Bureaucrats Censure Strike Militancy

KNC or Boron—Victory or Defeat?

OAKLAND, February 7—Only a few days after rank-and-file militants managed to snatch a limited victory from the jaws of defeat at the KNC Glass strike in Union City, the leadership of the union—Local 6 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU)—has launched a divisive, self-serving attack on one of the militants most responsible for defeating the company's union-busting plans. The General Executive Board of the Local voted last week to censure one of its members, Bob Mandel, for "provocative actions" and "anti-union attacks" in connection with the strike.

It was Mandel who, together with other militants, initiated the mass picketing and "hot-cargoing" of shipments bound for the plant that led the employer to abandon attempts to bring in scabs and be rid of the union forever. Ironically, even the International paper, the *Dispatcher* (24 January) agrees that militant action was the key: "Due to large mobilization in front of the plant January 9, the company backed off its threat to bring scabs in. . . ."

The KNC strike was important because it demonstrated the power of militant class struggle to prevent the kind of crushing defeat suffered last fall by ILWU Local 30 in Boron, California, in which 400 jobs were lost to strikebreakers brought in by U.S. Borax Co. In that strike, dedicated scabs living in the plant achieved victory for the company because ILWU leaders allowed borax to be shipped (some by ILWU longshoremen!) and refused to organize anything but token outside support.

In contrast, when KNC management in Union City issued a Boron-like threat to replace striking workers, it was met with a mass picket composed of Local 6 members from surrounding warehouses, as well as members from the longshore and clerks locals and other unions. These workers turned out because of a leaflet they had received calling for "no more Borons," warning them of the danger of scabs and demanding a militant response from the union leadership. The leaflet, entitled "Defend the KNC Glass Strike! Mass Union Pickets Against Scabs! Don't Handle Scab Goods!" (signed by Local 6 members Bob Mandel, John Dow and Pete Farruggio) contained nothing "provocative" or "anti-union." It was the exposure of the bureaucracy's do-nothing, defeatist policies and the militant actions sparked by the leaflet that were the targets of the Local's top leadership.

WV PHOTO

Mass picketing stopped scabs, union-busting at KNC Glass strike last month.

WV PHOTO

Militant ILWU warehousemen raise class-struggle program.

Militant Caucus Formed

Following the executive board's censure of Mandel, the first act of the militants who had put out the KNC leaflet was to organize as the Militant Caucus and publish issue No. 1 of a caucus newsletter, the *Warehouse Militant*. The newsletter declares, "No more Borons—let's get on with the business of winning strikes decisively!"

It also announces the purpose of the Militant Caucus: "We must build a new leadership in Local 6 and throughout the entire union based on a class-struggle program and a militant strategy." The newsletter invites all ILWU members who agree with a ten-point program to join the caucus. The "Program in Brief" includes demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, international class solidarity and breaking with the class collaborationism of the official union leadership, through breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and building a workers party "based on a class struggle program to fight for a workers government."

The *Warehouse Militant* points out that the censure motion against Mandel was no isolated act but rather a confirmation that "the leadership is rejecting those tactics which prevented another Boron at KNC and which could have been used to win a good contract: mass picketing and refusing to handle scab goods." It also reports that wild, scandalous charges and threats to expel Mandel from the union accompanied the censure motion:

> "BA [Business Agent] Joe Figuerdo called people like Mandel 'provocateurs sent in by the companies.' BA Ramos said he was 'scabbing for the bosses.' International Rep. LeRoy King demanded his expulsion from the union. Mandel's only crime in the eyes of the bureaucrats is that he helped to wage a militant defense of the KNC strike."

Asked by a *Workers Vanguard* reporter about the charges published in the *Warehouse Militant*, Local 6 Secretary-Treasurer Keith Eickman said he was aware of a group that had been formed by "a member who is dissatisfied" with current union policies. He said the censure motion against Mandel was for "unwillingness to cooperate with the membership," whatever that means, but he vigorously and repeatedly denied any intention to expel Mandel from the union.

The slanders leveled against Mandel at the Executive Board meeting have all the earmarks of a Stalinist-style purge of the left, in which charges of collusion with the class enemy are raised against militants in order to cover up for the bureaucrats' own cravenly sellout policies. And, in fact, the Local 6 leadership is one of the last remaining strongholds of influence of the reformist Communist Party in the ILWU. The signs are, however, that the membership—and KNC strikers in particular—are detecting this onslaught for what it really is, a tissue of lies.

KNC Workers Back Militant

The *Warehouse Militant* reprints a statement by Paul Rosenberg, chief steward at KNC, confirming this. While noting that "Brother Mandel and I have differences," Rosenberg declares, "Rather than censuring Brother Mandel, the General Executive Board ought to have applauded him," and he goes on to list seven reasons, including: ". . . helping to defend the picket line against the attacks of the Union City police on the morning of January 9th . . . conducting himself as a responsible union member . . ." and "helping to strengthen unity between English- and Spanish-speaking workers from KNC." The chief steward also states flatly that ". . . *all the provocation* was done by the owners of KNC and the Union City police."

The Rosenberg statement praises Mandel for insisting that the union do everything possible to stop shipments of glass from the docks to the plants, and says that the action, once undertaken, "contributed greatly to our victory." It notes, however, that it was Local President McLain himself who actually, together with others, visited the docks and halted glass shipments. In fact, all such actions (mass picketing, hot cargoing) were carried out through official union channels.

The leadership did, in fact, show up at the lines on the crucial day (January 9). An article in the *Dispatcher* (24 January), brags of "the presence of International officers Louis Goldblatt and Bill Chester, the entire longshore negotiating committee, and the Northern California regional staff, as well as local officers." The article failed to mention the fact that one member of the longshore bargaining committee, ILWU President Harry Bridges, did not come down to the picket line. It also did not mention the failure of the same officers to turn out for the Boron strike lines, or the fact that the chief initiator of the mass picketing had just been censured by bureaucrats in Local 6!

In its conclusion, the Rosenberg statement condemns the Local 6 Executive Board action and vehemently defends the class-struggle tactics used at KNC:

> ". . . The motion of censure by our Executive Board against Brother Mandel does not strengthen our union, it weakens it. It weakens it because it encourages the employers and their various government agencies to believe that our union opposes the very kinds of militant actions that brought the union an important victory at KNC.
>
> "Therefore I call upon the General Executive Board to drop its motion of censure against Brother Mandel and to drop as well any talk of expulsion. Further I urge that the General Executive Board pass a motion giving support to and encouraging those forms of militant union action that were exhibited during the strike at KNC."

This ringing indictment of the cowardly and divisive Executive Board act was subsequently endorsed *by virtually every worker at KNC*. Such a stinging rebuke robs the Local 6 leaders of any pretense for charges of "provocation" or "anti-union attacks" on the part of Mandel.

KNC or Boron?

As the *Warehouse Militant* states:

> ". . . the union officials who were dragging their feet during the strike are attempting to prevent the strategy that won at KNC from being used to win further strikes. The people who lose strikes are trying to crush the people who win strikes! The question is being posed for the entire union: Which way to run strikes? KNC or Boron?"

The issue of the militant methods of

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 63 28 February 1975

Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!

Protest Daily News *Smear Campaign!*

As joblessness continues to soar, big business interests and their apologists in the labor movement are desperately looking for a scapegoat to divert the rising anger of working people. As in the past the strategy of the defenders of the capitalist system of exploitation and unemployment is to intensify national and other divisions in the working class.

Currently there is a reactionary offensive to whip up chauvinist hysteria against undocumented immigrants and other foreign workers. The head of the passport division of the State Department has just proposed the introduction of national identity cards for U.S. citizens as a means of eliminating "illegal aliens." All militants must protest this South African-style police-state measure and unite to defeat it before it can be implemented.

Last year more than 800,000 were deported by U.S. authorities; this year they promise to expel 1,000,000 or more. The jingoist campaign extends from coast to coast. In Los Angeles "migra" authorities regularly sweep through the barrio of East L.A. in Gestapo-like dragnets that resulted in tens of thousands of deportations last year.

In New York a series of rabid articles recently published by the *Daily News* accused foreign workers of being responsible for every conceivable social ill (unemployment, bad schools, high taxes, etc.) with headlines such as "100,000 Illegal Aliens Rob City" and "An Alien Bust Would Boom Jobs, Official Says."

The Spartacist League has been in the forefront of the fight against deportations. In California the SL was the first left organization to publicly denounce Cesar Chavez' attacks on foreign workers, notably his support for the Rodino-Kennedy Bill, at a time when most opportunists were shamelessly apologizing for the United Farm Workers leader. (The SL also defended the UFW against grower, Teamster and government attack, calling for "hot-cargoing" of scab produce and a statewide general strike in defense of the union.)

In New York the SL was repeatedly active in demonstrations against the deportations of Haitians last year.

Recently, on February 11, the Spartacist League-initiated Ad Hoc Committee to Smash the Attacks on Foreign Workers picketed the offices of the *Daily News* protesting the racist and chauvinist filth being spewed out in its campaign against aliens. At the demonstration SL spokesmen called for a fight to win jobs for all, to stop the deportations and to achieve full citizenship rights for all foreign-born residents of the country. The struggle to stop the deportations is an urgent task of all socialists and labor militants.

—No Deportations! Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers!

—Jobs for All! 30 Hours' Work for 40 Hours' Pay! Organize the Unorganized!

—Expropriate Industry and Finance—No Compensation! Forward to a Planned Economy Under a Workers Government!

—Workers of the World, Unite!

Stop the Deportations!

WV PHOTO

Demonstrators protest N.Y. Daily News hysteria campaign against foreign workers, February 11.

Ethiopian Troops Out of Eritrea!

MICHEL LAURENT GAMMA

Eritrean Liberation Front fighters in January.

For the past three weeks, Ethiopian troops and planes have been massacring thousands of civilians in brutal "mopping-up" operations in the main towns of Eritrea (particularly Asmara, the capital) while napalming numerous villages. This, however, is only the latest stage in a 13-year campaign of repression against Eritrean nationalist rebels who wish to secede from the Ethiopian empire.

These attacks are being carried out by the military junta which took power in Addis Ababa last year, as part of its "Ethiopia First" policy of subjugating dissident minorities to the traditionally dominant Amharic nation. Although this policy is now masked with "socialist" rhetoric, it has not changed from when it was carried out by the arch-reactionary Emperor Haile Selassie with Israeli advisors and military support from U.S. imperialism. Moreover, Washington has just announced that it is resuming arms and ammunition deliveries to Ethiopian forces. China, also, is reportedly backing the junta.

Without placing any political confidence in the petty-bourgeois leaders of the present Eritrean independence movement, we call for their military victory over the troops of the junta. Socialists must defend the democratic right of self-determination for Eritrea, as well as other democratic demands including full civil and trade-union liberties, a democratic constituent assembly and agrarian revolution. We warn, however, that only a workers and peasants government which overthrows capitalism can carry out national democratic tasks in an epoch when the "national" bourgeoisies are but waterboys of imperialism. For the Right of Self-Determination for Eritrea! Ethiopian Troops Out of Eritrea! No Military Aid to the Junta! Military Victory for the ELF/EPLF! ■

Pabloists Betray Trotskyist Prisoners

Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries.....6

SOVFOTO

PL Gangster Attacks in River Rouge

Militants Fight for Program in UAW Unemployment Committee

WV PHOTO

Ford's River Rouge complex in Detroit.

DETROIT—Unemployment lines here grow longer daily as the continuing collapse of production at auto's "Big Three" spreads to related and service industries. The city's largest single employer, Chrysler, recently reported its greatest net losses in history for both the fourth quarter and all of 1974 (*New York Times*, 18 February). According to industry sources, at its current depletion rate the Chrysler SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) fund will be exhausted by the end of March (*Detroit News*, 12 February). In spite of this and ignoring the crying need for union organization of the unemployed to fight for jobs and increased benefits, the United Auto Workers' Solidarity House has actively *opposed* the establishment of local and regional unemployment committees.

One of the few UAW committees to emerge with actual membership participation is the Unemployment Committee (UC) of the Dearborn Assembly plant at Ford's River Rouge complex (Local 600). Much of the left press credits this to "progressive" DAP unit chairman Hank Wilson. However, in recent interviews with Unemployment Committee members *WV* learned that, in fact, the creation of the UC represented Wilson's frightened response to independent initiative from the ranks. In the week before the first massive layoff on November 15, Wilson reportedly had to be pressured into even calling a union meeting, the first since August!

Ten militants in the unit had signed and distributed a leaflet urging DAP workers to turn out for the meeting and vote for union-wide action against layoffs. Their leaflet called for the creation of union unemployment committees and the election of a special body to mobilize throughout the UAW for reopening the contract to win jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, opening the company's books, full cost-of-living protection and other key demands.

At the meeting, the "progressive" unit chairman reportedly ruled this motion out of order, repeatedly interrupting and cutting off the speaker. This came after Wilson had spent 30 minutes of his president's report waving the leaflet about while decrying "outsiders" and "communism"! Wilson then announced he had *appointed* about ten unit officers and committeemen to an Unemployment Committee. Workers at the meeting said none of the appointees had ever heard of the committee before that!

(Such bureaucratic high-handedness and red-baiting are the stock-in-trade of labor fakers who support the present capitalist system, as Wilson does. In a telephone interview he told *WV*: "I think we can improve the system we have.... The system is failing now, there's no question about that, but there's so much room for improvement.")

Program for Victory or Reformist Antics?

The UC did not go quite the way Wilson had planned. Most of his appointees have reportedly boycotted the committee, orienting to an anti-Wilson electoral bloc for the upcoming spring unit elections. A number of workers sympathetic to the views of various left groups have, however, participated. Most have been more than willing to go along with Wilson's desire to use the Unemployment Committee as a sounding board for his own re-election plans, at the expense of raising the necessary political answers to company layoffs and the strangulation of the union by the Woodcock machine.

Nevertheless, the DAP workers who had drawn Wilson's fire at the November meeting, principally Jerry Harris and Keith Dodds, joined the committee to fight for a strategy to meet the industry/government offensive. In an interview, Harris explained that a proposal submitted by him and several other militants not only answered the immediate problems facing auto workers but also pointed to their fundamental solutions.

Among the points included in this program were: jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and massive union-controlled public works; increased unemployment/SUB benefits for the duration of layoff; a fight against the special oppression of women and minorities; a fight for full citizenship rights for foreign workers (particularly important to Detroit's many Arab auto workers); international workers solidarity against economic protectionism and imperialist war plans; workers control of a nationalized auto industry (no compensation to the owners); and a break with the back-stabbing Democrats to build a workers party.

These militants also took the lead in advocating a tactic that could reverse the union's complete passivity in the face of permanent layoffs which have hit more than a third of auto production workers: the sitdown strike. At the January 25 DAP unit meeting, the day after another 500 workers were sacked, Dodds put forward two motions, one calling for nationwide UAW sitdown strikes against layoffs and the other mandating a sitdown demonstration in the plant to protest the layoffs which have already cost over 2,000 Dearborn Assembly workers their jobs. Wilson's behavior was the same as in November, continually interrupting the speaker and finally ruling his motion out of order.

The clash in the UC and at union meetings between Wilson's reformism and class-struggle politics has seen the supporters of several left groups repeatedly side with Wilson or else "lie low," providing no leadership in the fight against unemployment. Those who sympathize with the Communist Party repeatedly declare their support for Wilson and Mayor Coleman Young. Others who support the views of the Communist Labor Party have had nothing more to propose than a Christmas party to raise money for the unemployed (!) and sending a letter to other UAW locals notifying them of the UC's existence.

PL Race-Baiting and Red-Baiting

By far the most grovelling performance, however, has been by supporters of the Progressive Labor Party. With originally only one committee member sympathetic to their politics, himself a member of the motley hodgepodge called United Trade Unionists (UTU), ever increasing numbers of PL supporters simply started attending and voting at UC meetings, despite the fact that none of them were employed or laid off from the DAP! When this was objected to, PL's newspaper *Challenge* (30 January) stooped to a new low in gross red-baiting and race-baiting. Describing its opponents as "racist swine," PL whined:

> "...there is an organized right wing of the Maoist Revolutionary Union, Trotskyite Sparticus [*sic*] League and sell-out "Communist" Party members. They have done everything in their power to side-track discussion."

Evidently sentiment against the PL supporters' obviously undemocratic maneuver was somewhat more widespread than *Challenge* implies, as a recent UC meeting voted overwhelmingly to restrict voting rights to employed and laid-off workers from DAP. Only two voted against, the UTUer and a PL supporter who has never worked at Dearborn Assembly.

PL is well aware that the UAW bureaucracy has used its red clause to purge militants from the union's ranks before. By attempting to finger workers as "members" of "outside" organizations, PL aids the companies and the anti-communist UAW tops. Aware that red-baiting can be used against them too, and having seen Hank Wilson's proficiency in this area, PL supporters have *not once* put forward or fought for positions Wilson disagreed with.

Nor have they objected when Wilson altered the minimal program of the UC, going so far as to add to it, in one of his "Ford Facts" columns, a call for wage controls! They have never mentioned Wilson's support of the entire Woodcock slate at the 1974 UAW convention, nor his support for the "entire Democratic ticket" in the fall elections. In UC meetings they have labelled DAP workers who dared to oppose Wilson as "snakes"!

Stalinist Gangsterism

It is PL's cowardly unwillingness (in fact, its inability) to distinguish itself from Wilson's craven reformism that has made it grow more and more shrill in denouncing those who do fight for class-struggle policies. The 15 February *Challenge* shrieks:

> "Also if the racist Trotskyites think that they will go on sabotaging and disrupting our committee and local, and setting up our leaders for attack, they too are dead wrong. We in PLP have been very patient in struggling against their racist dribble. They have exposed themselves to all as representing no one but themselves. We will no longer tolerate these self-centered, boss-serving saboteurs. They have been politically isolated and must now be physically defeated."

PL supporters have already begun to act out these hooligan fantasies. They began by threatening to "kick ass" on various Unemployment Committee members during UC meetings. Then at the January 25 union meeting the UTUer was not content with chanting along with right-wing bureaucrats "no support, no support" in response to Dodds' sitdown proposals; nor with applauding wildly when one committeeman suggested removing Dodds and Harris from the UC for leafletting the plant advocating sitdowns (only six weeks earlier this same UTUer had done the same). Almost immediately after the meeting concluded this two-bit would-be thug lunged across a table to assault Dodds and had to be dragged off by other workers, who immediately leaped to the militants' defense.

An even more serious provocation occurred recently in the plant itself. During a break, three PL supporters, none of whom work in the building, cornered a worker who had frequently supported the militant perspectives of Dodds and Harris in UC meetings. They tried to provoke a fight with full knowledge that the worker could be instantly fired for fighting on company property. This militant told *WV* that the thugs started to push him around in an aisle bordered on both sides by boxes of stock. Only because he managed to move into sight of the other workers on the line was a bloody incident averted. The Stalinists finally left muttering threats of further violence.

Reformists are driven to such frenzy by the class-struggle politics which expose their subservient alliance with sellout bureaucrats. While they may curry favor with a temporary ally (who will turn on them later with the same methods they are now using), the PLers' thuggery and opportunism cannot build a working-class movement that will put an end to unemployment and overthrow capitalism. Those union militants in the DAP Unemployment Committee who have been advancing a class-struggle program hold the key to unlocking the bureaucratic chains that bind the UAW to the class enemy. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Witnesses Admit Lies, Reveal Frame-up

Free Carter and Artis!

Late one evening in 1966 two friends, Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis, were driving in Paterson, New Jersey. They were picked up, questioned about a triple murder and held for 17 hours by local police before being released without charges. Four months later two witnesses stepped forward and accused Carter and Artis of being the two gunmen involved in the shooting of three whites in a local tavern the same evening Carter and Artis were first questioned. Because of recent riots in the black sections of Paterson, and because the victims were white and the killers allegedly black, the murders received nationwide publicity.

1964 Harlem Riots

In addition to being a well-known boxer (a leading contender for the middleweight championship in the early 1960's), Carter also had a reputation as a militant, stemming from comments made to a *Saturday Evening Post* reporter after the Harlem riots of 1964: "Self-defense is the absolute right of every living being on earth.... The Black public ought to protect its own against this type of tyrannical invasion by white cops into Black neighborhoods" (quoted in the *Guardian*, 12 February 1975).

The 1964 Harlem riots were preceded by a vitriolic press campaign against black people in New York. When the killing of 15-year-old James Powell by an off-duty cop sparked protests in Harlem, the cops used this as an excuse to move into the ghetto to quell burgeoning black militancy. Wave after wave of specially trained elite police—the Tactical Patrol Force—swarmed through the streets, beating and terrorizing all who happened to be in their path.

At the time, the Spartacist League initiated the Harlem Solidarity Committee (HSC) to rally working-class support for the besieged blacks. Calling for "Remove the Rioting Cops from Harlem" and "Support the Right of the Citizens of the Ghetto to Defend Themselves," the HSC's garment center rally was attended by nearly 1,000 workers. (For a full account of the 1964 Harlem riots, see *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965.)

Sometime later, Carter moved to Paterson where the local enforcers of small-town "law and order" felt threatened by the presence of a prominent black man who refused to "stay in his place." Paterson police harassed Carter with traffic violation citations and repeatedly followed him. So when the cops had a triple-murder case on their hands, one which needed a fast "solution" because of the wide press coverage, what better way to neatly dispose of both problems than by blaming Carter?

This they did, with the now-exposed help of bought testimony. Detectives of the Passaic County Prosecutor's office promised favorable treatment to two criminals facing a series of robbery charges if they would identify Carter as the triggerman. Reportedly, a $10,500 reward was also offered to one of the "witnesses" in return for useful lies. On the night of the triple murder the two "eyewitnesses" were admittedly in the process of robbing a factory within sight of the tavern where the shootings occurred. Because of this opportune coincidence, the phony proof cooked up by cops created a nearly air-tight case.

"Witnesses" Reverse Testimony

However, the prosecution's "witnesses" have now confessed that their story in court was pure invention. In a September 1974 interview with a *New York Times* reporter one of them revealed, while in jail for another burglary conviction, that the identification of Carter and Artis was fabricated to lessen their sentences for robbery.

The perjured testimony during the 1967 trial brought Carter and Artis stiff sentences: two consecutive life terms for Carter (one for the murders, one for what the presiding judge termed "antisocial behavior") and a life term for Artis. The cops succeeded in eliminating the "nuisance" Carter; Artis was implicated only because he happened to have been with Carter on the night of the shootings.

> The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, urges readers of Workers Vanguard to contribute to the fund initiated by Carter's family to cover legal expenses for Carter and Artis. Make payable/mail to: Rubin Carter Defense Fund, Box 2934, Paterson, New Jersey 07509. For more detailed information on Martin Sostre's case and to send donations, write: Martin Sostre Defense Committee, P.O. Box 839, Ellicott Station, Buffalo, New York 14205.

Already eight irreplaceable years of these innocent men's lives have been spent behind bars on the basis of admittedly false "evidence." Even though the two fingermen were reportedly reluctant to admit their lying, they obviously took notice of the five-year statute of limitations on perjury prosecution before they recanted their testimony!

New Jersey Superior Court Judge Samuel A. Larner—the same judge who sentenced Carter and Artis in 1967—heard a motion in December for a retrial based on sworn statements by the state's two witnesses recanting their earlier testimony. He denied the request on the incredible and obviously self-serving pretext that the statements lacked the "ring of truth"!

Larner said that "the criminal minds" of the eyewitnesses "are so devious and amoral that it is impossible for a court to analyze their motivations and mental gyrations in order to arrive at a reason for their conduct" (*New York Times*, 12 December 1974). But if their testimony is not believable now, why was it sufficient for the judge to sentence Carter and Artis to life terms in 1967?!

After this initial denial Carter and Artis dismissed their "public defender" counsels and obtained two criminal-trial lawyers from New York. The new defense counsels petitioned last month to reopen the hearings on the basis of new testimony supporting the story of the recanting witnesses and claims of recently uncovered evidence, reportedly circumstantial proof that the cops planted a bullet-casing in Carter's car.

However, at a mid-February hearing, Judge Larner, who refused to disqualify himself, again rejected the motion. An appeal to higher New Jersey courts will be made shortly; if the request for a new trial is again denied at the state level the case is expected to be appealed to a federal court on constitutional grounds.

"Blind" Justice

The conviction of Carter and Artis is a blatant frame-up! Unfortunately, this victimization is no exception to the rule. The lengthy case of Martin Sostre shows chilling parallels. Sostre, too, was viciously railroaded by cops who wanted to "get" him for militancy. A repeated drug offender was coerced by the narcotics squad of the Buffalo police into setting up a supposed drug purchase by Sostre. This single witness against Sostre has now recanted his testimony, but here, too, the capitalist courts have refused to grant a retrial and Sostre remains in jail.

Frame-up victim Rubin Carter UPI

Bourgeois justice is indeed "blind"—except to the "plight" of the ilk of Nixon and his craven Watergate Gang, the Spiro Agnews, corporate extortion, etc., *ad nauseam*. While admitted Watergate criminals go free, Sostre, Carter, Artis and thousands of other innocent victims of capitalist class "justice" languish behind bars. Socialists, labor militants and black organizations must build powerful protests against such savage injusticee meted out by the bourgeois courts. Free Carter and Artis! Free Martin Sostre! For the proletarian justice of a workers state! ■

"Illegals" Under Attack

Union-Busting Roundups in L.A.

Profit-grubbing capitalists are not alone in their efforts to super-exploit hundreds of thousands of "illegal" immigrant workers under turn-of-the-century sweatshop conditions. The wretched U.S. trade-union bureaucracy cynically cooperates by refusing to organize foreign workers even in periods of economic boom, and then beating the drums of the "alien" plague when the crunch comes and mass unemployment mounts.

Following the tradition of Gompers/Meany-style "business unionism," the labor skates seek only to make a deal with "their" capitalists while openly condoning the maintenance of an "industrial reserve army" of specially oppressed workers which serves to keep all wages down. A case of this treacherous hand-in-glove collaboration with the bosses is now unfolding in Los Angeles.

Recently the U.S. immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) arrested 17 undocumented foreign workers, all members or known sympathizers of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), in a raid on the High Tide Swimwear Company. This action followed a walkout, over the dismissal of a union organizer at that plant, by about 150 workers many of whom were "illegals," on January 20.

The ILGWU has only lately and with the greatest reluctance begun to even make a pretense of organizing undocumented workers. Its long-standing policy has been to call for *tougher immigration laws*, refusing to engage in any but the most token organizing efforts of scab shops, especially in the large reservoirs of low-wage non-union labor such as the South and the L.A. area.

The chauvinist, race-baiting union tops will sacrifice anything except their own venal comforts in order to line up the workers behind the "national interests" of the bosses. Cornelius Wall, regional director of the ILGWU, told the press *after* the arrests that "we want these jobs for American citizens." The INS, he said, "cannot and will not do the job of keeping illegal aliens out" and so the unions supposedly "have no choice but to organize illegal aliens and bring their standards up" (*New York Times*, 16 February).

But Wall was more than reluctant to organize "illegals." Although the workers are now out on bail, paid by the union which has agreed to defend them, it is now reported that none other than Cornelius Wall blew the whistle on them in the first place! After the walkout the ILGWU piecard had contacted the INS and offered *union money and resources* to the agency if the INS would raid High Tide!!

Wall then ordered the workers back to work because of his "concern" about the possibility of permanent job losses. The plant was raided the day after their return. The local chief of the Immigration Service while conceding that it was "rather strange that the only aliens we picked up were union members" pleaded that "we only went into the plant because the garment workers union was so persistent."

Although Wall's underhanded efforts to unleash the government on these unfortunate workers are certainly grotesque, they are only less subtle examples of the daily practice of the ILGWU bureaucracy and the rest of union officialdom. Working-class militants must vigorously protest such jingoist attacks on foreign workers as part of the struggle to topple the labor tsars from their positions of power.

The ILGWU misleaders have an almost unrivaled record of betrayal. They repeatedly invoke arguments about runaway shops and foreign (or southern) scab labor to browbeat the membership into accepting miserly wage settlements, the grinding piecework system, rampant subcontracting at less than union scale and a starvation-level $75-a-month pension (the lowest union pension in the country). In the meantime they have used every racist, chauvinist, sexist, anti-communist ploy imaginable to suppress opposition by trade-union militants and rationalize their sellouts.

The social-democratic ILGWU is not alone in its scab attacks on foreign workers. The United Farm Workers led by that "radical" darling of liberals and "leftists", Cesar Chavez, has repeatedly turned in "illegals" to the INS and even set up its own "border patrol" to keep out Mexican workers. Meanwhile the UFW has lost most of its contracts because of Chavez' refusal to defend the picket lines.

The labor movement must mobilize to demand an end to these union-busting roundups and deportations while calling for full citizenship rights to all foreign and immigrant workers. This is only a first step toward the international labor action and organization necessary to defend union gains, particularly during the current worldwide capitalist economic crisis. Only a militant new leadership based on a class-struggle program can oust the defeatist labor bureaucracy and wage such a fight to victory. ■

Military Tightens Grip in Portugal

Troops confront demonstrators in Lisbon last year.

FEBRUARY 20—After a period of relative calm following the September 29 "stabilization" in the face of a threatened right-wing coup, events in Portugal are once more rising to a crisis level. Deep dissension exists within the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA) over questions of political and economic policy, and open strife has broken out within the government between the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) and the Socialist Party (PSP). Meanwhile the reactionaries connected with the previous Salazar-Caetano dictatorship are moblizing and have formed an ultra-rightist party, the Social Democratic Center (CDS), officially launched last month and already granted legal status.

On an international level, the imperialists have not been dormant. The CDS is obviously well-financed and such arch-conservative organs as the *Economist* (1 February 1975) have recently undertaken a campaign for aid to the PSP from European social-democratic parties (to be financed, no doubt, by the British and West German states and, of course, the U.S.). CIA agents (reportedly well over 100) have flooded the country although Washington offically denies any involvement.

Tensions soared late last month when a NATO fleet of warships and submarines began maneuvers off Portugal's coast January 29. In addition to the time-honored technique of "showing the flag" the State Department brazenly tried to create a diplomatic incident, alleging that Moscow was about to destroy Western defenses in the Atlantic by requesting use of Portuguese port facilities for Soviet fishing boats!

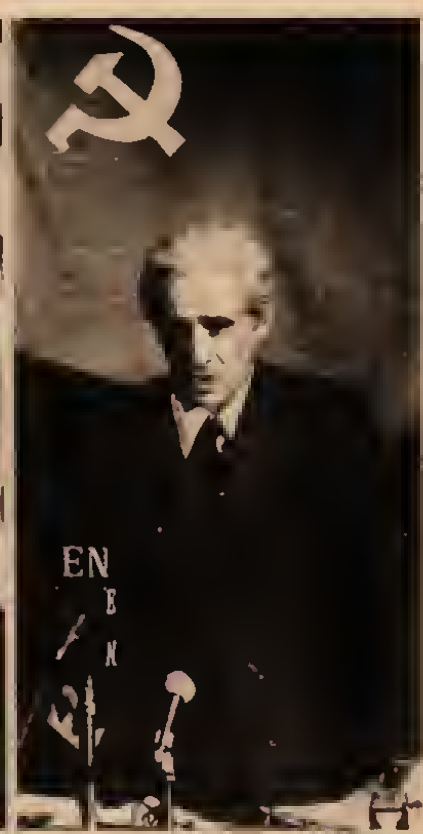
The international and domestic political conflict is taking place against the background of a sharpening economic crisis. Unemployment now stands officially at 8 percent (over 200,000) as thousands of emigrant Portuguese workers return home, unable to find jobs elsewhere in Europe. Inflation, in turn, has reached 30 percent and many enterprises have closed or are avoiding immediate bankruptcy only through the aid of short-term loans.

The highly militant Portuguese working class has repeatedly demonstrated its will to fight. This was shown by the mobilization of at least 10,000 workers, many of them marching in hard hats and overalls, on February 7 to protest against a law permitting mass layoffs. The march, organized by the delegates commissions of 38 large enterprises in the Lisbon area, defied a ban by the government, MFA and military junta on demonstrations in the capital during the NATO maneuvers.

The main banner carried by the marchers read: "Unemployment is an inevitable consequence of capitalism. That is why the workers want to destroy it and build a new world." According to a report in the French newspaper *Libération* quoted in *Informations Ouvrières* (12-19 February), when the column reached the central avenue of Lisbon, parachutist and commando units blocking the street in order to protect the American embassy opened their ranks to let the marchers pass through. As the workers reached the Ministry of Labor they raised their fists shouting, "NATO out, national independence," and were joined in the chant by the elite troops stationed around the building.

But if large sections of the workers have shown their desire to go beyond the narrow limits set by the MFA and its servile "Communist" and "Socialist" lackeys, they nevertheless stand disarmed before the ominous maneuvers of international reaction. Held back by the reformist PCP, the working class lacks above all an authentic revolutionary, Trotskyist party which can mobilize the proletariat behind a program for socialist revolution. The construction of this Leninist vanguard party is the primary task facing socialist militants in Portugal and throughout the world.

Socialist Party leader Mario Soares.



Communist Party leader Alvaro Cunhal.

Military-Enforced Trade-Union "Unity"

The disputes within the government reached a crisis point earlier this month over a hotly contested trade-union law sponsored by the Stalinists. According to the law, if more than 50 percent of Portugal's trade-union federations vote in favor of a single national inter-industry confederation, no other could be formed. This in effect puts the strikebreaking PCP in a position to discipline the entire unionized labor force, since it presently controls the one existing confederation, the Intersindical.

The law was hypocritically fought by the PSP, which has supported every other measure for legal restriction of the labor movement. Now afraid of being frozen out of the unions, social-democratic leader Mario Soares, a minister without portfolio in the government, declared that the PSP would "defend liberty" and not allow itself to become a satellite of the PCP. Another Socialist, Minister of Justice Francisco Salgado Zenha, charged that the law was "unconstitutional," which led the Stalinists to reply with justice: "One could ask, which constitution is the Minister referring to, since the 'constitution' which governs the current provisional regime is the Program of the MFA . . ." (*Avante!*, 16 January).

To counter PSP charges that the bill was being rammed through undemocratically the Intersindical staged a demonstration on January 14 which brought out over 80,000 in support of "trade-union unity." The Stalinists point out that "governments of national union" in France and Italy following World War II fell after splits in the labor movement engineered by the U.S. Irving Brown, CIA-connected European representative of the AFL-CIO and the man who set up the anti-communist labor federations, the FO in France and UIL in Italy, visited Portugal last fall.

Sentiment for trade-union unity among the ranks of labor can be a powerful force in organizing the class to overthrow the bourgeoisie. But the bureaucratic straightjacket imposed by the PCP is not proletarian unity against the capitalists. Rather it is the class-collaborationist "unity" with the class enemy which led to the tragic 1973 coup in Chile and the bloody defeat of the Spanish Republic in the 1930's.

The MFA sided with the Stalinists in this dispute, although reportedly by a narrow 11 to 9 margin in its top council. The reason, it is clear, was to ensure the tightest possible control over the unions. Since last year's coup d'état the PCP has been the main ally of the military in discouraging and literally breaking strikes. Where the reformists were too weak to hold back the workers—for instance in the strike by maintenance workers of TAP airlines in September—the MFA was forced to resort to direct military occupation. However, the troops are no longer reliable for such missions, so the Stalinists' bureaucratic stranglehold must be tightened.

Undemocratic Elections for a "Constituent Assembly"

Another key source of friction within the government stems from the approach of elections for a constituent assembly. With the long-promised vote now scheduled for April 12, pressures are mounting for postponement. (Elections have already been pushed back from the original March deadline.) The PCP favors delay on the grounds that the "democratic parties" have not had "time to prepare the broad electorate for voting on key issues" (*Daily World*, 17 January).

PCP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal alleges that early elections would favor the ultra-rightists, as the "April 25 Revolution" is only now reaching the more backward regions of the country. The MFA is also evidently concerned with the strength of reactionaries in certain areas, particularly the north, and has lately been sending army propaganda teams to the villages in order to fight the influence of elements linked with the Salazarist dictatorship, especially the priests.

However, the PCP and MFA are even more concerned to prevent "far-left" groups from participating in the elections, just as the "trade-union unity" law was aimed at preventing militant forces from consolidating organizational strength in the labor movement. Thus, in addition to repeated efforts to postpone the election, the "democratic" colonels last fall issued election laws barring all but "legal" parties from

participating. These must produce evidence of having at least 5,000 members, a requirement that so far only the PCP *and the reactionary CDS* have fulfilled.

The draconian laws on political parties and associations published in October (*after* Spinola was removed) provide the state with numerous means to ban small leftist parties. Article 21 of the parties law says that courts can dissolve a party for having less than 4,000 members, being financially insolvent, or when its "real aim is unlawful or against moral and public order." Another ground for dissolution is if a party's "aim is systematically to... disturb the discipline of the armed forces."

Those groups not large enough to qualify as parties are regulated by an "associations" law which says, in Article 3, that any groups that propose to "overthrow democratic institutions and are apologists for hate and violence are not allowed." And the preamble states that the freedom to associate with international political organizations "must necessarily suffer the limits imposed by the necessity of maintaining the parties' independence." Obviously such vaguely worded clauses are aimed at including any groups which incur the disfavor of the officer caste.

On the other side, the PCP has been at great pains to assure itself of support from the petty bourgeoisie and even sections of the bourgeoisie. At the party's congress held in Lisbon last October 20, the Stalinists formally dropped the phrase "dictatorship of the proletariat" while favorably mentioning the bourgeoisie as part of the "unity of popular forces in the political struggle."

The program also states that the PCP opposes nationalizing "small and medium-sized" businesses because "this would not be in the interests of the people" and indicates tolerance of NATO. Explaining away these changes, PCP central committee member Aurelio Santos stated: "We are following capitalism at present but revolution is not made in a day. Our case is democratic revolution" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 9 November).

Growing Bonapartism

For the last nine months the slogan of the PCP has been the "unity of the armed forces with the people." More specifically the Stalinists hope to preserve the role of the Movement of the Armed Forces as strongman to prevent the masses from going too far. Thus Cunhal calls for the reservation of seats in the "constituent assembly" for the MFA and calls on the officers to "jointly determine the general lines of government policy and work out the outlines of a constitution before elections to the Assembly are held" (*Daily World*, 17 January).

In the editorial of the 16 January *Avante!* the PCP castigates those who "publicly call for the return of the MFA to the barracks" and declares, in bold type: "The people's movement without the Movement of the Armed Forces would not be in a position to advance democracy or even to assure its survival." In this defeatist view they are in agreement with the leading officers. A spokesman for the MFA stated last month to the *New York Times* (18 January) that:

> "The revolutionary process does not and cannot end with the elections for a constituent assembly. Throughout 1975, the direction of this process belongs to the Armed Forces Movement."

Chief of Staff General Carlos Fabião leaves open "the possibility of military intervention whenever it was felt that the principles of the revolution were being betrayed" (*New York Times*, 19 January).

The young military officers who carried out the April coup do not have a clear political orientation. Every new issue provokes a major crisis in the MFA: in December it was over economic policy, in January over the trade-union law, in February over the elections. And while for the moment the majority of the officer caste appears to side, at least tacitly, with the left, this would quickly change in the face of a mass upsurge as their fundamental ties to the bourgeois order and fear of proletarian revolution are revealed.

Thus, for example, the MFA continues to support and enforce the rigorous anti-strike law which outlaws the following kinds of labor action: strikes for political or religious reasons; strikes against a collective bargaining agreement; strikes which take place before 30 days' of negotiations or before seven days notice to the employers; solidarity strikes with workers not in the same profession; and occupation of factories. Evidently, the Stalinists' "democratic revolution" leaves much to be desired, even from the point of view of bourgeois democracy.

The MFA has also created an elite strike force, the Continental Operations Command (COPCON), enabling it to dispense with the no longer reliable army.

General Otelo de Carvalho, head of COPCON.

SYGMA

COPCON forces turned the tide on September 29 when they joined leftist militants in manning checkpoints around Lisbon to prevent a rightist mobilization. But they did so in perfect order and on the instructions of their chief, Brigadier General Otelo Saraiva da Carvalho. The tide could easily have gone the other way.

The Struggle for Democratic Rights

Last spring we wrote that Portugal is in a classic pre-revolutionary situation of a slow type. This continues to be true. Thus the demand for soviets—for unitary, democratically elected bodies representing the working class, which can serve as the organizing framework for revolution and the core of a future proletarian state—remains on the agenda. It is necessary to put forward this perspective in the course of strikes, demonstrations, defense actions and general propaganda. This is the main form of proletarian unity which it is necessary to achieve today.

At the same time the struggle for democratic demands remains of fundamental importance. As we wrote last May, "the demand for immediate elections to a constituent assembly . . . would also directly threaten the power of the military, the main guarantor (along with the Stalinists) of bourgeois rule in Portugal today" (*WV* No. 45, 24 May 1974). Today, also, the demand for fully democratic elections hits at the heart of Stalinist-backed military rule, as does the demand that the PCP and PSP break with the MFA and leave the provisional government. No to class collaborationism!

The fight for democratic rights must have a proletarian axis; in this period of imperialist decay the bourgeoisie is pushed ever more overtly into the arms of international reaction. Popular frontism is the blueprint for defeat! Communists must take the lead in mobilizing the workers to overthrow censorship and guarantee freedom of the press, to smash the law against strikes and the blatantly anti-democratic laws on political parties and associations.

Large numbers of working people in Portugal already see that the Stalinists' support to the MFA can easily lead to another Chile-style massacre. Marxists must point to the murderous consequences of class collaboration throughout the world, in order to emphasize the need for an international proletarian program and party. Only by focusing on the question of revolutionary leadership, drawing the lessons of past defeats and providing a program for consistent class struggle today, can small communist forces advance the proletarian cause. For a Portuguese Trotskyist party, built in the struggle to re-create the Fourth International.■

Drop the Charges Against Edelin!

Abortion Witchhunt in Boston

On February 15 a Boston doctor, Dr. Kenneth Edelin, was convicted of manslaughter for an abortion operation he had performed in October 1973. Dr. Kenneth J. Ryan, chairman of a national commission studying guidelines for medical research on human fetuses, aptly commented: "The court trial on abortion has not established the fundamental facts on viability, has not established what an abortion is. And certainly it has not defined the moral issues any more than the Scopes trial was the last word on evolution." Edelin's conviction is a victory for reactionary "right-to-life" fanatics.

The decision was met in the medical community with astonishment and dismay. It will mean that abortions, especially in the second trimester, will be more difficult to obtain. And as always, the money of the wealthy will continue to provide them access to safe abortions, while the poor must resort to desperate expedients; an increase in the number of dangerous, illegal abortions can be expected.

The next target of Boston Assistant District Attorney Newman A. Flanagan is four physicians accused of performing experiments on aborted fetuses; they are being prosecuted under an 1814 grave-robbing statute! According to the state their crime consists of having performed unauthorized autopsies on the fetuses, on the grounds that an aborted fetus is a corpse, not a surgical tissue specimen.

A similar complaint was filed with the U.S. Attorney's office on February 14 by Brooklyn abortion foes, charging that the civil rights of a fetus were violated when it was allegedly allowed to die following an abortion at the Nassau County Medical Center.

The Boston trial was a blatant exercise in bigotry and obscurantism, a "witchhunt," as Edelin put it. The prosecutor's claim that manslaughter was the issue was garbage; it was women's right to abortion that was on trial.

WV PHOTO

5L contingent in Boston demonstration to defend Dr. Edelin last week.

Edelin was a pawn in a political battle, and the jury fell, hook, line and sinker, for the bait. Sensationalism and emotionalism triumphed over legality. Photos allegedly of the fetus in dispute, the perverted obsession of anti-abortion crusaders, were displayed for their emotional impact on the jury and constituted the bulk of the prosecution's case.

Reactionary elements in Boston are a well-organized pressure group. They have successfully made the schools of South Boston a racial battleground in an attempt to set back the struggle of blacks for basic democratic rights. Anti-abortion billboards in Boston provide ample evidence of their full-scale campaign against women's rights.

Some weeks ago the "right-to-lifers" got Catholic schoolchildren released from school to participate in an anti-abortion demonstration at the State House. They have switched from agitating for repeal of state laws legalizing abortion to focus on a national campaign for a Constitutional amendment barring abortion.

The Spartacist League participated in a demonstration of 2,000 people in defense of Edelin, with banners calling for free abortion on demand and free quality health care for all, denouncing bourgeois "justice" and calling for a workers government and women's liberation through socialist revolution. Another demonstration was held following Edelin's sentencing to one year's probation pending appeal.

Despite their hypocritical, self-righteous pretenses, the anti-abortion reactionaries who "speak for God" are among the most "anti-life" elements in the world. They oppose social welfare programs, including "aid to dependent children," and cheer at the napalming of Vietnamese men and women—and babies too. They offer only the continuation of war, poverty and degradation. Communists defend women's right to abortion at any stage of pregnancy, the only criterion being medical safety. What the anti-abortion cabal's policy means is not the "right to life" but the killing of desperate women in coat-hanger abortions. It is the communists who, on behalf of all the oppressed, stand for life and fight to improve the *quality* of life, which in the last analysis can be safeguarded only through socialist revolution.■

CORRECTIONS

In the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* (No. 62, 14 February) there were several errors. In the article "UAW Demonstrates in Washington" the demand is raised for the government to take over the auto industry's nearly bankrupt SUB (supplemental unemployment benefits) fund and merge it with unemployment and welfare programs. The stipulation "at the highest rate of pay" was omitted due to an editorial oversight.

In the same article, UAW vice-president Douglas Fraser is listed as a participant in the recent convention of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). Actually Fraser only sent greetings to the DSOC delegates, as did a number of labor bureaucrats (including Murray Finley of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, Moe Foner of the Hospital Workers, Patrick Gorman of the Meat Cutters, Victor Gotbaum of AFSCME, Jerry Wurf of AFSCME and Ed Sadlowski of the Steel Workers).

The article entitled "Chinese Old Guard Patched Up" correctly called for a political revolution to oust the parasitic bureaucratic caste which sits atop the Chinese deformed workers state. However, it also included the following ambiguous sentence: "Unchecked by democratic control by workers soviets, the bureaucracy is rent with powerful centrifugal tendencies." But true democratic rule by workers soviets is antithetical to the very existence of the parasitic bureaucracy. Soviet democracy cannot be achieved through reforming or "checking" the bureaucracy, but only by means of a political revolution under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party.■

Pabloists Betray Trotskyist Prisoners

Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries

At the end of 1952 the Stalinist bureaucracy which controls the Chinese deformed workers state began a nationwide wholesale roundup of Chinese Trotskyist militants. Seized in their homes one night, these revolutionaries, together with families and friends, were bound and dragged off to jail to serve indeterminate sentences for unspecified crimes. In the next several weeks many were secretly shot.

The victorious Chinese Communist Party (CCP), led by Mao Tse-tung, already had a history of such savage criminality toward working-class revolutionaries. Immediately after the overthrow of the bourgeois Kuomintang (KMT) regime in 1949, the agents of the new "People's Republic" raided several local organizations of the Chinese Trotskyist Party. The CCP mounted an anti-Trotskyist campaign in Chekiang and Kwangtung provinces, where the supporters of the Fourth International had a long tradition of struggle and influence.

Taken away to be shot, these militants demanded that they be permitted to wear signs imprinted with the single word, "Trotskyist." They were refused that last subversive gesture, and were instead falsely branded "Kuomintang agents" by the Stalinists. Their executioners shoved cotton in their mouths so that they could not shout out to those watching and wondering why veteran revolutionists were being reviled and butchered.

The same sinister *modus operandi* was employed by the secret police in the arrests of 1950 in Kwangsi province, and in the blanket dragnet in December 1952 and January 1953 in which every known Trotskyist and sympathizer was locked up. "From Peking to Canton and from Shanghai to Chungking" the mass arrests, obviously ordered on central authority, were kept secret. There was not a word in the newspapers; there were no public trials.

Chinese Trotskyists' Appeal Suppressed by Pablo

Hounded and persecuted, the Chinese Trotskyists had to find a way to get their story out of China. At considerable risk they put their appeal before the Fourth International, desperate for international assistance. "We hope to complete this document," they wrote, "and find means to send it abroad before agents of the Communist Party knock at the door. Our fate and that of countless comrades and friends rely now almost entirely upon the voice of justice and the actions of the international working class, revolutionaries, and all progressive individuals.... This document is written in Shanghai and will be taken to Hong Kong at the risk of death. We hope it will be published to the whole world by our friends."

But the enemies of the Chinese Trotskyists were not only those who held rifles to their backs and shoved cotton in their mouths. They found them also among those to whom they turned for help. *The International Secretariat of the Fourth International, headed by Michel Pablo, suppressed their desperate plea for aid.* Only *nine months* after the arrests, on 19 October 1953, was their statement printed in the *Militant*, newspaper of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S.

How could this happen? The Fourth International was at the time embroiled in a dispute which led to a split in November 1953. At the heart of the fight was the attitude to take toward Stalinism, which had expanded its rule in Eastern Europe and consolidated hegemony over key sections of the workers movement in France, Italy and elsewhere after World War II. The faction around Pablo argued that the Stalinists could no longer betray and would be forced by "the objective process" into "roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation."

Although late, and even then only incompletely, the SWP decided to fight Pablo, upholding the necessity of building Trotskyist parties throughout the world. Writing to Ernest Mandel in a letter dated 19 January 1954, George Breitman stated that the SWP had not published the appeal sooner because they "never saw [it] until a few months ago because Pablo suppressed it." This was not an accident:

> "The Chinese [Trotskyists] were condemned and ridiculed [by the Pabloists] as 'refugees from a revolution,' including, I presume, those who were murdered at their post inside China. Whenever anyone would say anything about the need for an independent party, the answer hurled at him was: 'Look at China. Wasn't the revolution made there without our party? Keep talking that nonsense about the independence of the party and you will end up the way the Chinese did... running away from the revolution'."

"Fugitives from a Revolution"?

Just who were these so-called "fugitives from a revolution"? The appeal includes the name of Chen Chao-lin who was a leader of the 1927 revolution in the Wuhan area. He was a founding member of the CCP and of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. After the end of the Sino-Japanese war he continued his revolutionary work in Shanghai. He spent seven years in the prisons of Chiang Kai-shek and, if he is still alive, 22 years in the prisons of Mao Tse-tung. He would be 74 years old today.

Ying Kwan's name was also included in the appeal. He was associated with Chou En-lai in France in 1920 and became secretary of the Chinese Socialist Party organization in Europe. He participated in the 1927 revolution in the province of Anhwei. Ying Kwan broke with the CCP and became a Trotskyist in 1929. Arrested by the KMT police, he spent 1932 to 1934 in prison. Like Chen Chao-lin he continued to fight for Marxism-Leninism in Shanghai until his arrest in 1952.

Thanks to an article by Li Fu-jen other names have been added to the list of revolutionaries arrested by Mao. These include: Chiang Tseng-tung, a leading activist in the Shanghai labor movement who participated in that city's general strike in 1925 and a Trotskyist who, if alive, is now 65 years old; Ling Hwer-hua, who was a member of the executive of the Printers Union of Canton and a Fourth Internationalist who would be over 50 years old; Ho Chi-sen, a student leader in Peking in the early 1920's who worked in the underground for the CCP after 1927, became a Trotskyist in 1929 and represented the "Proletarians" in the fusion that formed the Communist League of China (section of the International Left Opposition) in 1931. These are only a few of the Trotskyists in Mao's prisons, and it should be understood that these jails are not for Trotskyists only. Today they hold many oppositional worker militants, radical intellectuals and left-wing youth arrested in the aftermath of the "Cultural Revolution."

Trotskyism vs. Liquidationism

What had these Chinese comrades done to deserve the deaf ears that Pablo, Mandel and the others turned toward them? Mandel ticks off some political errors made by the Chinese section in 1947, but it was not any political error which set Mandel/Maitan/Frank against the Chinese Trotskyists. For the Pabloists the Chinese Revolution of 1949 was the most positive example of the "new world reality" which gave revolutionary capacities to non-proletarian forces. By extension, the Chinese Trotskyist Party, which continued to oppose Mao, was the singular example of what not to do.

The Chinese Trotskyists refused to liquidate the struggle for a Bolshevik party—this was their "crime," both in the eyes of Mao and of Pablo and his acolytes. The failure of Stalin's policies in China and the massacres of the Shanghai and Canton soviets in 1927 played a crucial role in deepening Trotsky's understanding of Stalinism and the crisis of revolutionary leadership. One can easily imagine that many of the CCP who managed to live through that period, seeing the erstwhile "revolutionary ally" Chiang Kai-shek butcher thousands of their comrades, became some of the earliest and firmest supporters of Trotskyism outside the USSR.

In his "Open Letter to the Communist Party" printed in the *Militant* of 2 November 1953, Peng Shu-tse, one of the leaders of the Chinese section of the Fourth International, pointed out that the Trotskyists had an unblemished record of revolutionary opposition to the KMT, *unlike Mao* who "engaged in continuous and prolonged compromise peace negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek ... in hope of establishing a 'coalition government'...."

Peng criticized the bureaucratic abuses of the CCP regime, pointing out that the worker and peasant masses were not allowed to strike, have independent trade unions or elect their own councils to control the state administration and all organizations of production—fundamental elements of proletarian democracy as realized in Lenin's Russia. But, he pointed out, the Trotskyists had participated in the overthrow of Chiang, in the land reform campaign, in the campaign against U.S. "aid" to Korea, and stood ready to defend China against imperialism.

Covering Up for Moo

Unfortunately for the Chinese Trotskyists, the Pablo leadership of the Fourth International had quite a different position. An International Executive Committee (IEC) resolution stated in May 1952 that "The Fourth International and Chinese Trotskyists will give critical support to Mao Tse-tung's government." The document makes certain criticisms of the CCP regime—lack of soviets, slow pace of agrarian reform, problems with "certain theoretical concepts"—but not a word is said about the 1949 and 1950 arrests of Chinese Trotskyists.

When these critical supporters of Mao's government did get around to criticizing the mass arrests of their own comrades, it was in the language of sycophantic apologists and not Trotskyists:

> "The revolutionary Marxists would have no criticism whatever of these measures [eliminating counterrevolutionaries] if they were directed exclusively against reaction and if they were carried out by the revolutionary activity of the democratically organized masses. But this is not exactly the case. [No, not 'exactly'!] The Chinese CP has included in its campaign of elimination of counter-revolutionaries all former revolutionary Marxist opponents...."
>
> —*Fourth International*
> March-April 1953

Mao Tse-tung with American ambassador Patrick Hurley in Chungking, August 1945. Under pressure from U.S. imperialists Mao offered to form coalition government with butcher Chiang Kai-shek.

UPI

This pusillanimous "critical support" was given political justification in the resolution on "The Rise and Decline of Stalinism" of the Pabloists' "Fourth World Congress" in 1954, which declared:

> "...the Jugoslav CP and the Chinese CP have been able to lead a revolution victoriously and independently of the Kremlin and have in these instances ceased to be Stalinist parties in the proper meaning of this term....
>
> "Since both the Chinese CP and to a certain extent also the Jugoslav CP are in reality bureaucratic centrist parties, which however still find themselves under the pressure of the revolution in their countries, we do not call upon the proletariat of these countries to constitute new revolutionary parties or to prepare a political revolution in these countries."

In contrast to Pablo's orientation of pressuring the bureaucracy and prettifying the CCP (which had locked up and murdered his own comrades!) into a "bureaucratic-centrist" non-Stalinist force, the SWP and its allies in the

HENRI CARTIER-BRESSON/MAGNUM

Mao's troops entering Nanking in April 1949. Shortly afterward Stalinists raided local organizations of Chinese Tratskyist Party, arresting scores and secretly shooting many.

International Committee correctly stated:

> "The Third Chinese Revolution was deformed by the Stalinist leadership and control....
>
> "The contradiction between the conquests of the revolution and the bureaucratic rulers is the central internal contradiction of Chinese society....
>
> "...posing before the Chinese workers the iron necessity of political revolution against the bureaucratic caste."
>
> —"The Third Chinese Revolution and Its Aftermath," [SWP] *Discussion Bulletin*, October 1955

Opportunist Reunification

There can be no doubt of the fundamental differences behind the 1953 split. With regard to China, Pablo suppressed the appeal of the Trotskyist prisoners, refused to call for political revolution and said that the CCP "can project a revolutionary orientation" ("The Rise and Decline of Stalinism"); the International Committee, in contrast, published the appeal, accurately labelled the CCP Stalinist and called for political revolution. Thus the fight against Pabloism was the fight for the preservation of the independent Trotskyist perspective *and for the very lives of the Trotskyist cadres.*

As the isolation of the SWP grew due to McCarthyism and the weakening of its modest proletarian base by the 1953 split of the American Pabloists, the central party leadership began more and more to adopt capitulatory stands approximating those of Pablo's International Secretariat (I.S.). By the early 1960's the SWP found itself in agreement with the I.S. over Cuba, which both characterized as a healthy workers state (although "lacking the forms of workers democracy"!) and proposed reunification.

At the congress which set up the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) in 1963 it was agreed to ignore a number of past differences, such as over the 1953 split and China. However, as always occurs in such opportunist maneuvers, later events brought out the old differences once more. In the case of China, the so-called "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" found the SWP trying to assert a bogus orthodoxy by giving support to neither Mao nor Liu Shao-chi, while the European majority around Mandel/Maitan/Frank (i.e., the remnants of the old Pablo leadership of the I.S.) preferred its past policy of apologizing for the Maoists.

The SWP objected to statements in the "Draft Resolution on the Cultural Revolution" adopted by the USec majority in 1969, which declared that "Peking ...objectively favored anti-imperialist struggles" and furthermore that:

> "The more radical line pursued by the Chinese leadership towards world revolutionary developments since the beginning of the Sino-Soviet conflict which, on several important questions, brought it nearer the positions of revolutionary Marxism...."

What is happening here, of course, is that the centrist European majority wants to tail after the Maoist-influenced "youth vanguard" while the now-reformist SWP, orienting to left liberals and mainstream social democrats, wishes to absolve itself of support for anything labelled "communist."

The Unity of Renegades

As in the dispute over guerrilla warfare currently raging in the United Secretariat, the SWP's pretense of always having had an orthodox Trotskyist position on China is given the lie by the very documents on which this rotten-bloc "International" was founded. The SWP castigates Mandel and Co. for not calling for political revolution in China until 1969. But what did resolutions of the 1963 reunification congress state? They not only fail to mention political revolution, but give the same kind of "critical support" to Mao in the Sino-Soviet dispute that the SWP objects to today:

> "Within the framework of the world Communist movement, the Fourth International reaffirms its critical support to the Chinese Communists in their struggle against the neoreformism of the Khrushchevist leaderships...because it holds that the Chinese line on the fundamental problems of the anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles...is on the whole more progressive...."
>
> —"The Sino-Soviet Conflict and the Situation in the USSR and the Other Workers' States"

Even today, when it now says a few nice words about political revolution, the United Secretariat continues to apologize for Mao in the most obscene way. Thus, while passing a resolution demanding freedom for the Chinese Trotskyists in April 1972, USec majorityites have given this statement little or no circulation. And when challenged about its assertions that Peking favored anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggles with the example of the Indonesian massacre (the result of the Indonesian CP's reformist line of "peaceful coexistence" with Sukarno, a line specifically endorsed by Peking), the majority replies:

> "Even if one wished to attribute to Mao exclusive responsibility for the defeat of the Indonesian revolution—which, in any event, would be excessive: the Kremlin's responsibility is at least equal to if not greater than Mao's in this tragedy—this event weighs less heavily on the scale of twentieth-century history than the victory of the Chinese revolution."
>
> —IEC Majority Tendency, "The Differences in Interpretation of the 'Cultural Revolution' at the Last World Congress and Their Theoretical Implications," [SWP] *International Information Bulletin*, November 1973

These were not the scales that Trotsky used to weigh the tragedy of the Spanish revolution! These are the lawyers' arguments of apologists for Stalinism, the worshippers of non-proletarian leaderships, the renegades from Marxism who have abandoned the struggle for an independent Trotskyist world party of proletarian revolution!

And if there is any lingering doubt about the fundamental Pabloism of *both* sides in the feuding United Secretariat it can be seen in the attitudes toward the Vietnamese and Cuban Stalinists and Trotskyists, attitudes which exactly mirror Pablo's attitude toward the Chinese Stalinists and Trotskyists in 1953.

Pabloism Means "Jail and Kill the Trotskyists!"

In the early 1960's when Joseph Hansen was defending the SWP leadership's characterization of Cuba as a healthy workers state against the attacks of the Revolutionary Tendency (the U.S. forerunner of the international Spartacist tendency) within the party he was forced to explain why the supposedly non-Stalinist Castro was locking up the Cuban Trotskyists. Hansen justified this bureaucratic suppression by pointing to some of the theories of J. Posadas' brand of ostensible Trotskyism in order to dismiss the specific anti-bureaucratic demands of Posadas' Cuban affiliate. Hansen attacked *them* as "ultra-leftists" who "added to the complications facing the central leadership" (i.e., Castro); Hansen was proud to claim for the SWP the appelation "Fidelistas."

The proposals of the Cuban POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) for institutions of workers democracy were called "bizarre or utopian," and its criticisms of Castro were dismissed as refusing to entrust him with "the red charter" until he becomes a "simon-pure Marxist-Leninist" (*Militant*, 13 August 1962). After the Cuban Trotskyists were arrested beginning in November 1963, the SWP maintained a discreet silence and when questioned about them at a public meeting Barry Sheppard, now SWP national secretary, replied: "There are Trotskyists and there are Trotskyists. But, if I were in Cuba I wouldn't be arrested". (see "Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!" *Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965). How true!

More recently, the European majority of the USec has taken to praising the "revolutionary" capacities of the Vietnamese "Communists" in a similar manner, denying they are Stalinists, asserting that they have absorbed the lessons of the permanent revolution, etc. There is, of course, the sticky point of the *Vietnamese Trotskyists who were murdered by Ho Chi Minh and his associates in 1945-47.* But for this, too, Mandel and Co. have an "explanation," just as Hansen and Co. explained the arrests of the Cuban Trotskyists.

Pierre Rousset, the USec's "Vietnam expert," has written that the "VCP ["Vietnamese Communist Party," i.e., the Stalinists] led the revolutionary process in a way that was uncontested—at least after 1939-40" (*International Socialist Review*, April 1974). In his book on the same subject (*Le parti communiste vietnamien*, 1973), he tries to cast doubt on the actual occurence of the murders of Ta Thu Tau and the rest of the Vietnamese Trotskyist cadres, referring to "These assassinations, about which historians of the Indochinese CP don't speak, in their writings in French at least...."

However, if one grants that they occurred (which is not at all in doubt), Rousset explains that they demonstrate "the width of the political gulf which then separated the Trotskyist groups from the Indochinese CP" (!) and accuses the Trotskyists of "probably underestimating the importance of the national question...." The implication is that this alleged political weakness justified their extermination! (See "Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam, Part IV: Those Who Revile Our History," in *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973.)

This brazen covering up for counterrevolutionary Stalinist crimes is the inevitable consequence of Pabloism. It is the concrete demonstration that Pabloism and Trotskyism have nothing in common, that these renegades will side with the Stalinist butchers against their own former comrades in order to curry favor with the bureaucrats.

In fact, to take their statements literally one would have to conclude that the USec "Trotskyists" reason like this: China, you see, has a bureaucratic-centrist CP; it vacillates and can only "approximate" a revolutionary line. Thus they jailed our comrades there (those "fugitives from a revolution") and killed some of them. But the Vietnamese Communists, they are *really revolutionary!* They murdered every last one of our comrades they could get their hands on (which is why there are no Trotskyist prisoners in Hanoi's jails).

China, Cuba, Vietnam: In each case the newly victorious bureaucracies found it necessary to liquidate revolutionary Marxist opponents in the process of consolidating their bureaucratic rule. In each case the Pabloists apologized for these assassinations and mass arrests, or else passed them over in silence while suppressing appeals from the endangered comrades. This is the history of betrayal which, whatever their numerous differences, is common to all the renegades from Trotskyism who lead the United Secretariat. The struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International is the struggle to expose these crimes and politically destroy these revisionists, stripping them of every last pretense of Marxism.■

Red Guards demonstrate in front of Russian embassy, August 1966.

NDP in Power

"Socialist" Strikebreaking in British Columbia

VANCOUVER—In August 1972 twenty years of rule by W.A.C. Bennett's ultra-reactionary Social Credit Party ended in British Columbia with the election of a New Democratic Party majority in the Legislative Assembly. The trade-union movement and the working class generally looked upon the election as a tremendous victory, thinking that the new government under provincial Premier Dave Barrett would rule in their interests. Today, less than two and a half years later, B.C. workers are sadly disillusioned with the social-democratic NDP's brand of capitalist government—crushing strikes, ordering compulsory arbitration and passing anti-labour laws rivaling those of the Socreds.

As a result of this bitter experience, many rank-and-file militants are seeking an alternative to the reformist trap, but in the absence of a revolutionary pole to the left they have nowhere to turn. Most are slinking back into "grin and Barrett" apathy, while their less class-conscious fellow workers are in some cases despairingly turning to the refurbished bourgeois Socred and Liberal parties. The history of the British Columbia NDP government is a case history of social-democratic betrayal, holding vital lessons for those worker militants and avowed "socialists" who hold or foster illusions that such reformist workers parties will struggle for the workers' interests.

The B.C. Working Class

The Canadian economy, much of it based on extraction of primary resources, exhibits regionalist features to a much greater degree than virtually any other advanced capitalist country. This is reflected in a greater degree of decentralization of governmental power than in the U.S. or most of Europe. Economic regionalism and governmental federalism have given greater importance to provincial elections in Canada.

They have also led to sectional predominance by particular parties. The New Democrats, for instance, currently hold only 16 out of 264 seats in Parliament yet they lead majority governments in three of the four western provinces (B.C., Manitoba and Saskatchewan). This, in turn, has given rise to illusions about the possibility of "socialism in one province." In British Columbia, workers' illusions in the NDP were heightened by the fact that the social democrats had been the principal opposition party almost uninterruptedly for the last 37 years.

The 1972 NDP victory was based not only on the expectations of B.C. workers, but also on the need of the capitalist class to control a volatile labour movement. Next to the industrial heartland of southern Ontario and Quebec, British Columbia is economically the most important region of Canada. It has the most class-conscious labour movement in English-speaking North America, centered on the 45,000-member International Woodworkers of America (IWA). In the early post-war years the Communist Party overwhelmingly dominated the B.C. Federation of Labour (BCFL), but through a combination of their own misfired bureaucratic maneuvers and the cold-war witchhunt the Stalinists lost many key positions by the 1950's. Nevertheless, the British Columbia CP remains the largest and strongest on the continent.

The rise of the CCF (Co-operative Commonwealth Federation—forerunner of the NDP) in the West Coast province went hand-in-hand with the red purges, as the Stalinists and social democrats fought for bureaucratic dominance of the labour movement. The CCF won out, and the alliance established between it and the BCFL tops gave the social democrats a solid electoral base they did not have in any other industrial province. At no time since 1935 did the CCF/NDP vote in British Columbia fall below 22 percent of the total. Yet not until the massive strike wave of 1972 did they approach a majority. That year's provincial elections gave the New Democrats a surprising landslide victory over Social Credit, with the NDP taking 38 of the 55 seats.

Policing the Labour Movement

The Social Credit government, which had as one of its main aims the luring of U.S. capital to B.C., based its dealings with the labour movement on a series of repressive laws which severely restricted collective bargaining rights. The most notorious of these was the Mediation Services Act, passed in 1968, which provided for a government-appointed commission to order strikers back to work, dictating their wages, working conditions and other contract terms.

The Socreds were notably unsuccessful in implementing this draconian anti-labour legislation, however. A rank-and-file rebellion during a 1970 strike wave forced union tops to defy government-ordered compulsory arbitration until the situation cooled. In 1972 there was another upsurge of industrial action by the IWA, longshore and other key unions which took out almost a third of the province's unionized workforce in strikes that averaged almost a month in length (106,000 workers involved, well over 2 million man-days lost).

As a result, during the election campaign of summer 1972 a major plank in the NDP program was an opportunistic call for repeal of all anti-labour legislation. Demonstrations of militant workers against the Socreds' strikebreaking laws were held throughout the province. The social democrats rode the crest of this labour militancy to a first-ever victory in B.C. But right from the outset the new Labour Minister Bill King spelled out his government's intentions: "Our mandate is to represent the total community, and labour can expect a fair deal and that's all."

Immediately upon taking office the NDP began to implement its "fair deal" by carrying out its prime responsibility to the capitalists—maintaining "labour peace." For a full year the government made no move to repeal any of the reactionary Social Credit labour laws. In July 1973, worried by grumbling in the ranks, the BCFL tops were forced to present a brief to Prime Minister Barrett calling for implementation of the repeal program. But only after the provincial council of the NDP itself had *twice* demanded repeal did the cabinet announce that it would introduce new labour legislation.

The NDP's Anti-Labour Legislation

Even before the content of what was to be Bill 11 was made public, NDP Labour Minister King, asked for a preview of the impending legislation, stated that it would be "broadly acceptable to labour and management." Acceptable to management it clearly was. When informed of the provisions of the bill, the president of the Employers' Council of British Columbia stated: "These are very sweeping provisions and innovations. It is not something we can condemn out of hand. We've been seeking new and improved methods to deal with labor-management problems, so we must adopt a constructive attitude" (quoted in *Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 3 October 1973).

Various political representatives of the capitalist class also welcomed the social democrats' bill. Liberal Leader David Anderson praised it, noting that many of its provisions were based on labour legislation passed by the Conservative government of Ontario. B.C. Conservative leader Scott Wallace was particularly pleased with its provisions for compulsory and binding arbitration.

TORONTO STAR DOUG GRAHAM

CP

Top: B.C. Premier David Barrett. Right: Federal NDP leader David Lewis.

And James Chabot, the previous Social Credit Labour Minister, predicted that Bill 11 would help speed settlements of industrial disputes (in the interest of management, naturally).

The major provision of the new code was for the creation of a Labour Relations Board (LRB) with "jurisdiction over all aspects of labour-management relations" (B.C. Department of Labour Annual Report, 1973). This "independent" body was to include, in addition to token "labour representation" (three union bureaucrats out of ten members), representatives of the bosses and their government, plus the inevitable "public" members (petty-bourgeois capitalist lackeys such as pimp lawyers, "labour relations experts," etc.). The purpose of such boards is to mask the role of the capitalist state in policing the unions by giving immediate jurisdiction to a special body in which the labour misleaders have "a voice."

The LRB was given unlimited power to certify and decertify unions, and to decide who is or is not to be considered a union member. It was empowered to impose a compulsory settlement in the first year of a contract. All its decisions were to be "final and conclusive," not open to question or review, and no proceedings could be restrained by injunction or other court action.

LRB decisions were to have the force of court orders—unions found in violation of one of its provisions would be subject to $1,000-a-day fines, indiv-

LABOR CHALLENGE

B.C. workers demonstrate against Socred anti-labor laws in 1972.

idual members to fines of up to $10,000. The Labour Code went so far as to backhandedly revoke the closed shop, through a disguised "right-to-work" clause stating that an employee may be exempted from having to join a trade union because of so-called "religious beliefs."

Bluff and Bluster from the Labour Brass

The class-collaborationist union brass responded to Bill 11 with a transparently hypocritical display of verbal opposition. While BCFL secretary-treasurer Ray Haynes was bemoaning the fact that "we've got more compulsory arbitration now than we had under the Socreds," the Federation was already preparing its own list of nominees to the LRB! The labour misleaders "fraternally" suggested to their fellow bureaucrats in the NDP cabinet that the bill might "require amendment ... if it is to promote improved industrial relations in the province" (BCFL statement, 2 October 1973). They, however, refused to mobilize any of the widespread rank-and-file opposition to the bill, acquiescing to its passage in the legislature by a unanimous vote on October 28.

The following weekend the BCFL met in convention and voted to back its executive council's milk-toast demand for removal of certain "restrictive clauses" of the code. The Communist Party dominated the convention with left-posturing bombast and threw its full support behind the executive's resolution. In the absence of a class-struggle opposition at the convention there was no call for intransigent opposition to Bill 11, the only position consistent with union independence from control by the bosses' state.

In fact, the main complaint expressed by the assembled bureaucrats was that their own nominees were not accepted by the government! But Labour Minister King and national NDP leader David Lewis both put in convention appearances in an attempt to force the BCFL tops to drop even this phony "opposition." Their efforts bore fruit only two weeks later, when the BCFL "campaign to change the code" was publicly dropped.

Meanwhile, the NDP provincial convention of November 10-12 formally voted (by 322 to 290) to uphold established party labour policy over the reactionary Bill 11. The party's center, worried about losing popularity among its working-class constituency, attempted to uphold NDP's social-democratic "traditions" as expressed during many years of oppositional pro-labour rhetoric. In truth, the rightist cabinet leadership was only swifter to react to the changed circumstances (governmental office) in which the party found itself. Although the NDP convention passed a motion instructing the government to follow party policy, Barrett simply announced that the cabinet intended to ignore directives it disapproved of, including this one!

Social Democracy in Power

The backlash of the workers against "their" government became apparent in the 1974 federal election, when the NDP popular vote in British Columbia declined by 12 percent and its parliamentary representation in Ottawa fell from 11 seats to two. In the absence of a viable left-wing alternative, the anti-NDP protest vote passed over to the Liberals (who were campaigning against wage controls) or was reflected in unrecorded abstentions. The state of the provincial party in those months was succinctly put by Hans Brown in the post-election issue of the B.C. NDP monthly paper, the *Democrat*: "[since the election of the provincial government] our membership has stagnated, our organizers have been cut back, our coffers are dry, and our people are tired."

Throughout 1974 the government continued its campaign for "labour peace" by repressing one strike after another. In an IWA strike during the summer, King threatened to use the Labour Code to force a "settlement" on the union. (The Woodworkers bureaucrats backed down following this threat and forced their membership back to work.) At an emergency session of the legislature (recalled specifically to deal with the issue) on August 10, the government passed Bill 164, the Essential Services Continuation Act, to break a fire fighters' strike in four Vancouver-area municipalities.

Barrett was also able to quash opposition within the NDP to his strike-breaking policy. At a Labour Day 1974 provincial party convention he succeeded in defeating the outgoing executive report critical of the cabinet's refusal to implement party policy, by a vote of 368 to 202. Today much of the "old," radical-populist NDP in B.C. is disoriented. An "oppositional" caucus surfaced at the convention centered on members of the outgoing provincial executive such as the hoary hatchetman Hans Brown, who spent much of the last year trying to get supporters of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) expelled from the B.C. NDP.

Several of these out-of-favour party bureaucrats signed a statement, "Turn Toward Socialism," which calls for the government to "work with the party in the process of building a new socialist B.C." Its goal is a vaguely defined "new democracy" where "people have real power over all aspects of their lives...." Among the specific measures advocated are introducing "social ownership" into food distribution, housing, communications and natural resources processing industries; electing worker representatives to boards of directors of government-owned corporations; creating an Environment Ministry; etc.

For a Trotskyist Party in Canada!

Everything in this utterly reformist program is consistent with the maintenance of capitalism and with the extreme right-wing social-democratic traditions of the NDP. Harold Wilson's Labour Party government in Britain is actually carrying out policies to the left of what is proposed by the B.C. "oppositionists."

As the current sharp economic crisis serves to underline, working people cannot defend their interests by adopting a perspective of reforming the present bankrupt system. What is needed is a revolutionary program and party capable of leading the class struggle forward to the overthrow of capitalism, the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. Instead of pleas to Barrett to carry out NDP party policy, it is crucial to demonstrate to militant workers the need to go beyond dead-end social-democratic reformism.

Some groups, such as the fake-Trotskyist LSA, occasionally pretend to do this. In *Labor Challenge* (7 October) the latter has made some left-sounding criticisms of the "Turn Toward Socialism" document, complaining that it does not demand "nationalization of industry" and that it "pose[s] the capitalist state and government as a force that can be used in working peoples' interests." Moreover, "This party [the NDP]—a social-democratic labor party—is not an instrument which can carry out a socialist transformation."

The LSA's hypocrisy knows no bounds. Its own call for "nationalization" carefully avoids the important question of compensation to the capitalists. This is no accident, for these reformists actually *oppose* the demand "no compensation"; in 1971 the LSA actually disciplined its own supporters who had won the New Brunswick NDP to this demand! As for using the capitalist state in the workers' interests, *Labor Challenge* seems somewhat out of step with its U.S. counterpart, the *Militant*, which has been calling for troops to Boston where they would supposedly defend black people subjected to racist terror.

Moreover, for twenty years the LSA and its predecessors had as their main orientation the pipedream of creating a "socialist" NDP (or CCF). (Only because it is currently not running a major NDP operation does the LSA now adopt a more "left" posture.) The original architect of this policy, Ross Dowson, left the LSA in 1974 to form the Socialist League, a social-chauvinist Canadian nationalist outfit which declares that "winning the NDP and its ranks to socialism remains for us the central challenge of the epoch..." (*Forward*, December 1974-January 1975)! For the working class, the central task of this epoch is quite different, namely the overthrow of the bloody system of capitalist exploitation.

Not surprisingly, given its overall tailist policy, the SocL considers that "a good beginning" was made by the B.C. opposition document (*ibid.*) and declares that "For all its drawbacks the NDP government in BC represents a great stride forward for working people" (*Forward*, October 1974).

Trotskyists can give electoral support to a reformist workers party under certain conditions, but we do so without building illusions in social-democratic misleaders of the Lewis/Barrett ilk. We seek to place these "gentlemen" in office not because of delusions that they represent a "step forward," but in order to *expose* their true policies, warning in advance that they will betray and that the workers must have no confidence in them. Such a policy in the 1972 elections could have enabled Marxists to subsequently crystallize a revolutionary faction in the B.C. NDP as Barrett's sellouts became ever clearer.

Revolutionaries are under no obligation, however, to give electoral support to reformist betrayers unconditionally. We do so only when a vote for their party can aid the working-class struggle by drawing a class line, if only at the organizational level, against the bourgeoisie. Thus we do not call on workers to vote for social democrats and Stalinists when the latter are running in coalition with capitalist parties. Such "popular fronts" are a direct negation of the Marxist principle of proletarian independence. Yet in the last federal election, both the LSA and the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) called for votes to the NDP, even though Lewis & Co. had kept Trudeau's minority Liberal government in power for the past two years (the so-called "corridor coalition") and promised to do so again.

The international Spartacist tendency, in contrast, called for conditional opposition to the NDP in the July 1974 election, unless it repudiated its policy of tacit coalition with Trudeau. We urged votes for LSA and RMG candidates, however, while criticizing their opportunist programs (see "NDP Must Break with Liberals," *WV* No. 47, 21 June 1974).

Both nationally and in B.C. large numbers of workers have turned away from the NDP as its class-collaborationist, strikebreaking policies become clear to all. While many retreat into apathy, a principled Trotskyist party could turn disillusion into class-conscious militancy, not through seeking to fool the workers about "winning the NDP to socialism" but by consistently telling the truth. This struggle has already been begun by the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

63

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 issues, introductory only

order from/pay to:

SPARTACIST PUBLISHING CO.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10001

Spartacist Local Directory

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA ..... (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES ... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA .. (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Fremont UAW Protests Deportations

The following resolution, introduced by the Committee for a Militant UAW, was passed at the February 23 meeting of Local 1364:

Whereas: organized labor in America can unite with foreign-born workers in common struggle against the American corporations only through the resolute struggle against deportations which is an attack on workers solidarity by the government, and;

Whereas: the UAW International reinforces this national chauvinism by blaming layoffs on foreign auto workers and calling for Import Quotas instead of organizing an international offensive against the multi-national corporations;

Be it resolved that local 1364 stand prepared to demonstrate its opposition to any deportation; specifically the so-called "census" in San Jose and the gestapo tactics of the Los Angeles Immigration Bureau. Instead we demand: Jobs for all! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers, and, further the UAW must mobilize the entire labor movement in a major drive to organize the unorganized in the southwest and across the border into Mexico. ■

Sweetheart Contract Bolsters Maritime Profits

Bridges Prepares Longshore Deregistrations

PORT OF PORTLAND PHOTO

Containerized dock facilities in Portland.

SAN FRANCISCO, February 21—"Longshoreman" may soon become an extinct category, and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union will be destroyed if Harry Bridges and the rest of the ILWU leadership get their way. With union jobs already slashed drastically and employers reaping huge profits under his previous "Modernization and Mechanization" contracts, Bridges has just signed up for more of the same.

Massive new employer attacks in the form of speed-up and job-cutting automation can be expected if the proposed new two-year longshore pact is approved in membership voting to be held next week. Central to the contract—which Bridges is trying to ram through a full four months early—is a provision designed to crush rank-and-file resistance to employer attacks by penalizing the membership of an entire port for any work stoppages, even by one individual, in that port.

"It's a Union Buster!"

"Reject the Contract! It's a Union Buster!" say oppositionists' leaflets circulating in Local 10, the San Francisco Bay Area longshore unit. "If we ratify this contract, there will be a hell of a lot fewer of us around to ratify the next contract." They might have added as an afterthought, "...if there is a next contract."

Bridges has been making incredible claims for his new deal. Operating on the principle that the bigger the lie the better, he asserts that "Nobody in the present work force of 12,000 can be laid off for any reason because of the economic recession. We now have protection against the depression" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 November). Similar glowing statements filled a front-page story of the 11 February *Chronicle* describing the proposed new contract.

An equally laudatory article in the ILWU's *Dispatcher* (7 February) noticeably omitted crucial information ("...full details of the tentative agreement will not be announced until later..."). This was provided to the membership only after Bridges had secured approval from a February 13 meeting of the Coast Longshore, Ship Clerk and Walking Boss Caucus by a two-to-one margin. Despite heavily orchestrated advance publicity buildup, the vote showed unusually strong opposition.

A detailed examination of the proposal reveals that this supposedly "depression-proof" contract actually contains less job security than ever. The basic "anti-layoff" clause is unimproved over the 1973 pact:

> "There shall be no reduction in registered longshoremen or clerks work force during the term of the agreement except for normal attrition due to quits, deaths and retirements, and deregistration for cause. This does not preclude the parties from agreeing upon a reduction in force should unusual circumstances develop."

This contains two gaping loopholes. The first is that "deregistration for cause" includes kangaroo-court trials before an arbitrator for men who, although meeting all availability requirements, must demonstrate why they should not be deregistered.

Bridges Plans to Axe Longshoremen

The ILWU International leadership revealed plans two months ago to conduct such trials of B-men jointly with the employers. B-men are second-class longshoremen, kept out of full union membership and given last choice on jobs. The proposal, which is now being carried out, is to try all B-men on the lower half of the hours-worked list. This could mean deregistering hundreds!

The two Local 10 members who authored the "Reject the Contract!" leaflet, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, are also circulating a petition calling on the union to fight against any deregistrations and for jobs for all. They have reportedly collected over 200 names so far. A-men recognize that if Bridges and the PMA (Pacific Maritime Association, the employers' association) succeed in getting rid of hundreds of B-men, downgrading and deregistration of A-men won't be far behind.

Largely because of this pressure Local President Larry Wing, who failed to oppose the deregistration plan when it was first announced, has recently been intervening in the separate hearings and opposing all deregistrations. The employers, however, can appeal each case to the Coast-Wise Labor Relations Committee, a joint union-management board.

The second loophole is the "unusual circumstances" clause, which could refer to a drastic reduction of available work as in a sharp economic crisis. Bridges had promised to change this, but after failing claims he has a "depression-proof" deal anyway!

That "unusual circumstances" simply means lack of work is made crystal clear by other provisions of the contract. Ports with few jobs available are designated "Low Work Opportunity" ports, and Bridges' "no-layoffs" solution is to require the men to move to another port! (This will mainly serve to drive them from the industry, since there is little work available even in the major ports. In the Bay Area full union members work only three to four days a week.) A special clause for hard-hit Port Hueneme offers a "separation allowance," consisting of six months' pay at the Guarantee rate, to get out of the industry.

The "M and M" Betrayals

Bridges' plan is to allow the companies to force "excess" workers off the docks in ways other than openly admitted layoffs. The pattern is the same as in previous contracts, notably the disastrous "Modernization and Mechanization" agreements of 1961 and 1966. The principle of these deals was to allow the companies to introduce planned automation through containerization, LASH (Lighter Aboard Ship) and other systems, in exchange for "no layoffs" and a Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP).

However, numerous loopholes make it hard to collect the Guarantee and thousands have been driven from the industry for lack of work due to automation. From 26,000 in 1948, the union's longshore membership (including clerks) has declined to 12,000 officially (actually closer to 10,000 active members), with most of the drop occurring since 1959. Thus job loss due to automation in longshore under Bridges' "no-layoffs" agreements has drastically exceeded that in industries without such "protection."

Furthermore, the employers benefited greatly from speed-up and manning scale reductions which were allowed under the "M and M" agreements. Combined with the massive increases in productivity per man-hour due to automated techniques, this led to increased profits many times in excess of the meager benefits to longshoremen under the PGP. The government Pay Board estimated in 1972 that the companies profited by $900 million while dock workers received only $63 million (*San Francisco Bay Guardian*, 19 October-1 November 1974).

One delegate critical of the new contract terms pointed, at the February 13 Caucus, to figures indicating a more than four-fold increase in the yearly tonnage handled by an average longshoremen since 1958. Another delegate asked Bridges if he had challenged the employers for figures on the increase in productivity, to which the reply was a flat "no"!

Bridges has also made other important concessions that have eroded vital union gains and limited the membership's ability to resist further employer attacks. In 1959 the special "B" list was created, and in 1966 Bridges allowed the companies to create a "steady-men" category of members who work permanently for one employer. This has seriously undermined the hiring hall, the great achievement of the 1934 strike which founded the union, as well as eroding the job categories of longshoremen.

Work-Stoppage Clause Strangles Resistance

The most notable new concession to the companies in the present contract terms is a clause to prevent work stoppages. Dock-by-dock walkoffs to prevent the deterioration of working conditions have been on the rise as members are increasingly fed up with sellout contracts and the lack of union protection in grievance procedures. One business agent in the S.F. port remarked last year that 1974 saw more such stoppages than any year in the previous ten.

Under the proposed terms any walkout, even by a single individual asserting his contractual right not to work under unsafe conditions, will result in the lifting of the Pay Guarantee for that week for the entire port if it is declared illegal by an arbitrator. This will have a tremendous chilling effect on struggles to prevent new employer encroachment on jobs and working conditions.

Other catches have also been introduced to make it harder to collect the Guarantee, such as required availability for Saturdays and Sundays (presently voluntary) and a clause requiring dockers to take any job for which they are qualified. As jobs decrease and conditions worsen such clauses will cut down the numbers eligible for the Guarantee and more will be driven out of the industry. In addition, these provisions establish a virtual dictatorship of employers and arbitrators over the dispatching of jobs from the ball, the key to the union's past strength.

The International leadership has repeatedly refused to fight such company attacks. A 134-day strike in 1971-72 was a fiasco because of Bridges' defeatist policies. The strike was isolated while cargo moved through Mexico and Canada, military cargo was shipped despite ILWU resolutions calling for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, and no attempt was made to fight the Pay Board, which sharply cut the settlement.

These betrayals shackle the union today. Having failed to fight the Pay Board in 1972 (or the Taft-Hartley in-

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00—6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

junction in 1948), Bridges now raises the *possibility* of new wage controls as a reason for settling far in advance of the June 30 expiration date. (The real reason was given more candidly by Ed Flynn of the employers' association, quoted in the 11 February *San Francisco Chronicle*: "...PMA suggested earlier negotiations, Flynn said, because it wanted a guarantee of stability at West Coast docks.") Also, while shoving an early settlement on U.S. longshoremen, the union tops have kept Canadian dockers working well past their contract expiration on December 31, despite an overwhelming vote to strike in Vancouver.

Build an Alternative Leadership!

As a result of these defeatist policies and conscious sabotage by the Bridges' machine, many longshoremen feel incapable of winning another strike. But dock workers still wield tremendous power; it is the bureaucracy's misleadership that threatens defeat. At a Local 10 meeting called to discuss the contract prior to voting on it, according to workers interviewed afterwards by *WV*, Bridges baldly accused oppositionists who struggle for "exorbitant" demands of being "employer agents."

It is the treacherous labor bureaucracy that is actually an agent of the capitalists in the unions. Bridges and Co. are wedded to an alliance with bourgeois politicians like San Francisco Mayor Alioto and the shipping interests he represents. They are committed to allowing the companies to automate away jobs rather than waging a fight to reduce the workweek at no loss in pay, which would spread the benefits of automation to the workers. The path to victory lies through the building of militant, class-struggle caucuses to replace the present pro-capitalist regime in the unions.

But the contract must be rejected now. Militants committed to class-struggle policies must organize support for a strike and for the kind of tactics necessary to achieve victory. The Gow-Keylor leaflet points to the critical importance of the recent KNC Glass strike in Union City (in the ILWU's warehouse section) as an example of how rank-and-file organizing beat back a union-busting attack by mobilizing the membership and "hot-cargoing" supplies for the plant, within the framework of official union action. In the course of waging such struggles an alternative leadership to the reformist bureaucracy can be built.

The "Reject the Contract" leaflet summarizes the inadequacies of the Bridges' proposal and raises six demands of particular importance in the contract struggle:

> "1. JOBS FOR ALL—NO LAYOFFS! A shorter work week with no loss in shift pay to guarantee everyone work and a full paycheck. 6 hours work for 8 hours pay! No extended shifts. And keep on sliding the hours down and wages up to create jobs!
> "2. 100% automatic escalator clause in the contract, the rise in the cost of living calculated monthly. No limit on the escalator!
> "3. Abolish 9.43 [the "steady-men" clause] completely. Full daily job equalization. Full skilled job training for all, controlled by the union at PMA expense!
> "4. Full A status for B men now! No deregistration of A men or B men!
> "5. Full right to strike over work conditions and union issues!
> "6. Common expiration dates for all ILWU longshoremen (in U.S., Canada, Alaska and Hawaii)."

Hardly exorbitant, these demands represent the immediate felt needs of longshoremen threatened with job losses, massive inflation and attacks on their right to strike. They can only be won through building a solid coastwide longshore strike and replacing the bureaucracy with a militant class-struggle leadership. Such a leadership would reject Bridges' defeatist policies of class collaboration by calling for a break with Alioto and all capitalist parties and politicians, and for the formation of a workers party based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. ■

Continued from page 12

Warehouse Ranks Back Militant

"What Happened at Boron" spelled out the importance of the issues involved for the union and for the entire labor movement. The Boron strike was a monument to the legalistic reformism of the ILWU bureaucracy and was trumpeted by *Fortune* (December 1974) as a model of how to break unions in a period of high unemployment, by recruiting scabs.

The strike was crushed because the ILWU leadership allowed *ILWU longshoremen* in Locals 20-A and 13 (Wilmington and Los Angeles) to load and ship scab borax coming from the mine-refinery in the desert town of Boron. A picket line was set up briefly at Borax' Wilmington facility, but when an arbitrator ruled the picket illegal it was taken down. AFL-CIO craft unions also scabbed because ILWU tops made no effort to stop them. The International's "support" to the strike was limited to collecting donations from other ILWU locals.

In the KNC strike in Union City, however, a similar threat was met by mass picketing, including support from longshoremen, teamsters and other unionists, as well as from Local 6 members from surrounding houses, because Mandel and two other members alerted the membership with their leaflets. The leaflets called for hot-cargoing of products going to and from the struck plant as well as mass picketing and warned of the possibility of government intervention.

An injunction against the picketing was issued later and defied by the pickets, until the leadership moved to end the strike with a few contract improvements. These were wholly inadequate, leaving KNC still below the Local 6 standard, and could certainly have been improved upon. However, militant strike methods did beat back the attempt to break the union, which would have been successful had the strike remained isolated under the defeatist misleadership of McLain et al. The censure motion was the bureaucracy's attempt to smash what it saw as a threat to its very existence—militants with a program for *victory* instead of defeat.

The East Bay Division meeting was itself a demonstration that the sellout labor bureaucracy can be defeated within the unions by a militant rank and file. What is needed is a class-struggle program and the core of an alternative leadership, to organize the struggle and clarify the issues to the membership. The Militant Caucus has been carrying out this task.

When the meeting opened, McLain reportedly did not even make an effort to thwart discussion on the GEB minutes, which contained the censure motion. Instead, the officials supporting the motion tried to hold their remarks until after opponents had spoken, in order to sway the body just prior to the vote. They refused to speak at the beginning despite Rosenberg's repeated demand for an explanation of the charge of "provocation," which he said had no basis. But even this tactic proved to no avail. When the vote was taken, the opposition was so overwhelming that McLain stopped counting and announced that the censure motion had been rejected by the East Bay Division.

Front-Men for Class Collaboration

The discussion made it clear that elements in the union supported by the reformist Communist Party were actively fronting for and working with the leadership, denouncing all criticism as "divisive." This confirms our estimation that "The slanders leveled against Mandel... have all the earmarks of a Stalinist-style purge of the left..." (*WV* No. 62, 14 February). Supporters of CP politics on the GEB said that the criticisms of the leadership contained in Mandel's leaflets would show the employers that there were divisions in the membership.

What this phony "left" rhetoric tries to cover up is the fact that it is the labor bureaucracy that functions as the agent of the employers within the unions, by urging respect for every letter of bourgeois legality, subordinating labor to the bourgeois political parties and to the maintenance of the employers' profits. The unions can only be made to serve the interests of the members if they place themselves on the path of class struggle, and for this a new leadership is needed. A militant leadership must relentlessly expose the failings, passivity and betrayals of the bureaucracy. Not to do so means subordination to the class collaborationism of the labor fakers, which is exactly the position of the Communist Party.

Unlike the CP, supporters of Warehouse Victory, a grouping backed politically by the Maoist Revolutionary Union, supported the opponents of the censure motion at the meeting. They were forced by the rank-and-file outrage to give temporary support to a militant policy, but this conflicts with the RU's frequent sectarianism to the point of physical attacks on its left critics.

Pat Ryle, an executive board member who actively supported a recent march for jobs in Sacramento initiated by the ex-Maoist Progressive Labor Party, had abstained in the original vote on the censure motion at the GEB. However, in the membership meeting he admitted he was changing his vote to opposition, saying that Mandel's leaflets had "mobilized the rank and file." This is in marked contrast to the current frenzy to be found in the pages of PL's *Challenge*, which is accusing class-struggle militants in the UAW in Detroit of being "racist swine" who must be "physically defeated" (see article elsewhere in this issue).

This victory for class-struggle militancy, both in defeating union-busting at KNC and in the vote of the East Bay Division of Local 6, is all the more important as the entire working class is threatened by a period of deepening economic crisis and unemployment. Such conditions make it easier to mobilize scabs, using the army of the unemployed to hold down wages and generally intimidate employed workers into accepting greater exploitation. As the union tops are competing with each other to decide how much of labor's gains to *give up*, KNC shows the way to defeat the employer offensive. ■

International Women's Day Forums

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS

Garment workers during 1919 strike.

NEW YORK

"Forward to a Women's Section of the Vanguard Party"

Wednesday, March 5
7:30 p.m.
Columbia University
Hamilton Hall—Room 304
Speaker: Kay Blanchard

PHILADELPHIA

"From Feminism to Marxism"

Saturday, March 1
7:30 p.m.
Germantown Community
United Presbyterian Church
Green and Tulpehocken Sts.
Speaker: M. Salzburg

WASHINGTON D.C.

"From Feminism to Marxism"

Friday, February 28
7:30 p.m.
American University
Hurst Hall—Room No. 2
Speaker: N. Gerard

"Under the lead of the Third International, the day of the working women shall become a real fighting day; it shall take the form of practical measures which either solidify the conquests of Communism ... or prepare the way for the dictatorship of the working class."
—Alexandra Kollontai

HOUSTON

"CLUW: Feminism and Reformism vs. Class Struggle in the Trade Unions"

Week of March 10—call 926-9944 for date and time
Sundry School
University of Houston
Speaker: Sue Shepherd

WORKERS VANGUARD

ILWU Bureaucracy Defeated in Censure Vote

Warehouse Ranks Back Militant

No More Borons!

OAKLAND, February 23—Warehouse workers last week scored a victory over bureaucratic attempts to divide and defeat the labor movement. In a well-attended meeting of the East Bay Division of Local 6, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, members voted decisively to reject a censure motion that had been passed by the Local's General Executive Board (GEB) against militant Bob Mandel.

This vote was a repudiation not just of the cowardly censure motion but also of the criminal passivity of the reformist trade-union leaders in allowing crushing defeats to take place such as the Boron strike last year. It was a statement that the militant methods of the KNC Glass strike—mass picketing and "hot-cargo" boycotts of struck products—represent the answer to Boron-type disasters and the way forward for labor to *win* strikes, even in a period of high unemployment.

The censure motion, passed several weeks ago by the GEB, was aimed at a group of militants in the ILWU who had sparked mass picketing by Local 6 members in support of KNC Glass strikers. KNC workers had received the same threat of permanent replacement by scabs which had come true just a few months earlier for hundreds of Local 30 members at the Borax works in southern California.

The efforts of these militants led to a successful labor boycott action by ILWU longshoremen in Oakland, who refused to handle glass shipments to KNC. Following the strike, Bob Mandel, who was attending his first meeting of the GEB after being elected to the Board on a class-struggle program, was singled out by the motion and accused of "provocative actions" and "anti-union attacks" in literature handed out by him to support the KNC strike.

Since then, Mandel and other militants have formed a Militant Caucus and begun publishing a caucus newsletter, the *Warehouse Militant*, to build support for a class-struggle program and an alternative leadership in the unions. They also produced buttons saying, "For Militancy and Solidarity, NO MORE BORONS" which have been popular with the membership.

Button distributed by Militant Caucus of ILWU

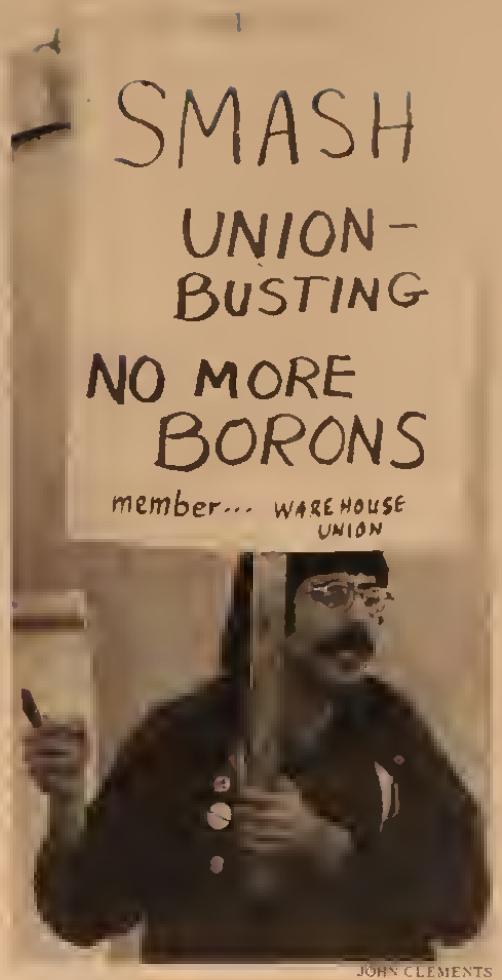
Opposition to Bureaucratic Censure Mounts

Immediately after the motion of censure was passed, KNC chief steward Rosenberg wrote a statement, which was reprinted in the first issue of *Warehouse Militant*, answering the GEB's charges against Mandel and defending the militant tactics of the strike. *This statement was subsequently endorsed by every Local 6 worker at KNC.*

Support was also received from militants in Local 10 (longshore) and 34 (clerks) in the Bay Area, as well as from LaFronya Mayes, a steward at a shop near KNC who was a key supporter of the militant defense actions and instrumental in building support for the strike in her shop. The second issue of *Warehouse Militant* reports that a petition—demanding the censure be dropped and calling for support to the tactics that stopped the union-busting drive at KNC—was circulated in Canada by members of Vancouver Local 500.

Meanwhile, the Local 6 leadership under President Curtis McLain secured approval for the censure motion in a few divisions of the Bay Area-wide warehouse local by lining up large numbers of officials to speak and vote, counting on small meetings due to the lack of information on the issues by the members in other units. In at least two other divisions, officials improperly refused to hold meetings for fear of losing the vote. But in the East Bay Division it was impossible for them to pull the wool over the membership's eyes.

According to members who spoke with *WV* reporters afterwards, Rosenberg denounced the censure motion and gave a detailed defense of the strike.



JOHN CLEMENTS

ILWU militant Bob Mandel

Other KNC workers also opposed the motion and heckled Local secretary-treasurer Keith Eickmann when he claimed that Local officials had kept in "close touch" with the strikers.

KNC vs. Boron

Many of the 150 members present turned out on the call of the second issue of *Warehouse Militant*. An article headed "Stop the Censure Motion! No More Borons" and another entitled

continued on page 11

Bridges Prepares Longshore Deregistrations...10

¡Alto a las deportaciones!

A medida que la tasa de desempleo continua elevándose, los voceros de los grandes negocios y sus apologistas en el movimiento sindical desesperadamente buscan una víctima propiciatoria para desviar la creciente ira de la población trabajadora. Así como en el pasado la estratégia de los defensores del sistema capitalista de explotación y desempleo es intensificar divisiones nacionales y otras divisiones dentro de la clase obrera a través de esquemas proteccionistas, trato de preferencia en los despidos y otros engaños similares.

Corrientemente existe una ofensiva reaccionaria para inducir histeria reaccionaria contra inmigrantes sin documentos y otros trabajadores extranjeros. El director de la división de pasaportes del Departamento de Estado acaba de proponer cédulas de ciudadanía como una medida para eliminar a los inmigrantes ilegales. ¡Todo militante debe protestar esta medida policíaca, de estilo sudafricano, para aplastarla en semilla!

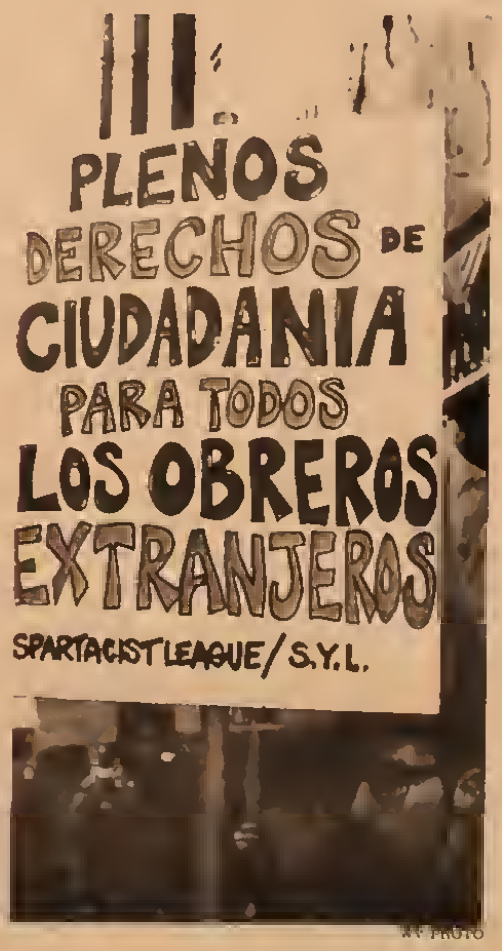
El año pasado más de 800.000 fueron deportados por las autoridades norteamericanas; este año prometen expulsar a 1.000.000 o aún más. Esta campaña chovinista se extiende de costa a costa. En Los Angeles las autoridades de "la migra" regularmente saquean el barrio del East L. A. en brancadas de tipo Gestapo, resultando en decenas de miles de deportaciones el año pasado.

En Nueva York una serie de artículos rabiosos recientemente publicados por el *Daily News* acusaba a los obreros extranjeros de ser los responsables por toda clase de enfermedad social (desempleo, malas escuelas, altos impuestos, etc.). Los títulos decían: "100.000 extranjeros ilegales roban a la ciudad" y "Arrestos de extranjeros fomentaría empleos, dicen oficiales".

La Spartacist League ha estado en la primera fila de lucha contra las deportaciones. En California la Spartacist League fue la primera organización de izquierda que públicamente denunció a los ataques que César Chavez hizo contra los trabajadores extranjeros, notablemente su apoyo al proyecto de ley Rodino-Kennedy, durante el tiempo en que la mayoría de los oportunistas disculpaban desvergonzosamente al líder de los United Farm Workers. (La SL también defendió al UFW contra los ataques de los cultivadores, los Teamsters y el gobierno, llamando por un boicot laboral de productos esquiroles y por una huelga general en todo el estado de California en defensa del sindicato.)

En Nueva York la SL repetidamente ha estado activa en manifestaciones contra las deportaciones de haitianos el año pasado. Recientemente, el 11 de febrero, el Comité Ad Hoc para Aplastar a los Ataques Contra Trabajadores Extranjeros, iniciado por la Spartacist League, estableció un piquete en frente de las oficinas del *Daily News* protestando la porquería racista y chovinista que se estaba arrojando en su campaña contra extranjeros. En la manifestación, un vocero de la SL hizo una llamada para luchar por empleos para todos, para poner fin a las deportaciones, y para obtener plenos derechos de ciudadanía para todos los extranjeros que presentemente residen en el país. La lucha para poner fin a las deportaciones es una tarea urgente para todos los socialistas y militantes sindicalistas.

—¡No a las deportaciones! ¡Plenos derechos de ciudadanía para los trabajadores extranjeros!
—¡Empleos para todos! ¡30 horas de trabajo, 40 horas de pago! ¡Organizar a los no organizados!
—¡Expropiar a la industria y la finanza, sin compensación! ¡Adelante hacia una economía planificada bajo un gobierno obrero!
—¡Obreros del mundo, uníos!



WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 64 14 March 1975

No U.S. Aid to Lon Nol!

Cambodian Government Crumbles

NEW YORK TIMES

U.S. airlift of ammunition to disintegrating Lon Nol regime.

MARCH 9—The Cambodian puppet government is falling and can no longer be propped up by the dollars of U.S. imperialism. Despite Gerald Ford's pious references to the "loss of American reliability" and the "deep sense of shame" involved in "walking away from our friends" (*New York Times*, 7 March), it is clear that the days of the Lon Nol regime are numbered.

The only territory still under Lon Nol's nominal control, the capital city of Phnom Penh, has been effectively sealed off since January. The Mekong River, which normally carries over 80 percent of total supplies to the Cambodian capital, has been mined by the Khmer Rouge. Their gun emplacements line the river banks and the last government outpost (at the ferry-crossing town of Neak Luong) cannot hold out. Meanwhile, the government army (FANK) has practically no reserves and is in total disarray. (The 7 March *New York Times* reports that the FANK is now mobilizing desk clerks and wheeling invalids from the hospi- to the battle front!)

Only the Pentagon's massive airlift of munitions and supplies for the Lon Nol army has so far sustained the government in Phnom Penh, a city with a refugee-swollen population of 2,000,000. Now even the airport is being hit with accurate heavy artillery fire.

Ford Looks for a Scapegoat

The Ford administration is merely going through the motions of wanting to continue to prop up the rapidly disintegrating Cambodian regime. Ford has asked for an immediate military aid package of $222 million to help tide his Cambodian cronies over "until the rainy season." However, given the hopeless situation of Lon Nol and the economic and political problems of U.S. imperialism at home, it is unlikely that Congress will throw money into such an obviously lost cause.

Ford, of course, knows this since he is as well informed about the terminal condition of his Cambodian puppets as anyone. But if Cambodia cannot be "saved" for U.S. imperialism, at least its downfall can be used to whip up anti-communist hysteria and to scapegoat Ford's Democratic Party opponents for allowing Cambodia to "go communist." Ford thereby hopes to refurbish the badly tarnished image of the post-Watergate GOP.

Socialists and militant workers must give no quarter to this coming campaign of chauvinism and mutual anti-communist recrimination by bourgeois politicians. No Aid to the Reactionary Corpse of the Lon Nol Regime! Military Victory to the Khmer Rouge! Take Phnom Penh Now!

With the Ford administration beating the drums for more aid for Cambodia, A Congressional team recently went there to "see for itself." TV cameras captured an incident which indicated both the method of this "investigation" and the war-weary wisdom of the Cambodian masses. The American investigative team, looking quite official, stopped an old woman in Phnom Pehn and asked her if she was "terrified by the prospect of Communist invasion."

"Yes, *sir*," she replied quickly.

UPI

AP

Left: Combodion "premier" Lon Nol.
Right: Khmer Rouge leoder Khieu Samphon (left) with Prince Norodom Sihanouk in 1974.

Under the pressure of Lon Nol's imminent fall some former Congressional Vietnam "doves" have now become Cambodian "hawks." Republican Congressman Paul McCloskey, one of the capitalist darlings of the liberal/reformist antiwar movement, decided that in the interest of peace he would support more aid to Cambodia so that the U.S. "could negotiate from strength." And Millicent Fenwick, who was elected to Congress last fall on a platform of "no military aid to Southeast Asia," has, since her trip to Cambodia, become "undecided" about continued military aid. We wonder what Jerry Ford has promised to do for these two?

But the appeals to "moral obligations" and congressional publicity stunts are hogwash. The military/political reality is overwhelming: U.S. imperialism faces a domestic economic crisis and a still vivid public memory of the unpopular Vietnam war. Barring the unlikely event of massive U.S. intervention, the Khmer Rouge can easily control the Mekong along with the rest of Cambodia, airlift or no airlift. The Phnom Penh government cannot last in any case.

The "Comrade Prince" and the Khmer Rouge

"Sihanouk is Cambodia and Cambodia is Sihanouk," once said Prince Norodom Sihanouk, descendent of both Khmer (Cambodian) royal houses, with typical royal narcissism. Proclaimed king in 1941 as an 18-year-old schoolboy, Sihanouk reigned until his own trusted associates deposed him in a palace coup on 18 March 1970. He watched from Paris as his number two man, Lon Nol (premier and head of the army), along with Sirik Matak (deputy premier and cabinet strongman), took the reins of government with probable help from the CIA, as the first step in the U.S. plan to invade Cambodia.

As a result of Nixon's 1970 invasion, the political and military strength of the Khmer Rouge grew rapidly. From a very small force of indigenous Stalinists aided by the Viet Minh who had come across the border in 1954, they were by the early 1970's in a position of unquestioned military and political dominance in Cambodia.

The "Comrade Prince" went into exile in Peking where he "shared the place of honor" with Mao. Five days after the 1970 coup Sihanouk released a disingenuous statement declaring that, "The treason . . . and despicable attacks . . . have opened my eyes and made me painfully aware of my unpardonable naivety." This "self-criticism" was a prologue to the subsequent announcement that Sihanouk had joined his old and bitter enemies of the Khmer Rouge to form a popular front, the National United Front of Kampuchea (FUNK), and a royal government in exile (the GRUNK).

Although lionized by world Maodom, Sihanouk was and is above all a dyed-in-the-wool anti-communist opportunist. When he ruled Cambodia he often smiled favorably on Peking or Hanoi in order to maintain his neutralist balancing act. So long as the forces of the Khmer Rouge remained small and his "socialist" monarchy was unthreatened, Sihanouk's anti-communism seemed less important to some than his expressed neutralism.

However, in the mid and late 1960's Sihanouk began to raise the spectre of "outside communists" in his kingdom. In 1967 there was a peasant rising in the province of Battambang. Sihanouk blamed the Communists and

continued on page 9

FISCAL FIDDLING CAN'T STOP DEPRESSION

Marx vs. Keynes.....6

Fremont UAW's Anti-Deportation Vote

Maoists Oppose International Organizing

An escalating campaign of hysterical national chauvinism, fueled by the plummeting economy, is currently finding its most vicious expression in a drive by industry, government and union bureaucrats to deport foreign-born workers. In California, with its large Mexican population, this dagger pointed at undocumented immigrant working people is being wielded with particular ferocity. The hated U.S. Immigration authorities regularly sweep through barrio neighborhoods and workplaces in Los Angeles, a phony "census" is being prepared to scour San Jose for "illegals," and Cesar Chavez leads the chorus with the cry, "Throw them out!"

United Auto Workers Local 1364, Fremont General Motors, struck a blow at this unholy alliance at its February 23 membership meeting by overwhelmingly passing a motion, introduced by members of the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW), calling for a stop to deportations, citizenship rights for the foreign-born and international union organizing:

> "WHEREAS: organized labor in America can unite with foreign-born workers in common struggle against the American corporations only through the resolute struggle against deportations which is an attack on workers solidarity by the government, and;
> "WHEREAS: the UAW International reinforces this national chauvinism by blaming layoffs on foreign auto workers and calling for Import Quotas instead of organizing an international offensive against the multi-national corporations;
> "BE IT RESOLVED: that local 1364 stand prepared to demonstrate its opposition to any deportation; specifically the so-called 'census' in San Jose and the gestapo tactics of the Los Angeles Immigration Bureau. Instead we demand: Jobs for all! Full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers, and further the UAW must mobilize the entire labor movement in a major drive to organize the unorganized in the southwest and across the border into Mexico."

However, this motion was not carried without a sharp struggle against Local bureaucrats and their Stalinist stooges, who linked arms in a vain attempt to scuttle the resolution and gut its forthright stand.

Following the meeting auto workers interviewed by *WV* reported that after the resolution was introduced and motivated by a CMUAW member it was supported by several Chicano brothers. Even a supporter of the Revolutionary Union-backed *Bay Area Worker* supported the motion, although the RU has previously physically attacked CMUAW members for their views.

The Local's secretary-treasurer, fronting for Solidarity House, attempted to table the motion with the argument that it "might conflict" with International policy (this brought a hail of derisive hoots!). He also appealed to the authority of Cesar Chavez, implying that anyone who opposed deportations must oppose the United Farm Workers.

A spokesman for the CMUAW then forcefully exposed the reactionary protectionism being pushed by the International and, while calling for militant defense of the UFW, denounced the sabotage wreaked on farm workers by Chavez' back-stabbing alliance with "la migra." The motion to table was defeated.

But where the bureaucrats had failed, supporters of *Stand Up*, a new plant newsletter supported by the October League, stepped in. Its name evidently chosen in a perverse reaction to the CMUAW's campaign for sitdown strikes against mass layoffs, *Stand Up* has already earned the disgust of militant Fremont workers through its backing of a union-busting court suit which would wreck the hard-won seniority system, by granting "super-seniority" to women.

Playing this divisive role once again, *Stand Up* supporters tried to amend the motion by deleting the call for across-the-border organizing. Their blatant defense of inaction by the International and the AFL-CIO was motivated on the nationalist grounds that "we can't tell Mexicans what to do"! Though the bureaucrat chairing the meeting, grateful for this assistance, tried to maneuver votes for the amendment by parliamentary hocus-pocus, the reactionary amendment was also defeated.

The *Stand Up* supporters then outdid themselves and joined the bureaucrats in *abstaining* on the motion, while the majority of the membership approved it. As the fact of their horrible isolation began to dawn on them, however, and finding themselves being taunted by militant Chicano workers, some of the nervous Maoist supporters suddenly called for a revote. The second time around some of them approved the motion, while others obstinately (though at least more consistently) continued in their sectarian and chauvinist abstention.

Only one performance outdid this incredible display of opportunist acrobatics. Though a prominent supporter of *People's World* (the West Coast Communist Party newspaper) did not bother to attend the meeting, one of his younger sidekicks did and, together with only one other local member, voted *against* the defense of foreign-born workers! This is consistent with the Communist Party's bootlicking subservience to Chavez' racist attacks on Mexican farm workers, attacks which *People's World* slavishly "reports" but does not comment on.

It is to the credit of Fremont workers and the CMUAW that efforts to split the working class on ethnic and national lines were repulsed at the meeting. Class-conscious workers will not forget the actions of the pro-capitalist bureaucrats and their Stalinist flunkies who abstained from and opposed the fight for working-class unity. ■

National Bureaucrats Crack the Whip

Boston CLUW Slams Door on Unorganized Workers

Members of Union Organizing Committees Barred

BOSTON—In typical bureaucratic fashion the national coordinating committee of the Coalition of Labor Union Women has squashed a move by Boston CLUW to extend membership rights to women active in union organizing drives. Fearful that even this elementary gesture of labor solidarity could lead to increased militancy and a serious commitment to the Coalition's stated goal of "organizing the unorganized," national CLUW refused to charter the local and threatened to notify area trade unions of the chapter's "illegitimacy." Faced with this attack, ostensible leftists in the leadership of Boston CLUW immediately turned around and pushed through a motion to rescind the controversial membership clause at a February 25 meeting of the organizing committee.

These same elements had earlier voiced criticisms of the do-nothing policies of national CLUW, criticisms that were in line with arguments presented in a recent (12 February) issue of the Maoist *Guardian* (an "independent" weekly supported by the October League). According to the *Guardian*:

> "The two-line struggle within CLUW is only beginning. On the left, the only organization working to build CLUW and move it to the left has been the October League (OL)....
> "According to Jill Gemmill, an OL member and member of the NCC [National Coordinating Committee], CLUW's main weakness is that the left in particular has not succeeded yet in building a base in the shops or in making CLUW relate to the day-to-day needs of working women."

In Boston, supporters of these views first initiated the motion to allow women involved in organizing drives to become members of CLUW. At a November 13 meeting Nancy Kellinger, a member of the IBEW, stressed the importance of unity between organized and unorganized women workers and critized the labor movement for neglecting unorganized women. She also criticized the "bureaucratization" of the national CLUW leadership and its "narrowness on political questions."

The cover letter accompanying the Boston local's charter application contained similar militant statements. It was pointed out that to exclude women participating in union organizing drives would contradict one of CLUW's major purposes and reinforce organized labor's general neglect of women workers. It also pointed out: "Some of the most active women unionists are coming from [organizing] drives."

In a final appeal to the "good will" of the national coordinating committee of CLUW, the letter stated, "It is within our democratic rights to take this position, a position in harmony with the spirit of the Coalition of Labor Union Women...." But as soon as the CLUW tops made it clear that they, and they alone, would define the "spirit" of the organization, and that CLUW's support for organizing the unorganized was simply hypocritical verbiage, the "leftists" in the Boston leadership beat a hasty retreat.

The Maoists' appetite for office in CLUW and local trade-union bureaucracies is most immediately and concretely occasioned by their desire to get OL demonstrations co-sponsored by CLUW and labor bureaucrats. Recently such fake lefts in Chicago voted for their own censure for staging a "CLUW-sponsored" demonstration without authorization, a stupid maneuver that played directly into the hands of the redbaiting anti-communists who run the organization.

Similarly in Boston reformist supporters of the Stalinist Communist Party prevented CLUW from holding an International Women's Day demonstration in front of Boston City Hospital, arguing that "you have to go through the established leadership of the unions concerned." Naturally, October League supporters fell all over themselves denying that they would ever dream of doing anything without the approval of the bureaucrats, and dropped the plan.

The Maoists' opportunist capitulations in CLUW are nothing new, however. At the Coalition's founding convention in Chicago last March, when the union bureaucrats refused entry to representatives of the Brookside Women's Club, a group of miners' wives who were active in the 1973-74 Harlan coal strike, supporters of the OL remained silent.

In addition to such fake-left critics of the CLUW bureaucrats there are other "socialists" active in the organization who have distinguished themselves as the most consistent defenders of its national leadership. Notable among these are supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP). In Boston these tailists whined that nothing can be done about undemocratic rules except to abide by them until one day they are miraculously changed.

And far from fighting on the national level against the exclusion of women workers who are members of union organizing committees, some of these reformists have actively sabotaged the attempt by Boston CLUW to broaden the restrictive membership clause. In order to conciliate national CLUW and prove their capacities as the "best builders" of yet another reformist diversion from the class struggle, two local activists sent a letter to CLUW president Olga Madar dissociating themselves from the resolution admitting organizing committee participants to membership.

These impostors, who express the same grovelling before CLUW misleaders as the SWP puts forward in its press, even take up the bureaucrats' arguments for them. Linda Malanchuk, Massachusetts convener of CLUW and one of the authors of the "Dear Olga" letter, said at the February 25 meeting: "Although we want unorganized women

continued on page 5

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Reformists Cross Picket Lines at Toronto Post Office

Solidarity and Betrayal in Canadian Government Employees' Strike

TORONTO, March 4—A cross-Canada strike by about 11,000 federal public service workers demonstrated the power of labor solidarity for two weeks in late February. Airports and post offices across the country were shut by striking members of the General Labor and Trades (GL&T) unit of the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) primarily because workers in other unions refused to cross picket lines. Pickets by post office mechanics and maintenance men around the main Toronto postal station, Terminal "A," brought the movement of mail to a halt because the lines were honored by militant truck drivers (Mail Service Carriers, or "MSCs"). About 500 striking workers in Toronto were able to stop half of Canada's mail handling.

A virtual nationwide strike wave was created by the PSAC pickets. Mail delivery was disrupted in Edmonton, Alberta, where letter carriers refused to cross maintenance men's lines. Airports were shut in Winnipeg, Ottawa, and Windsor, where firemen refused to cross lines. Greyhound bus drivers refused to cross picket lines set up at national park gates on the Trans-Canada Highway (cutting bus service between Calgary and the West Coast for several days) and 800 dock workers in Vancouver, British Columbia defied capitalist law by refusing, despite their designation as "essential workers," to cross the strikers' lines. Only the defeatist policies of the PSAC leadership, sending rotating pickets to many places rather than seriously attempting to maintain shutdowns, limited the effects of the strike.

In the post office the strike coincided with preparations for contract struggles and with management's imminent introduction of a speed-up automation scheme known as MAPP. Were it not for the criminal divisiveness and betrayals of the postal union leaderships—in the Letter Carriers, Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) and PSAC—the strike could have provided a basis for uniting all postal workers.

DAVE COOPER, TORONTO SUN

Postal truck drivers in Toronto going home after refusing to cross PSAC picket lines late last month.

"Nothing Holy About a Picket Line"

The PSAC leadership did everything possible to prevent unity and undermine the very solidarity which led to the honouring of its picket lines by many workers. PSAC members defined as "essential workers" by the repressive Public Service Staff Relations Act, were not called out and PSAC members who are not part of the striking GL&T unit were ordered by their union leaders to cross picket lines at Terminal "A" in Toronto!

The PSAC brass also encouraged inside workers to cross their lines at the post office as part of an arrangement with CUPW which allowed each union to ignore the other's pickets. CUPW local president Lou Murphy explained this to his members by saying, "there's nothing holy about a picket line." The result was widespread scabbing by CUPW workers while the postal truck drivers, members of the Letter Carriers Union, honoured the lines.

The militancy of the MSCs closed Terminal "A," however, thereby effectively shutting down Toronto postal operations except for a trickle of mail in the suburbs. Management responded after a few days with a lockout of CUPW inside workers and Letter Carriers. This maneuver was designed to bring pressure on PSAC to end the strike and to force the truck drivers to cross the lines.

Further pressure was added in the form of a management letter to many MSCs which threatened "severe disciplinary and/or legal action, up to and including discharge from the Public Service" for those who refused to cross PSAC picket lines. At least five of the truck drivers were handed one-day suspensions. The drivers stood firm, however, and were sent home by management, which was thus prevented from operating and forced to continue the lockout of all postal workers.

The lockout should have elicited a militant response from the unions, in the form of a strike of all postal workers. The Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency, in a *Spartacist Canada* leaflet dated 18 February, issued a call to turn the lockout into a joint strike by all three unions. This would have laid the groundwork for joint bargaining and eventual merger of the unions into one union of postal employees, replacing the present trade and craft divisions with a powerful industrial union.

Such joint action is an immediate need since the Letter Carriers face a possible strike over contract issues in mid-April and CUPW faces the same in June. The unions have been drifting apart, and occasionally scabbing on each other's strikes, for years. Failure to reunite the bargaining of the two main unions in the post office only perpetuates this pernicious division.

GLOBE AND MAIL (TORONTO)/DENNIS ROBINSON

Parcels at Toronto post office during recent strike.

Strike Militancy Smeared In Press

The CUPW leadership stuck to its craven deal with PSAC and refused to even consider honouring the picket lines, let alone strike. Calling a special mass meeting after the lockout, in response to demands from militants for some action on the strike, the CUPW leadership managed to engineer an overwhelming vote against honouring the lines. They were aided in this by a vicious red-baiting campaign in the bourgeois press, which denounced unnamed "militants" who wanted to strike as advocating "illegal" actions. Smear attacks were heard on radio as well.

The kowtowing of CUPW leaders before capitalist legality conflicts with the very origins of the union, which was founded and won the right to strike through an "illegal" strike. The question of legality is in actuality the question of the relationship of forces: if the workers are strong enough, they can defy capitalist legality; if they fail to do so, the employers will use anti-labor laws to prevent any and all advances by the workers.

The PSAC tops were no better than the CUPW strikebreakers. Trying to head off criticism, PSAC called a 36-hour moratorium on the strike so that welfare checks could be mailed out. Instead, PSAC tops let management use these 36 hours to unclog most of the backlog of mail which had piled up during the previous six days of the strike. Then, on February 27, PSAC pulled its picket lines off Terminal "A" altogether and sent its members back to work, substituting impotent rotating pickets for what could have been a powerful, nationwide strike.

CPL Supporters Caught Scabbing

The PSAC and other union leaderships weren't the only friends of management in the Toronto postal strike. Members of the Postal Action Committee (PAC), a group of CUPW members supported by the Canadian Party of Labor, ally of the U.S. Progressive Labor Party (PLP), crossed picket lines at Terminal "A" during the strike.

On February 18, PAC member Peter Liebowitz spotted a *WV* reporter about to take his picture crossing the lines. He gathered a few of his cronies together and attempted (unsuccessfully) to seize the camera. In the brief scuffle that followed, Liebowitz was heard to say, "Nobody takes a picture of me crossing picket lines!" And indeed, nobody would if CPL supporters had the most elementary working-class principles. The sellout deal between PSAC

continued on page 10

"Truth" Lies

The Ligue Internationale de Reconstruction de la Quatrième Internationale (International League Rebuilding the Fourth International—LIRQI) has just granted its U.S. franchise to a motley crew whose core group has already wandered from the SWP through the IS, the IS's "Revolutionary Tendency" and the RSL to the Vargaite LIRQI and now goes by the name "TRUTH." The choice of this name was not merely ludicrous. It is a lie.

The cement which binds "TRUTH" and the LIRQI would appear to an unswerving dedication to cliquism, and to cliquism's necessarily corresponding political program: cynicism, the joyful exercise of the practice of lying, and flirting with crossing the class line. Although both factions share such things as organizational meglomania and parallel forms of both opportunism and catastrophism, the fundamental fact is that they do not share anything because the two groups' *real programs* hardly even touch tangentially, let alone converge on fundamentals. The LIRQI-"TRUTH" "fusion" is just one more international rotten bloc, and a miniscule one to boot.

Lie

This can be proven methodologically by examining only one example of a lie: "TRUTH" (No. 6, 15 February 1975) claims that the Spartacist League was attempting to invent differences between it and the LIRQI over the issue of candidates of a popular front. It states that the LIRQI had "called for a vote FOR Mitterrand on the second round" of the French presidential elections of May 1974. At the time of the elections, however, the *French* "section" of the LIRQI had unambiguously stated its position for a total *boycott* of the elections, on principle:

> "NO ILLUSIONS can exist on the nature of Mitterrand's candidacy, it is an attempt to repeat in France the painful Chilean experience.... The working class has only one solution: TO BOYCOTT THESE ELECTIONS BY FIGHTING FOR THE WORKERS AND PEASANTS GOVERNMENT!" [emphasis in original]
>
> —*Bulletin International* No. 6, April 1974

And although a long article in the following issue (transformed into the "*Quatrième Internationale*") avoids taking a position on the question of the vote on the second round, it does make the following statement:

> "For the Trotskyists, the question of calling for a vote for the Popular Front on the second round or not remains relatively secondary. *At most it is a tactical question.*" [our emphasis]

Since the LIRQI had pretended that the question of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste's capitulation to the popular front was a major issue in its break from the OCI, the second statement would have represented a major *retreat*. (This appears to be connected to the fact that the Chilean Organizacion Marxista Revolucionaria had meanwhile joined the LIRQI and that the OMR shared the OCI's position of calling for a vote for Mitterrand on both rounds. More recently, perhaps realizing what a swamp it had gotten tied up with, the OMR reportedly split away from the LIRQI.) Yet "TRUTH" flatly denies that the LIRQI's first position ever existed, and falsifies the second.

"Continuity"

When a core group of "TRUTH" was still inside the SWP (as the "Communist Tendency" then of one David Fender), it had correctly written:

> "The heritage of the [SWP's] analysis and political activity is social-democracy, Stalinism and Centrism of all varieties, and the party can only be characterized as being right-centrist quickly on its way to outright reformism."

The LIRQI, too, once criticized the OCI for its belief in "the *illusion* of the SWP's Trotskyism" (*Bulletin International* No. 4, November 1973 [our emphasis]). But only a few months later, the July 1974 *Quatrième Internationale* prints the founding statement of the LIRQI, which has a new line: to seek the "rectification of Trotskyist organizations such as the *SWP*, SLL and OCI" (our emphasis). Apparently "TRUTH" cannot stomach this position of the LIRQI (published in both its French and Swedish press) and simply ignores the SWP and OCI, concentrating on the WRP (ex-SLL).

Absurdity

Where "TRUTH" does agree with the LIRQI it collapses into either absurdity, megalomania or anti-communism. A good example of absurd self-contradiction is that the ostensible programmatic basis upon which the original "TRUTH" group (i.e., the Tracey-Brecht clique) joined the LIRQI includes a call to "fight for the Workers' and Peasants' Government"! This illustrates the mindless centrism of the LIRQI—which, parenthetically, has declared that "the essence of Bolshevism is centrism" and that the only reason for democracy in a Bolshevik organization is to augment centralism—since it should hardly be necessary to remind anyone (except, perhaps, equally mindless cynics like the RSL's Ron Taber) that the peasantry does not exist as a social class in the United States.

A nice example of the absurd megalomania is the front-page article of "TRUTH" No. 6 which purports to be a "Resolution" of the "Trotskyist Organization of the US" ("TO"—the new official name of the "TRUTH" group), which of course is not Trotskyist, is not an organization in the Leninist sense, but rather a clique, and is not a section of anything (as implied by the phrase "of the US") but rather a transient partner of a new international rotten bloc. (For that matter, the "Resolution" is not really a resolution, either, but window-dressing.)

The statement declares that the "TO" has set for itself "within the framework of the task of preparing its first national conference, the proclamation of the party of the proletariat in the United States...." That is a pretty tall order, to achieve such a position so quickly! But only two pages later, "TRUTH" complains that the Spartacist League sent "more people to the meeting [announcing the "TRUTH /LIRQI "fusion"] than there were supporters of the IL [i.e., the LIRQI]." The presence of a small fraction of the SL's Chicago membership exposed the absurdity of this handful of pompous buffoons proclaiming themselves the revolutionary party.

"Down with the Berlin Wall!"

The same "resolution" contains five main slogans, of which four are general platitudes (e.g., "For the World Soviet Republic!") and one is "Down with the Berlin Wall!" This brings us to the anti-communist aspect of "TRUTH/LIRQI, for this slogan *is* programmatic and is *fundamentally* counterrevolutionary.

The claim that this slogan will in any way "symbolize the unity of the working-class youth of the East and West" is simply ridiculous. In the West, and more particularly in the United States and West Germany, the Berlin Wall has become the symbol of "communist totalitarianism" and the latter-day apologia for Shachtmanism. There is a class line between the Trotskyist slogan "for the political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers states" (a demand which is not directly mentioned in the resolution) and the call "Down with the Berlin Wall."

This demand may have had its historical origins in certain formulations of the OCI which we have criticized in the past. Thus in our "Letter to the OCRFI and OCI" (*Spartacist* [English-language edition] No. 22, Winter 1973-74) we wrote:

> "(3) *Stalinism:* We note that in the past the OCI has tended to equate the struggle against imperialism with the struggle against Stalinism, e.g. the slogans advanced at the 1971 Essen Conference. The general Political Resolution submitted by the OCI and adopted by the OCRFI takes this equation one step further when it denies the 'double nature' of the Stalinist bureaucracy, writing of it as 'the organism of the bourgeoisie within the working-class movement.' Perhaps the OCI has been led to this false formulation through a simplistic linear extension of the true and valuable insight that the class struggles of the workers cut across the 'Iron Curtain.'
>
> "To us, and we believe to Trotsky, the Stalinist bureaucracy has a *contradictory* character...."

The LIRQI has announced that it intends to hold a demonstration at the Berlin Wall this June around its anti-communist slogan, as part of a campaign to build a "Revolutionary Youth International." At the 1971 Essen Conference mentioned above the OCI also proposed to build a Revolutionary Youth International (without organizational connection to the Fourth International!) and invited the National Student Association of the U.S., a former recipient of CIA funds whose political line corresponds to that of the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Perhaps the LIRQI, too, will invite the NSA to its demonstration around the slogan "Down with the Berlin Wall!" The student Democrats would certainly agree with the demand.

Ad Infinitum

Our examples of the LIRQI's provocative megalomania, had we the space, could approach infinity: e.g., the "Revolutionary Youth International"; the statement that "The International League [i.e., LIRQI] today has sections in Eastern Europe: in Poland, Yugoslavia, Czechoslavakia and Hungary..."; etc. But the examples adduced so far are more than sufficient to prove the point: that despite its claims to *be* the Fourth International, the LIRQI is in fact a bloc of two fundamentally disparate elements covered over with a veneer of ultra-centralism and a wide variety of political lines. ■

A Workers' Commission Must Try Varga

The historical leader of the League of Hungarian Socialist Revolutionaries (LRSH) and the LIRQI, Michel Varga (Balazs Nagy), has been accused by the French OCI of being an agent of the KGB and CIA.

The OCI has advanced its accusations in a criminally irresponsible manner, first failing to present any substantiation whatever for nine months and then publishing documentation that is qualitatively insufficient to prove the charges. Nevertheless, it has adduced partial circumstantial evidence (which has not been contested) that during a period of several years in the late 1950's and early 1960's Varga/Nagy knowingly sought funds from the U.S. State Department and CIA. *"Truth"* ignores this issue completely.

In late January 1974 the OCI publicly offered to provide documentary evidence on the Varga affair to any group in the workers movement. This material was immediately and officially requested by the Spartacist League, both orally and in writing. However, to date only parts of this documentation have been supplied to us by the OCI.

We have also insisted to the LIRQI, orally in June 1974 and in a letter of 31 October 1974 (published in *Spartacist* [edition française] No. 8, February 1975, together with an analysis of the Varga affair), that it initiate the formation of a workers' commission of inquiry competent to judge the issues at stake. At the same time we indicated our willingness to participate in a bona-fide commission.

In reply to a letter from the LIRQI, we again wrote on 4 February 1975:

> "...under certain conditions we are prepared to participate in a workers commission which would be sufficiently authoritative to come to a definitive verdict on the Varga affair. In particular, that means...that *a priori* any conclusion is possible, including a recommendation that Varga be expelled from the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Socialistes Hongrois [LRSH] and the LIRQI. The character and methods of the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, initiated by Trotsky, are the definitive and necessary model for the international Spartacist tendency."

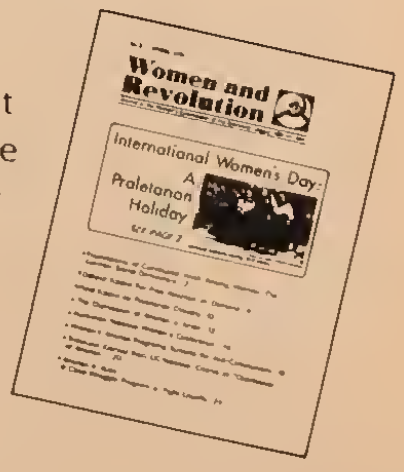
At a meeting in Paris on March 1 to discuss the character and formation of a commission of inquiry, the LIRQI insisted that *it* be a member of such a body. Since Varga/Nagy is the leader of record of the LIRQI this amounts to permitting the accused to be his own judge. Such a "commission" would amount to a rigged jury set up in order to whitewash Varga/Nagy. As long as Varga/Nagy remains a member of the LIRQI, its participation on a commission of inquiry is categorically unacceptable to the international Spartacist tendency. ■

Women and Revolution

Just out!
International Women's Day Issue!

includes:

- Foundations of Communist Work Among Women: The German Social Democracy
- Women in Auto: A Class-Struggle Program to Fight Layoffs



Subscribe now!

$1 for 4 issues—make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO NY, NY 10001

SL Helps Fend Off Gusano Goons

SWP Waits for Cops Again

CHICAGO, March 8—Some twenty supporters of the Spartacist League jumped in to defend Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers Party) leader Juan Carlos Coral and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) against a goon squad charge by a gang of anti-Castro counterrevolutionaries ("*gusanos*," or worms) at a USLA-sponsored forum at the University of Chicago today. Despite repeated gusano assaults, the SWP defense refused to physically remove these scum and instead nervously waited for the arrival of the campus cops.

Ignoring the SWP's pleas for reliance on the campus cops, SL supporters spontaneously rushed forward to defend the podium. One SL supporter was hurt and another had his glasses broken (barely avoiding serious eye injury) in the scuffle.

Though the SWP had known even before Coral spoke that gusanos were in the audience, they never attempted to deal with these reactionaries themselves. The decided military advantage in favor of the SL-augmented defense squad notwithstanding, the SWP's main response was to direct a chant of "sit down!" at the rabid gusanos and to counsel the audience to wait for the cops "who have been told to eject any further disrupters." Needless to say, the audience did not heed the reformist SWP's plea for legalism.

The SWP's method of fending off physical attacks by ultra-rightists is cut from the same cloth as its response to the racist mobs in Boston. There, they counseled the black masses to wait for federal troops rather than seeking to organize labor/black defense of the black schoolchildren being bused. And in Argentina, Coral's PST relies on the Peronist government "law and order" to take care of right-wing terror, in a situation where only the formation of *workers militias* can stop the wave of terror assassinations of trade unionists and leftist militants (or do the SWP and PST think this call would be "abstract" and "unrealistic" there as well?).

In his presentation today, Coral sanctimoniously denounced the assassination of twelve Argentine reactionaries carried out by leftist guerrillas in response to twelve recent assassinations of working-class militants. Unlike the Internationalist Tendency leaders at the front of the audience who roundly applauded at the end of Coral's presentation (and who have wholeheartedly mimicked the SWP's dive on busing), we defend only Coral's safety from rightist attack, not his cowardly and despicable "respectable" politics!

Precisely because of our sharp political attacks on its reformism, the Chicago SWP has over the past four months consistently excluded supporters of the SL from its Militant (!) Forums. Only two nights ago, the SWP sat by with arms folded as the SL was excluded from a Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP)-sponsored forum featuring Coral. And at the 4 July 1971 NPAC gathering, SWP goons did not hesitate to eject and assault SL and Progressive Labor supporters in order to protect their NPAC colleague, U.S. Senator Vance Hartke, from an outburst of indignation at the presence of the class enemy in the flesh.

In defending the SWP as we did today, we have not forgotten these anti-communist attacks and exclusions perpetrated on our comrades. But in words and in actions, we will continue to point out for the edification of proletarian and leftist militants, that Trotskyists do not shirk the responsibilities of workers democracy. We stand ready to physically defend any section of the workers movement against assaults by the ultra-right.

And we stand ready to defend *ourselves* too against reformists' and Stalinists' assaults on *our* comrades. We displayed this here last night, when we mobilized a large and well-prepared defense squad to protect our own right to sell without intimadation at a Revolutionary Union public function!

For Workers Democracy!

Toward the Re-Forging of the Fourth International!

Trotskyists Expelled from Spartacusbund

BERLIN—At its fifth national conference, held on February 15 and 16, the faction-ridden West German Spartacusbund united just long enough to bureacratically expel the only principled left opposition in the organization. The expelled group, the Trotskyist Faction, was composed of two senior members of the Cologne local and a former member of the Berlin local executive. (Five more supporters of the TF, in both cities, left the Spartacusbund in protest following the expulsion.) One of the principal themes emphasized in the documents of the TF is opposition to the Spartacusbund's attempt to present a "political alternative" to the Social Democratic Party (SPD) by "uniting" several centrist and reformist groups in a common electoral bloc.

On the second day of the conference the otherwise divided leadership managed to present an oral motion—being too cowardly to put it in writing—to expel the Trotskyist Faction on the sole grounds that it was in programmatic agreement with the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany) and the international Spartacist tendency.

This is the second overtly political expulsion of oppositionists from the Spartacusbund in ten months and is unlikely to be the last. Last May Comrade Anton G., one of the group's leading theoreticians, was likewise purged for "Spartacism." His struggle against the centrism of the Spartacusbund focused in particular on the question of communist work in the trade unions and on the character and validity of the Transitional Program. Since a large part of the recent conference was devoted to mutual recriminations among the leading cliques as to the reasons for the admittedly dismal failure of the Spartacusbund's trade-union work, its militants would do well to reread Anton G.'s document "Trade Unionism or Revolutionary Politics":

> "The party's task in its trade-union work is the construction of *revolutionary* (and not just 'oppositional') groupings which are capable of fighting against bureaucrats of all stripes *for the leadership of the unions*."
>
> —*Kommunistische Korrespondenz* No. 4, July 1974

With these *political* expulsions, alleging in neither case a single breach of organizational discipline, the Spartacusbund reveals that its Menshevik concept of "freedom of criticism" (the right of minorities to express their differences outside the party) is coupled with a refusal to allow real freedom of discussion within the party, at least for Leninists.

Barely a year old, the Spartacusbund was the product of a re-fusion of two left-Pabloist groups which split from each other in late 1971. The common denominator of the 1974 fusion was economism. A formal commitment to Trotskyism was coupled with systematic adaptation to the current consciousness of the proletariat (symbolized in the call for "transitions to transitional slogans"). In its twelve months of existence the Spartacusbund has stumbled from one empiricist maneuver to another in a desperate effort to find a shortcut to leadership of the working class.

The organization is currently split almost evenly between a "left" tendency which pays lip service to the Transitional Program and two right-economist tendencies. One, centered in the old Central Committee, wanted to develop a minimal "Program of Action" for leading mass struggles *now*, while the other (centered, in Frankfurt) attacked the outgoing leadership for not making enough concessions to the syndicalists and reformists with whom the Spartacusbund has sought to form a propaganda bloc.

The Spartacusbund's penchant for opportunist propaganda blocs reached a nadir (so far) in its attempt to form a "Communist Electoral Bloc." Declaring its willingness to make "concessions" on program, the leadership approached the GIM (German section of the "United Secretariat") and the reformist SAG (a "state capitalist" sect linked to the International Socialists) with a proposal for common candidates and a common program. In an internal document presenting this scheme, the leadership noted that it would not endanger relations with the Maoists by pressing discussion of Chinese foreign policy (which calls for strengthening NATO against the USSR!). However, this point disappeared when the document was "edited" for public consumption, after it had been adopted.

In its initial document, after a lengthy critique of the Spartacusbund's recent and projected opportunist misadventures, the Trotskyist Faction announced its formation around the following points:

> "1. The *Transitional Program* is the scientific expression of the experience and revolutionary strategy of the international workers' movement under imperialism.... The Transitional Program...is the basis of the organization's practical work....
>
> "2. The Transitional Program is the program of the *factory and trade-union work* of the revolutionary organization....
>
> "3. The organization's central task is to fuse the revolutionary program with the working class vanguard....the regroupment tactic, programmatically regrouping the best comrades from the traditional workers' organizations, the ostensibly revolutionary organizations, etc., is an essential lever for winning the revolutionary vanguard....
>
> "5. *For the reconstruction of the Fourth International* on clear programmatic bases....For taking up political relations to the international Spartacist tendency, the revolutionary tendency for the reconstruction of the Fourth International, with the perspective of a fusion on clear programmatic bases!
>
> "6. The *SPD and DKP* [Deutsche Kommunistische Partei—the pro-Moscow Stalinist party in West Germany] are bourgeois (reformist) parties *within* the working class, internal barriers against the revolutionary mobilization of the working class...."
>
> —Für den Aufbau einer trotzkistischen Fraktion im Spartacusbund," 23 January 1975

Caught between larger and more effective syndicalist and Maoist groups on the right and the TLD on the left, while forced to compete with GIM for the same centrist territory, the Spartacusbund must resort to bureaucratic suppression of internal criticism and blatant political purges in order to preserve its tenuous existence. Unfortunately for it, such anti-Leninist practices will not silence the revolutionary Marxists who are going forward in the construction of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands, West German sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency.■

CORRECTION

The article on the "Anti-Fascist Demonstration in Austria" (*Workers Vanguard* No. 59, 3 January 1975) erroneously stated that students at the University of Vienna are "generally leftist." Actually, in the student government body the majority supports the bourgeois People's Party and the second strongest group is the conservative Ring Freiheitlicher Studenten (Circle of Freedom-Loving Students). The same article also stated that the Free Austrian Youth (FÖJ) is social-democratic. The FÖJ originated in 1968 as a split from the Communist Party over the invasion of Czechoslovakia and the subsequent "normalization" of the CP.

Continued from page 2

Boston CLUW...

to be organized, CLUW is not going to do the organizing."

SWP supporters intend to ensure that it doesn't. This is amply testified to by their joint efforts with Houston AFSCME bureaucrats last summer to sabotage a nurses' struggle against victimization and for better working conditions and patient care at Jefferson Davis Hospital. Fired after 44 employees had organized a "sick-out" in May to protest abysmal conditions at the hospital, nine nurses approached Houston CLUW to obtain support in their fight to be rehired.

At a CLUW meeting chaired by Sherri Smith, SWP gubernatorial candidate in Texas, the response to the nurses' presentation was a vicious attack by two AFSCME staffers who charged them with undertaking an "illegal" action and not "going through channels." When a militant proposed that an organizing drive be launched as the most effective defense of the hospital workers, the chairman and her associates blocked with the union bureaucrats to cut off discussion. Their reason: Houston CLUW was "not yet officially chartered" and therefore could not take positions on anything. It appears that in order to get the coveted CLUW charter, local chapters must first prove their reliability by committing a concrete betrayal of workers' struggles! The reformists willingly oblige.

At the February 25 meeting of Boston CLUW the fake leftists in the local leadership not only led the fight to rescind the very section of the bylaws they had originally introduced, but they also cut discussion time short although there was substantial sentiment to continue and more time had been allowed on the agenda. As one militant UAW member pointed out, "the bureaucratic suppression of opposition characteristic of the union tops and national CLUW is now being imitated in local CLUW."

However, there is opposition to the reformists' abject toadying before the dictates of Olga Madar and Co. At the recent Boston CLUW meeting a member of a District 65 organizing committee put forward a motion calling for the right of women active in organizing drives to join CLUW and for the right of each local chapter to take political positions and argue for them within national CLUW. The motion was defeated thanks to the combined efforts of the reformists.

Militants in CLUW must counter the bureaucrats' hollow rhetoric with a real program of action, a program that links the struggle for the emancipation of women in the workplace with the struggle against the oppression of women in the family and against the capitalist system. Only such a program offers a way forward for militant women workers to become leaders of a united working class rather than pawns of the cynical CLUW leadership and its "left" apologists.■

The current extremely sharp economic downturn has produced a wave of pessimism extending from the Stock Exchange and White House to the academic redoubts of bourgeois economics. While President Ford proclaims that unemployment will not drop below 8 percent again for another two years, the president of the American Economics Association, Robert A. Gordon, declares: "I don't think we have a body of economic theory that is of great help to use in today's world" (*Wall Street Journal*, 30 December 1974).

During most of the 1960's U.S. government economic policy was dominated by Kennedyesque "whiz kids" who claimed to be able to simultaneously hold down prices and stimulate investment through adroit manipulation of fiscal "levers." Now, however, with the onset of double-digit inflation and a slump of depression proportions, these claims are rapidly being debunked.

It was predictable that a world depression would lead to the collapse of optimism concerning Keynesian economic policies. The anti-Keynesian right (well represented in the Ford administration by the Ayn Randite Alan Greenspan and by former Wall Street bond dealer William Simon) had argued for years that government deficits must generate ever-increasing inflation, and now claims vindication.

Even the Keynesian liberals appear unsure of themselves, observing that the "trade-off" between inflation and unemployment has become most painful. Thus Sir John Hicks, one of the original architects of the "Keynesian Revolution," has recently brought out a book entitled, significantly, *The Crisis of Keynesian Economics*. And revisionist Marxists who had earlier written about the "relative stability of neo-capitalism" are now dusting off their copies of *Capital* and asserting that its venerable truths still haunt the capitalist world.

We are witnessing a notable intellectual convergence ranging from bourgeois reactionaries (Milton Friedman) to ostensible Marxists (Ernest Mandel), and including a number of liberals (John K. Galbraith, John Hicks, Abba Lerner): Keynesian economics, which supposedly "worked" for a generation, has now been overcome, they agree, by unprecedented global inflation and the worst crisis since 1929. Despite its widespread acceptance, however, this thesis is false. Keynesian fiscal policies never did, and never could, stop the cyclical crises of overproduction which are inherent in the capitalist system.

A major world slump as severe as the present one has been possible at least since the world recession of 1958. That such a slump did not occur before 1974 is due to contingent factors and not to the effectiveness of Keynesian countermeasures. For example, in 1967 the U.S. would have had a recession except for the expansion of the Vietnam War. Output actually did fall in the first quarter of that year and there was a 1967 recession in West Germany, then the second largest capitalist economy. Without the sudden escalation of the Vietnam War, this conjuncture would undoubtedly have caused a world economic crisis, possibly quite severe. Only an idiot objectivist could deny this historic possibility.

The fact that a major world slump did not occur in the twenty years preceding 1974 is not due to credit inflation, an ever-increasing arms budget, Keynesian stabilization policies or any other deliberate government policy. There has been no fundamental change in the structure of postwar capitalism that would justify the various labels popular in liberal and revisionist Marxist theorizing—e.g., neo-capitalism, the mixed economy, the permanent war economy, etc.

Myths of the "Keynesian Revolution"

John Maynard Keynes was not responsible for developing or even for popularizing the policy that capitalist governments should increase their expenditures during an economic downturn, financing this through borrowing rather than increased taxation. This bourgeois reform measure has a long and respectable history going back to at least the 1890's.

Thus the minority report of the English Poor Law Commission of 1909 stated, "We think that the Government can do a great deal to regularize the aggregate demand for labour as between one year and another, by a deliberate arrangement of its work of a capital nature." In 1921 President Harding's Commission on Unemployment recommended expanded public works during the post-war downturn, a recommendation endorsed by such conservative organizations as the U.S. Chambers of Commerce.

Moreover, in 1930 a bill was introduced into the U.S. Senate (No. 3059) calling for "advanced planning and regulated construction of certain public works, for the stabilization of industry, and for the prevention of unemployment during periods of business depression." This principle was incorporated into the National Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, a half decade before the popularization of Keynesian economics.

Bread line in New York City in 1933. NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

What, then, is the significance of Keynesianism—why all the hullabaloo? While practical politicians had advocated and partly attempted expanded government expenditure during economic downturns, orthodox bourgeois economic theory (particularly in English-speaking countries) still held that slumps were easily self-correcting through a fall in the rate of interest. According to the textbooks, government policy during a downturn should be to expand bank reserves and run a balanced budget.

What Keynes did was to provide a theoretical justification, within the framework of bourgeois economic doctrine, for the deficit spending which most capitalist governments practiced in the 1930's, as well as in earlier slumps. The "Keynesian Revolution" was a revolution in university economics departments, in the writing of textbooks, not in actual government policy.

In the post-World War II period, capitalist politicians have claimed that the relative economic stability has been due to their effective use of Keynesian stabilization policies. This assertion—that capitalist governments can and do control the economy for the benefit of "the people"—is partly bourgeois propaganda and partly bourgeois false consciousness.

The notion that the proportion of government expenditure has increased greatly since World War II is so widespread that it is taken as a matter of course by virtually all political tendencies, including bourgeois reaction, Keynesian liberalism, social-democratic and Stalinist reformism, and revisionist "Marxism" à la Mandel. In truth, the supposed expanded role of state expenditure is the greatest of all myths of the "Keynesian Revolution."

It can be easily disproved by a few statistics which indicate government expenditure as a percentage of gross national product for the major capitalist powers during the interwar period (1920-39) and during the 1961-70 decade:

Country	*1921-1939*	*1961-1970*
France	14%	13%
Germany[1]	18%	16%
Great Britain[2]	21%	19%
Japan	10%	8%
United States	11%	20%

Sources: OECD, *National Accounts, 1961-1972*; U.S. Department of Commerce, *Long-Term Economic Growth, 1860-1970*; Mitchell, *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*, Stolper, *The German Economy, 1870-1940*; Maddison, *Economic Growth in the West*; Ohkawa and Rosovsky, *Japanese Economic Growth*.

[1]German interwar figures only cover 1925-39.

[2]British figures are based on national product net of depreciation, giving them a slight upward bias relative to the other countries.

These few figures utterly destroy the notion of a "Keynesian Revolution" involving major structural changes in the capitalist system following World War II. Only in the United States was there a significant rise in the level of government expenditure. In all other major capitalist countries, the weight of the state budget in the economy *declined* slightly. And the expanded role of the state budget in the U.S. is entirely accounted for by the greatly increased military expenditure required by the emergence of American imperialism as world gendarme in the postwar period.

Moreover, the relative weight of military expenditure in the U.S. has been steadily *declining* since the Korean War, except for the Vietnam War years. In 1954 (the year following the end of the Korean War) the military budget accounted for 11 percent of the U.S. gross national product (GNP); by 1965 (the year before the Vietnam buildup) the figure had fallen to 7 percent; and in 1973 military spending accounted for only 6 percent of GNP (*Economic Report of the President, 1974*). So much for the "permanent war economy" theory!

Marxism vs. Keynesianism

Before undertaking a Marxist criticism of Keynesianism it is necessary to indicate more precisely what it is that the latter asserts. According to the pre-Keynesian orthodoxy of bourgeois economics, a fall in the volume of investment that precipitated a slump would also free money capital, which in turn would enter the loan market and drive down the rate of interest. This fall in interest rates would then stimulate investment to the point that full employment of resources was restored. All the government had to do was to see that the crisis did not disorganize the banking system, i.e., to ensure that the mechanisms of credit expansion remained functioning.

Keynes accepted the theory that a sufficient fall of interest rates would restore a full-employment level of investment in a slump. His major work, *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money*, is an attempt to explain why such a sufficient fall of interest rates does not occur. Keynes asserted that rentiers held some notion of a normal rate of interest. If the rate falls much below this, lenders will expect it to rise again, thereby producing a capital loss on bonds purchased at the lower rates. In a general sense, Keynesianism holds that at some abnormally low rate of interest (termed the "liquidity trap") lenders will hoard money in anticipation of higher rates in the future. This is less an explanatory theory than a description of the monetary aspect of a crisis/slump.

From these premises Keynes argued that government efforts to expand money and credit during a slump would be ineffective, producing simply money hoards and/or excess bank reserves. Therefore, he argued that increased state expenditures would have to substitute for inadequate capital investment. This, in a nutshell, was the "Keynesian Revolution."

In order to understand the difference between Marxist and bourgeois (including Keynesian) analyses of economic cycles, it is necessary to take account of a fundamental difference concerning the role played by the rate of interest. In bourgeois economics the level of investment is determined by the difference between the rate of interest on borrowed money capital and the rate of profit on the physical means of production. As long as the interest rate is substantially below the profit rate entrepreneurs will presumably borrow and invest until this gap is eliminated. A historical tendency for the rate of profit to fall, projected by many bourgeois economists (including Keynes), is not viewed as a fundamental barrier to expanded production. As long as the rate of interest is sufficiently low, a full-employment level of investment is supposedly assured.

In contrast, for Marx the level of investment is determined by the rate of profit on the privately owned means of production. The interest rate is part of and governed by the profit rate on the real means of production. During a slump, despite abnormally low rates of interest, loanable capital remains unused. Thus Marx referred to "the phase of the industrial cycle immediately after a crisis, when loanable capital lies idle in great masses" (*Capital*, Vol. III, Chapter 30).

The validity of the Marxist position was demonstrated during the late 1930's when excess bank reserves (an index of the difference between actual loans and the legally authorized lending capacity) were at the highest level in U.S. history, in spite of the unusually low interest rates. The exact same phenomenon is occurring in the present depression. Bank deposits in the U.S. are now declining at an annual rate of 0.6 percent as bank loans fall, although the falling interest rates are now even lower than the rate of inflation (*International Herald Tribune*, 15-16 February). The expansion and contraction of credit is a passive *result*, not a cause, of changes in production.

Underlying the analytical difference over the role of credit and interest between bourgeois and Marxist economics is the concept of class. In bourgeois economics there is no capitalist class. Instead, atomized non-capitalist entrepreneurs borrow from equally atomized rentiers, using the funds to establish productive enterprises. Entrepreneurs and rentiers are linked solely through the rate of interest.

According to Marxism, however, the capitalist class is a definite concrete group composed of those who own and have a monopoly over the means of production (including loanable capital). The capitalist class is bound together by innumerable personal, familial and organizational filiations; the atomized non-capitalist entrepreneur—the central figure of bourgeois economic theory—is a fiction. The capacity to borrow is strictly limited by one's ownership of the capital assets required for security against loans. In reality,

Fiscal Fiddling Can't Stop Depression

Marx vs. Keynes

by Joseph Seymour

Karl Marx

John Maynard Keynes NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

credit under capitalism is always rationed, on the basis of specific monopoly complexes involving financial, industrial and commercial capitalists. The clearest example of this is the Japanese *zaibatsu* system, but the same phenomenon holds throughout the capitalist world.

From the Marxist standpoint the fundamental fallacy of Keynesian economics is the assertion that the expansion of the government sector will leave the rate of profit, and therefore the level of private investment, unchanged. Whether financed through borrowing or taxation, government expenditure constitutes overhead costs of the capitalist system—a part of the total social capital expended and replaced, denoted by "constant capital" in Marx's equation for the components of the commodity product. (For a fuller discussion of this question, see "Myth of Neo-Capitalism," *RCY Newsletter* No. 10, January-February 1972).

Assuming, as Marx did, that the share of wages of productive workers (variable capital) is determined in the labor market, then an increase in government overhead costs (constant capital) must *reduce* the potential surplus value and therefore the rate of profit as well. A constantly expanding government sector would tend to drive down the rate of profit, progressively arresting private capitalist investment.

The Limits of Mattick's "Mixed Economy"

Published in 1969, Paul Mattick's book *Marx and Keynes*, which carries the more indicative subtitle, *The Limits of the Mixed Economy*, accepts the common revisionist/reformist/liberal view that for a certain historic period Keynesianism produced "prosperity":

> "Government induced production may even bolster the rate of economic growth. Conditions of 'prosperity' more impressive than those brought forth under laissez-faire conditions may arise.... At any rate, recent economic history has demonstrated the possibility of a 'prosperous' development of a mixed economy."

However, Mattick at least makes a serious attempt to develop the internal contradictions of Keynesian economic policy and holds that increased government expenditure must eventually destroy capitalist stability:

> "Once non-profit production becomes an institutionalized part of the economy, a vicious circle begins to operate. Government production is begun because private capital accumulation is diminishing. Using this method diminishes private capital accumulation even more; so non-profit production is increased.... The limits of private capital production are thus, finally, the limits of government induced production."

The most orthodox of the various revisionist theoreticians of postwar capitalism (e.g., Mandel, Paul Sweezy, Michael Kidron), Mattick is the most grudging in giving ground before the claims of Keynesianism. In contrast to Mandel and Sweezy, Mattick's work has the virtue of recognizing that expanded government expenditure drives down the rate of profit on private capital and therefore inhibits productive investment. However, Mattick would have been more consistent with Marxist economics if instead of treating government expenditure as a non-profit component of surplus value he treated it as a subtraction from the gross value of output, in the form of constant capital expended and replaced.

Mattick's work is a partially correct explanation of why those capitalist countries bearing a heavy burden of government expenditure (the U.S., Great Britain) have grown much slower than those economies with a relatively limited state sector (Japan, France). Yet his theory cannot explain the onset of a major world depression, nor does Mattick project such a development. The logic of his theoretical model is for progressive stagnation, not a general world slump.

According to Mattick's model, a sharp fall in private investment such as occurred in 1974 should have been preceded and caused by a sharp rise in the share of government expenditure. But this did not at all happen during the 1972-73 boom. The share of government outlays in the advanced capitalist countries remained virtually unchanged during that period, as can be seen from the following figures:

	Government Expenditures as Percentage of GNP	
Country	*1971*	*1973*
France	12%	12%
Japan	9%	9%
United States	22%	22%
West Germany	17%	18%

Source: OECD, *Economic Outlook*, December 1972 and December 1974.

Thus even at the empirical level it is indisputable that the current world economic crisis cannot be attributed to the limits of Keynesianism, at least not in the sense of intolerably large government expenditure relative to private capitalist production.

The Mandelian School of Falsification

In "The Generalized Recession of the International Capitalist Economy" (*Inprecor*, 16 January 1975) Ernest Mandel, theoretician-leader of the pseudo-Trotskyist United Secretariat, attempts a major analysis of the world conjuncture. The article begins with a statement of self-praise to the effect that the author, unlike many others, always rejected the idea that Keynesian economic policies could stabilize capitalist industrial cycles:

> "While the recession may be a surprise to all those in bourgeois and petty-bourgeois circles and in the workers movement who had been taken in by the claim that the governments of Capital endowed with neo-Keynesian techniques would henceforth be in a position to 'control the cycle', it was foreseen and predicted by our movement, almost to the date."

And who are these unnamed figures in the workers movement who believed —oh, how naively—that "neo-Keynesian techniques" could "control the cycle"? Perhaps Mandel is referring to the author of the following excerpts from a well-known book on Marxist economics published in 1962:

> "Since the Second World War, capitalism has experienced four marked recessions: in 1948-49, 1953-54, 1957-58, and 1960-61. It has had no grave crisis, and certainly nothing of the dimensions of 1929 or of 1938. Have we here a new phenomenon in the history of capitalism? We do not think it necessary to deny this, as certain Marxist theoreticians do.... The origins of the phenomenon are connected with all the features of the phase of capitalist decline which we have listed. The capitalist economy of this phase tends to ensure *greater stability* both of consumption and of investment than in the era of free competition, or than during the first phase of monopoly capitalism; it tends toward a reduction in cyclical fluctuations, resulting above all from the increasing intervention of the state in economic life." [emphasis in original]

What is this supposedly Marxist work which claims that state intervention has ensured "*greater stability*" and "a reduction of cyclical fluctuations"? It is entitled *Marxist Economic Theory* (the excerpts are from Chapter 14) and is written by one Ernest Mandel.

To be fair to Mandel, it should be noted that he always hedges his bets. He has not completely rejected the efficacy of Keynesian countercyclical measures. Buried in the *Inprecor* article is a statement that governmental intervention can arrest and reverse the present world economic crisis:

> "The recession is precisely a crisis of overproduction whose breadth and duration are limited by an injection of inflationary buying power. Thus, if the economy is refloated by means of such injections—first of all in West Germany, then in the United States and Japan—the international capitalist economy will avert a grave depression this time."

If this were possible, one wonders why the capitalist governments have let things go so far:

Despite his usual fine-print escape clauses, Mandel's latest contribution is a dishonest repudiation of the analysis of contemporary capitalism expressed in his principal writings during the 1960's. Having served its purpose as an impressionistic justification for opportunist policies of adaptation to the labor bureaucracy, "neocapitalism" has now been discretely removed from the Mandelian vocabulary.

A Professional Impressionist Views the Conjuncture

Having "disappeared" his belief in the efficacy of Keynesian stabilization policies, Mandel resorts to various ad hoc theories to explain the present conjuncture. His central theme is why there is a *world* crisis now, whereas during the past 20 years the various national slumps (sometimes severe) were largely isolated in time from one another. As Mandel puts it:

> "The generalized recession will be the most serious recession in the post-war period, precisely because it is generalized. The lack of synchronization of the industrial cycle during the 1948-68 period reduced the breadth of recessions."

It is an indisputable empirical fact that since the 1958 recession (not since 1948 as Mandel contends), the various national economic downturns have not reinforced and have partly offset each other. This statement can be transformed from an empirical description into a causal theory only if it is asserted that the absence of conjunctural synchronization was not due to contingent factors, but rather was inherent in the structure of post-war capitalism (at least until recently). This is precisely what Mandel now seeks to demonstrate:

> "This synchronization is not an accidental feature. It results from deeper economic transformations that occurred during the long period of expansion that preceded the recession."

Mandel advances three reasons to support this thesis. The first is that the world economy in the 1950's-1960's was not sufficiently integrated (!) to permit a generalized crisis. But during that period, the world economy became sufficiently integrated, particularly due to the expansion of multinational firms:

> "Internationalization of production took new leaps forward, marked by advances in the international division of labor among all the imperialist countries. From the standpoint of the organization of capital, this reflected itself in the rise of multinational firms which produced surplus value in a great number of countries simultaneously...."

Apparently it really is necessary to point out to Mandel that the world economy has been sufficiently integrated to generate international crises/slumps for more than a century! The principal basis of that integration is world commodity trade and its associated complex of financial claims. The principal "multinational firms" which extract surplus value in a "great number of countries simultaneously" are today, as they have been for centuries, the great banks, not industrial corporations.

World crises are marked and intensified above all by major bank failures: the Austrian Credit-Anstalt in 1931, Bankhaus Herstatt in West Germany and Franklin National Bank in the U.S. in 1974. The partial displacement of banks by industrial firms in financing international trade and investment has a certain effect on present-day capitalism. But it certainly does not qualitatively raise the level of international economic integration, permitting world economic crises for the first time.

Mandel's second reason is that the displacement of the dollar exchange standard by managed fluctuating rates in 1971 has prevented competitive devaluation, thus requiring simultaneous deflationary policies:

> "...as soon as the collapse of the international monetary system led to the system of floating exchange rates, that is, as soon as it became impossible to resort to sharp devaluations to boost exports, *all* governments were obliged by interimperialist competition to apply an antiinflationary policy *simultaneously*." [emphasis in original]

This argument is simply false, totally wrong. The fixed exchange rate system set up at Bretton Woods in 1944 was deflationary and acted as a limit to deficit spending. Several prominent

continued on next page

Continued from page 7

Marx vs. Keynes

British Keynesians, such as Roy Harrod and James Meade, long advocated fluctuating exchange rates in order to pursue more expansionary monetary and fiscal policies.

Before August 1971 competitive devaluation was exceptional, to be used only *in extremis*; today it is the rule. During the 1950's and 1960's governments often resorted to deflationary measures to protect an overvalued exchange rate (for instance, the policies of the second Eisenhower administration, the austerity program of the early Gaullist regime and the "stop-go" policies of various British governments before the 1968 devaluation of the pound).

Mandel's third reason is that since periods of national economic slump are becoming longer they are more likely to overlap with recessions in other countries:

> "The phases of stagnation, and even recession, are beginning to be longer. Obviously, this leads to synchronization. When they occur in a dozen countries at once, recessions that last six months are less easily surmounted than recessions that last two years."

This is, of course, a statistical truism. However, since the prolongation of an

economic crisis in one country is strongly influenced by simultaneous slumps in the rest of the world, Mandel's reasoning is completely circular. Thus his third "reason" is no reason at all but simply another way of describing a general world downturn.

In short, of Mandel's three reasons why a general world slump is occurring now but was not possible in the preceding period, the first is irrelevant, the second is false and the third is meaningless.

Is Inflation the Achilles Heel of Keynesianism?

Virtually all liberal bourgeois, reformist and revisionist economists maintain that the only obstacle to effective Keynesian policies is inflation. Expanded government expenditure can always produce full employment, they say, but sometimes only at the cost of intolerable rates of inflation. From bourgeois reactionaries like Milton Friedman to the pseudo-Marxist Ernest Mandel there is agreement that Keynesian policies must generate ever-higher levels of inflation. Is this contention valid?

The accelerated inflation of the past few years is an indisputable empirical fact. In the period 1961-71 consumer prices in the advanced capitalist countries increased at an annual rate of 3.7 percent; in 1972 this rose to 4.7 percent, in 1973 to 7.7 percent and in 1974 to 14.1 percent (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, December 1974). Is this accelerated inflation an inevitable result of 20 years of Keynesian policies?

Earlier in this article it was pointed out that the share of government expenditure did not increase during the 1972-73 boom. Thus the price explosion during the past few years cannot be attributed to ever-greater budget deficits to finance ever-greater government spending. The very sharpness of the price increases since 1971 argues against the theory that it is an organic, inevitable outcome of a generation of deficit spending.

What then is the cause of the increased inflation of the past three years? One major cause has already been touched on. The dollar exchange standard, which collapsed in August 1971, had an effect partially similar to the pre-World War I gold standard. The maintenance of a fixed exchange rate served as an external limit to the expansion of domestic money and credit. Since 1971 capitalist governments have taken the "easy way" out of balance-of-payments deficits by allowing their currencies to depreciate. Exchange-rate devaluation further feeds domestic inflation, producing a vicious spiral. Britain and Italy are the clearest examples of this process.

The second reason for the accelerated inflation is that the sharp 1972-73 world boom had an effect on agricultural and raw material supplies similar to that of a major war. From the Korean War through 1971 the terms of trade for agricultural products/raw materials had deteriorated relative to manufactures, producing a fundamental imbalance in global productive capacity. During 1972 when industrial output in the advanced capitalist countries increased by 8 percent, global food production actually fell slightly (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, December 1973). These physical shortages quickly generated speculation, hoarding and cartel manipulation. Between 1971 and 1973 the index of world raw material prices increased by over 80 percent, as did the price of internationally traded food products (OECD, *Economic Outlook*, December 1974). Thus two factors—the widespread resort to competitive devaluation after 1971 and the effect of the 1972-73 boom on agricultural and raw material supplies—account for the price explosion of the last few years.

Even discounting the fact that it is empirically false, the argument that Keynesianism is now ineffective because it leads to intolerable inflation is not a fundamental but rather a temporary, conjunctural one. As an attempted objective analysis it is similar to the present position of certain right-wing Keynesians, such as Federal Reserve Board chairman Arthur F. Burns and Ford's economic adviser William Fellner, who contend that a few years of high-unemployment slump are needed to drain the inflationary pressures out of the world capitalist system. After that, they contend, Keynesian policies can again produce 10 or 20 years of low-inflation, mild-recession expansion.

If there is no major war nor a mass revolutionary upheaval in West Europe during the next few years (both are genuine possibilities), the world depression should deepen this year, giving way to high-unemployment stagnation lasting at least through 1976. If this occurs, in two years the rate of inflation will be greatly reduced; it already shows numerous signs of slowing. Those leftists whose central argument against bourgeois economic reformism is that it leads to ever-accelerating inflation will then find themselves theoretically defenseless against the claims of resurgent Keynesianism.

The "theory" that for a generation capitalist governments were able to prevent major crises and stimulate exceptional economic expansion has an implacable revisionist logic. Whatever the subjective attitudes of its proponents this view leads straight to the conclusion that we have been living in an epoch of capitalist economic stability. Such arguments have nothing in common with Marxism. On the contrary, the Transitional Program of the Fourth International has as its cornerstone the Leninist theory of imperialism as the highest (last) stage of capitalism, its epoch of decay and a period of wars and revolutions. This must be our perspective. ■

Unemployed applying for jobs in Chicago, January 1975. UPI

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Spartacist Local Directory

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND . . . . . (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON
Box 188, M.I.T. Sta.,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO . . . . . (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO . . . . . (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND . . . . . (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT . . . . . (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON . . . . . (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA . . . . . (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES . . . (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Sta.,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN . . . . . (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS . . . (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK . . . . . (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA . . (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO . . . . . (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Continued from page 1

Cambodia...

with Lon Nol sent in the army to massacre the insurgent masses. In the same year three leading left intellectuals fled the National Assembly to join the Khmer Rouge. Sihanouk labeled Hu Nim, Khieu Samphan and Hou Youn "communist conspirators" and placed them on his "liquidation list." After the coup, these three were placed in the GRUNK's "royal" cabinet.

In 1969 Sihanouk, the "nationalist" chameleon who said that he admired both Mao Tse-tung and Charles DeGaulle, made his position on the Khmer Rouge perfectly clear: "The Asian communists and their Khmer lackeys... claim they are trying to liberate us from the Americans. However, we who are independent do not need to be liberated." At the same time, Sihanouk was turning a blind eye to repeated U.S./Saigon border incursions aimed at the NLF base areas inside Cambodia.

S. JULIENNE/SYGMA

Sauth Phnom Penh after a heavy artillery barrage.

Stalinists Try Not to Win in Cambodia

Nevertheless, the prince has so far had little to fear from the Stalinist leadership inside or outside of Cambodia. The Khmer Rouge never mounted a serious campaign against him. Although he has little stature even among the exile group, his value is as a titular head of state for some kind of "government of national union."

Sihanouk's future may prove to be quite similar to that of King Michael of Rumania, placed on the throne by

NEW YORK TIMES

Stalin following World War II—i.e., to be a temporary monarchic facade preliminary to the establishment of a deformed workers state. The "Comrade Prince," however, may not wish to wait around for the denouement, and has realistically offered to accept a roving ambassadorship should the Khmer Rouge come to power.

While there seems little likelihood of the stabilization of a "reformed" capitalist regime in Cambodia, this is not due to revolutionary action by the Stalinists. On the contrary, the Cambodian masses have already once been the victims of the narrow national appetites of the Stalinists. At the 1954 Geneva conference on Indochina, Moscow and Peking refused to allow the Khmer Rouge to represent Cambodia even though the French hold at the time was tenuous in the extreme. Despite the terminal condition of the Lon Nol "government" there remains a danger that the Cambodian civil war will once again be tossed onto a bargaining table for some such class betrayal cooked up in Peking, Moscow or Hanoi.

Never before in this bloody war have the insurgents mined the Mekong River or used the sophisticated artillery they are now deploying to shell Phnom Penh's airport. But this year's dry season offensive should not be seen as an attempt to take the capital. The Stalinist insurgents could certainly have done that as early as last year, or even in 1973.

The political strategy generates a military strategy: surround the capital but do not take it. The strategy is meant to pressure for a "democratic" monarchic/military regime, most likely through a coup by "progressive" army officers. The Stalinists seek to form, if possible, a popular-front government to maintain capitalist rule in the country. Their model is the coalition government of Laos in which the Pathet Lao control three-quarters of the country and the right-wing generals control the airports, the brothels and the opium trade.

The Cambodian Stalinists have made it clear thay they are anxious to form a government with "all social classes." The French Communist Party daily *L'Humanité* (3 March 1975) reports that a future government, according to the GRUNK, could include anyone but the "seven traitors." Among the evil seven are Lon Nol, Sirik Matak and the present head of the army. (Next door in Vietnam the NLF PRG has offered to cooperate with elements in the present Saigon government if minus Thieu is dumped.

While the strategy of the Stalinists is to form a popular-front government and maintain capitalist rule, FUNK/GRUNK military dominance is unquestioned and the FANK forces (with or without Lon Nol) are so enfeebled and hopelessly corrupt that they represent no social base at all. A Laos-type "settlement" is evidently non-viable. Any "coalition government" of this sort would be highly unstable, and in the context of the present balance of forces within Cambodia would at most be a transitory episode in the process of forming a deformed workers state.

INTERNATIONALE SOLIDARITAT

Guerrilla troops of the Khmer Rouge

All Indochina Must Go Communist!

In fact, even U.S. embassy diplomats have lately stopped talking about a "negotiated settlement" and are now willing to settle for an "orderly transfer of power." In the event of a collapse of the Lon Nol regime, the likely outcome is obvious. As we said in *WV* No. 25, 3 August 1973:

> "If, however, the GRUNK takes power through the defeat of the Lon Nol regime by Khmer Rouge forces and the U.S. government is too paralyzed by domestic crisis to intervene, the Stalinist component of this unstable popular front could very well shed its monarchic shell, leading to a deformed workers state."

It is unnecessary to speculate on the exact steps by which this may come about. One thing is certain in Cambodia, however: neither Peking nor Moscow nor Hanoi nor the FUNK is acting in the revolutionary interests of the working masses of Indochina. Instead of fighting for a "government of all social classes" or the "implementation of the Paris peace accords," as the Stalinists counsel, the workers and peasants should break from the capitalists and reject all forms of nationalist ideology in order to wage a struggle for proletarian power.

Above all, a struggle must be waged to construct Trotskyist parties in Indochina as the necessary precondition for establishing the democratic rule of the Indochinese proletariat rather than the bureaucratic rule of the Stalinist-led deformed workers states. Only the establishment of soviet democracy and the extension of the revolution, through social revolution in the capitalist countries and political revolution in the deformed and degenerated workers states, can open the road to socialism and the abolition of class society. All Indochina Must Go Communist! ■

Three-Year Term Defeated in UAW Local 6

CHICAGO—On Sunday, March 9, the United Auto Workers bureaucracy was dealt a clear defeat by the ranks of Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park, Illinois) on the question of three-year terms for local union officers. A constitutional amendment lengthening terms of office from the previous two years was rammed through at the last minute by UAW chief Leonard Woodcock at the union's June 1974 convention. However, this change must still be voted on by each local.

Opposition to extending the terms of office was raised by a number of groups at the Chicago-area Harvester plant, among them the Labor Struggle Caucus. (Last fall the LSC, by filing a complaint with the NLRB, was able to force the company to permit distribution of leaflets on company property by all union members.) Due to the large number of leaflets on the issue distributed during the last week, and the scheduled vote for the union election committee, almost 300 Local 6 members were present at the meeting.

According to workers interviewed following the meeting, three-year terms were rejected by a nearly three-to-one vote despite fierce red-baiting by Bob Stack, chairman of the shop committee. When he attacked the leaders of those opposed to extending the terms of office as anarchists and revolutionaries who want to destroy the union, he was reportedly met by catcalls and jeers from the membership. After the motion opposing three-year terms passed, the Labor Struggle Caucus presented another motion, stating: "Local 6 goes on record as supporting one-year terms, with provisions for immediate recall, for all union officers, both on the local and international level."

However, this proposal was ruled out of order by Local 6 president Norman Roth, a leader of the Communist Party-backed Auto Workers Action Caucus. Roth tries to maintain a radical image in the plant while doing as little as possible to alienate the International bureaucracy. At the 1974 convention, he was one of the people who opposed the three-year term amendment, but nevertheless was an outspoken supporter of the sellout "Woodcock team."

In addition to its struggles for workers democracy, the LSC puts forward a full program of class struggle: for jobs for all (share the available work among all workers, with no loss in pay), for international workers solidarity (no deportations), nationalization of major corporations without compensation, and for a workers party, based on the unions, which will fight for a workers government (*Labor's Struggle* No. 5, 17 December 1974). ■

Continued from page 12

Vancouver Dockers

ing for special federal legislation to end the strike.

A coast-wide strike, linking Canadian, U.S. and Mexican longshoremen (all in ILWU locals), would be an act of international solidarity, enabling the union to move forward aggressively against employer job-cutting and to resist intervention by any of the governments. But the Bridges regime seeks accommodation with the bosses, not union militancy, and works to keep longshoremen divided against each other along national boundaries. In the demoralizing, 134-day strike of 1971-72, Bridges sent the ports of Enseñada, Mexico, and Vancouver back to work after brief walkouts, thus allowing cargo to be diverted from the closed U.S. ports and weakening the strike. In the present strike, as in past Canadian Area walkouts, goods (particularly containerized goods) are being diverted through Seattle/Tacoma, possibly Portland and other ports in the U.S.

Trying to sound militant in order to stay in the lead of a wary rank and file, Canadian secretary-treasurer Frank Kennedy told a meeting of the Vancouver and District Labour Council on March 4 that, "We are going to ask our American brothers to support us across the line, and I don't think there will be any trouble getting them to go along" (*Vancouver Sun*, 5 March). The reaction of the Seattle Local 19 leadership was to pass the buck upstairs to Bridges: we will boycott diverted cargo "if the International orders it," said President Sean Maloney on television. Bridges, who consistently sabotaged the "hot-cargoing" of scab grapes during past farm workers' struggles in California and refused to lift a finger to stop military cargo to Vietnam, even during the 1971-72 strike, despite union resolutions for "immediate withdrawal" of U.S. troops, is not likely to drop his class collaborationism now.

The "militant" Vancouver leaders and the buck-passer Maloney know full well what International policy is and that their words serve only to protect their flanks. Vancouver is one of the remaining strongholds of the reformist Communist Party's influence in the ILWU. The port's leadership can therefore be counted on to be especially cognizant of the employers' "reasonable profits." The Canadian leaders failed to prevent the diverting of cargo from U.S. ports in 1971-72 and they likewise failed to respond to the call of Chilean workers for boycott action against Chilean cargo after the brutal military coup of 1973. They can be classed as no better or worse than Bridges now.

The Vancouver bureaucrats have gone along with every attempt by Bridges to slow down the struggle and even break the solid ranks of the workers. Besides completely failing to inform the U.S. membership of the strike, Bridges issued an order for the moving of perishable cargo through Vancouver. The Vancouver leaders, according to longshoremen interviewed by *WV*, ordered a gang of 50 men to the docks to unload a shipment of meat in full compliance with Bridges' instructions. To their credit the men refused to play into the employers' hands in this obvious attempt to weaken the strike by Bridges and their own "militant" leaders.

Canadian longshoremen will have an impossible job if they are forced to fight alone, facing possible government intervention, while cargo is diverted through U.S. ports. Yet loss of their fight to defend their job-protecting containerization clause can only weaken the position of their American brothers. A united, coast-wide struggle must be waged to save the Canadian containerization clause and make jobs for all through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Canadian and U.S. contract expiration dates must be made to coincide and other terms equalized. ■

Continued from page 3

...Canadian Government Employees' Strike

and CUPW leaders does not make crossing picket lines "all right." (Despite the deal and their lack of direct involvement in the strike, 10 to 30 percent of CUPW members stayed away.) Genuine class-struggle militants do not cross picket lines!

Liebowitz and PAC stand exposed for what they are—miserable opportunists who have failed the first test of trade unionism. Postal workers must carefully note the actions of these self-professed "militants." Any group which claims to represent the real interests of the workers and then at the first opportunity betrays such a basic principle as honouring picket lines (resorting to thuggery in order to cover up its scabbing), is a group which will never lead postal workers in a real struggle for their interests. This craven, cynical behavior is entirely in keeping with the dishonest, Stalinist politics of CPL/PLP, who regularly cover up their opportunist reformism with superficial "militant" verbiage and gangster attacks against their opponents on the left.

RMG Opportunism

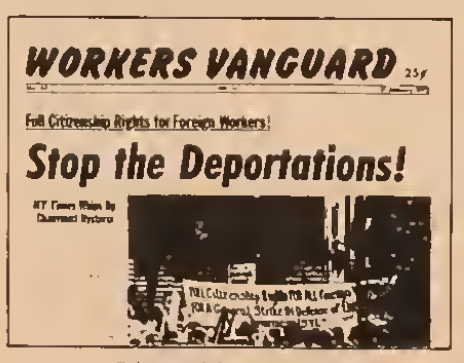
Supporters of the opportunist, fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group in the post office demonstrated a cowardly willingness to accommodate their program to whatever the mood of the moment seemed to be. RMG supporters boldly called for an immediate strike against the lockout at a regular CUPW meeting on February 23, but by the time of the special mass meeting a few days later they sensed a change in the mood. The campaign of redbaiting in the capitalist media had an effect on the mood of the ranks, and, consequently, led the RMG supporters to change their line.

Instead of calling for a strike as they had done a mere five days earlier, and although the lockout was still in effect, they now retreated to an honour-the-picket-lines position. Rather than judging what was objectively in the interests of the members and the unions, these opportunists thought they had come up with something more "realistic" in view of the unfavourable mood of the moment. Their reward was that even this proposal was voted down, under the influence of the redbaiting and mobilization of conservative members of the leadership. A militant who took the floor to advocate a strike was ruled out of order by local president Murphy.

Would-be leaders such as the RMG supporters, who are afraid to fight for what they know to be necessary because they fear unpopularity, or like those of PAC, who lead workers to scab on other workers, are no alternative to the present reformist bureaucracies. Strong, militant unions will be built only under a consistent class-struggle leadership.

This must be built on the basis of a clear class-struggle program, beginning with demands such as an immediate merger of postal unions into a single democratic industrial union, and for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to make automation work for the benefit of the workers and provide jobs for all. Such an alternative leadership would also fight for workers control over working conditions and for workers management of the postal industry under a workers government. The struggle for the basic needs of postal workers, and all workers, necessarily entails struggle against the capitalist government (whether under Liberal or NDP/labour reformist tutelage) and its laws and ultimately requires the expropriation of the entire capitalist class. ■

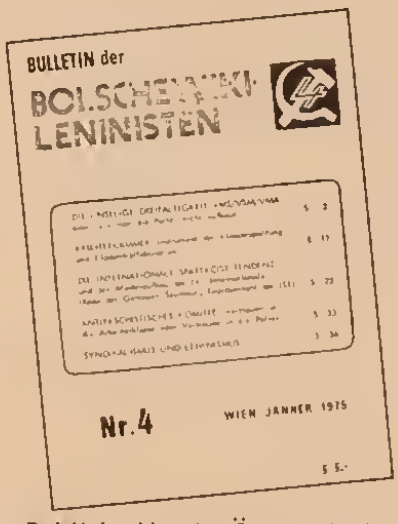
SUBSCRIBE!



Bi-weekly newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S.

U.S. $5—24 issues
U.S. $1—6 issues, introductory only
U.S. $10—24 issues (Foreign airmail)
Includes SPARTACIST (English edition)

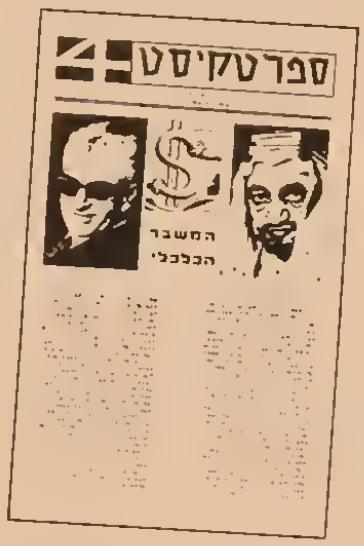
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001



Published by the Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten

U.S. $2—4 issues

Postfach 39
1033 Wien, Austria



Published by the Spartacist League of Israel

U.S. $2.50—4 issues

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001

Published by the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands

U.S. $4—4 Issues

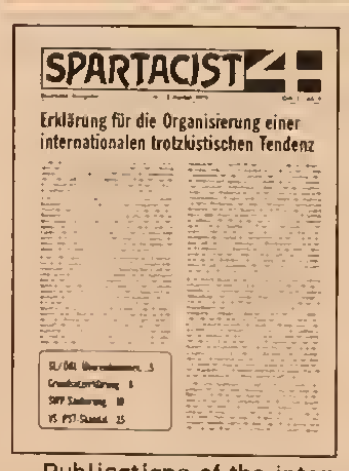
Postlagerkarte A 051 429
Berlin 120 West Germany

Postscheckkonto Berlin West:
503 57 - 107 (Wolfgong Hohmann)

Published by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)
U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 20001 Australia



Publications of the international Spartacist tendency in English, French, German and Spanish/U.S. $2—4 issues (any combination, please specify).

Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Continued from page 12

For A Militant, Coast-Wide Longshore Strike!

men") is already under way, as allowed for under both the old and proposed new contracts. Other clauses allow the employers to punish an entire port by lifting the "guaranteed" pay in the event of any unauthorized work stoppage in the port and hand the arbitrators virtual dictatorial power over job dispatching and working conditions. (See "Bridges Prepares Longshore De-registrations" in *WV* No. 63, 28 February 1975, for further details.)

The slightly more than two-thirds vote in favor of the contract on the first round of balloting did not reflect enthusiasm on the part of the membership. Dissatisfaction is deep because under the Bridges regime container-ization and other forms of automation have provided tremendous new profits for stevedoring companies, while resulting in speedup, deregistration (i.e., firing with collusion of the union) and weakening of the hiring hall for ILWU ranks.

The predominant mood on the West Coast docks has rather been one of defeatism due to the crisis of leadership. Members vividly recall the disastrous 134-day strike of 1971-72, in which scab cargo moved through Enseñada (Mexico) and Vancouver while Bridges refused to halt military cargo and then meekly knuckled under when Nixon's Pay Board took away the wage gains won. Many conclude that an even worse defeat would be inevitable in yet another strike under Bridges' misleadership.

The supporters of the International bureaucracy encourage defeatism in order to suppress sentiment for a militant strike. Anonymous leaflets have appeared denouncing critics of the leadership who would lead members down the "primrose lane" to another strike "like they did in '71."

In his 21 February *Dispatcher* column, Bridges outdoes himself with militant rhetoric in order to smear critics with the brush of utopianism. Claiming to still be for "a system where we own and control the machine," he implies that all demands going beyond his contract are as unattainable in one union's contract as socialism. Thus Bridges hopes the membership will accept dwindling jobs, speedup and deregistrations as inevitable.

New Merger Threat

His ominous conclusion, that "sooner or later we're going to have to face the fact that we're not going to be able to continue much longer by ourselves," is the logical outcome of this defeatist course. No doubt Bridges intends to soon renew his often-rejected plans to throw in the towel and merge the weakened ILWU, on unfavorable terms, with the East Coast International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) or the Teamsters, or with both (by splitting the ILWU between its longshore and warehouse sections). Such a "unity" would be the unity of defeat and would signal the loss of historic ILWU gains, such as the hiring hall (already substantially eroded under Bridges' contracts) and the relatively more democratic functioning of the ILWU.

This policy of subordination to the dictates of capital is expressed politically in Bridges' support for bourgeois politicians such as the racist San Francisco Mayor Joe ("Operation Zebra") Alioto, and in the defeatist concept of accepting a phony pay "guarantee" plan in exchange for giving up jobs.

The only alternative is to build a new leadership which will point the way to a struggle for jobs for all, for workers control of the industry and full rights for all B-men. Such a leadership would also fight for the expropriation of the maritime/longshore industry, and for a workers party and a workers government. To achieve such a class-struggle program every opportunity for militant struggle, such as the present opportunity for a coast-wide longshore strike, must be seized.

The mounting opposition to Bridges shows that the membership is increasingly fed up with his class-collaborationist "solutions," although unsure of which direction to go next. Literature critical of Bridges and the contract is now circulating widely, but the question of whether or not to launch an immediate coast-wide strike has become a key difference between the reformists who are tailing Bridges, using his time-tested method of "left" rhetoric masking inaction and capitulation, and the class-struggle militants who can move the union forward.

Contract Opponents Must Call for Strike

One loose grouping in Local 10, including well-known Communist Party supporter Archie Brown, advocates some partial solutions, including a seven-hour day and strong opposition to the increased power of the arbitrators in Bridges' proposed contract. While calling for a "no" vote on the contract, the group asserts:

> "... we are not now in a strike situation. All that can happen if we turn down these proposed amendments to the contract [i.e., Bridges' proposal] is continued negotiations."

This is exactly what Bridges wants from his opponents. This way he can come back with a few "improvements" in a month or two (still prior to the expiration date and without a strike), isolating the Canadian and U.S. struggles from each other. Without solidarity, a strong fight for jobs cannot be mounted in either country.

Another group of opponents to Bridges' contract included Reg Theriault, former head of the S.F. hiring hall's ownership association (which is formally separate from Local 10). Advocating "old-fashioned trade-union demands," this group specifically calls for *working without a contract* if necessary to beat employer stalling! Such resignation in advance only strengthens the employers' hands.

Only the *Longshore Militant* forthrightly states, "we are at the point where we have to fight for our union and our jobs" because there is "no better deal possible without a strike." Key to its proposal is the linking of the Canadian and U.S. struggles. A coast-wide strike (with no "exceptions" for military cargo, "perishable" cargo, etc.) would have the power to raise the necessary strong demands, as put by *Longshore Militant*:

> "6 hours work for 8 hours pay to spread the work to all of us. Abolish 9.43, crane supplement and CFS steady utility men [contract clauses which weaken the hiring hall]. Full right to strike. Full A status for all B men, now. A common expiration date for U.S. and Canadian contracts. 100% automatic escalator clause."

The *LM* points out that it will take class-struggle leadership to win the strike. Mass picketing, flying squads, a ban on military cargo and world-wide solidarity against the threat of government intervention (it was only such solidarity that saved the 1948 strike from Truman's troops) will be required. A new class-struggle leadership must be built. Such a leadership, "while fighting for the contract we need," would:

> "... call for labor to link up politically, oust the bureaucratic leadership in all unions, and build a workers party to fight for a workers government, to expropriate all major industry, for a centralized planned economy to serve the needs of all working people."

The course outlined by Gow and Keylor in the first issue of *Longshore Militant* is the only course forward for Canadian and American longshoremen, and for all workers. ■

ILWU's Office Workers Strike

Bridges Crosses Picket Line

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE

Harry Bridges scabbing: "Hang in there, the first three months are the worst."

If ILWU president Harry Bridges has been distinguished by anything recently aside from an unbroken chain of sellouts, it is by his increasingly open contempt for the rank and file of labor. In addition to his repeated "modernization" contracts which have sacrificed longshore jobs to company profits, his efforts to dissolve or dismember the union by merger and his support for capitalist politician Joe Alioto (now tied to a major shipping company), late last month Bridges got a chance to play boss and cross a picket line.

The ILWU's office workers, represented by Local 29 of the Office and Professional Employees Union (OPEU), struck in order to achieve wage parity with other unionized office workers in San Francisco and to prevent the ILWU bureaucracy from adding an eligibility requirement to their existing sick-leave benefits.

The extremely modest demands of the union's office workers were received sympathetically by ILWU members. A delegation from Hawaii, in town for negotiations with the International, refused to cross the picket lines. Bridges, however, undertook a one-man motorcade to various ILWU offices. One angry striker said that "Harry made it a point to go through our lines at every local office." Emulating the haughtiest "let-them-eat-cake" style of Marie Antoinette, Bridges reportedly exhorted the strikers to "hang in there, the first three months are the worst" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 27 February).

The International officers, in addition to reportedly avoiding meetings with the OPEU bargaining committee, have used the strike as an excuse to further squash normal democratic procedures in the union. Thus the scheduled March 1 constitutional convention of Local 6, which sets contract demands, was postponed until June 7 and Local 6 meetings were cancelled supposedly because of the two-week office workers' strike. And in the midst of the hottest contract battle in the history of the Longshore Division, the union's weekly longshore *Bulletin* was suspended.

The strike was settled last week with the OPEU getting a meager wage increase (no cost-of-living clause) and accepting the new eligibility requirement. Although it may provide little consolation for the office workers, it is worth reporting that at a recent Sacramento rally against unemployment called by the AFL-CIO Bridges was greeted with a large round of boos, no doubt for the despicable role he played during this strike.

In addition to supporting the OPEU office workers' struggle for higher wages and the maintenance of existing fringe benefits, ILWU militants should call for union employees to receive full union-scale wages and benefits, no less than those of the union's members. ■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00–6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Women and the Trade Unions: Tasks of the Revolutionary Party

Speaker: Gretchen Callahan
Spartacist League
Guest Speaker: Ruth Ryan
Member of Committee for a Militant UAW, local 1364, Fremont, California
Friday, March 21—8 p.m.
Harvard University
Bolyston Auditorium
BOSTON

WORKERS VANGUARD

Heavy Vote Against Bridges' Contract

For A Militant, Coast-Wide ILWU Longshore Strike!

SAN FRANCISCO, March 6—Harry Bridges' hopes of ramming through a new sell-out contract for the Longshore Division of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), four months ahead of the expiration date of the present pact, were fading rapidly last week. In the first balloting, held in the last week of February, the proposed contract was rejected by the San Pedro (Port of Los Angeles) Local 13 by a count of 1,028 to 1,005.

Although the contract was ratified in other locals, according to union rules this rejection by a major local meant that the contract could be adopted only if it received a two-thirds majority in a second coast-wide vote, which is now completed. Early reports indicate that the margin against the contract has increased dramatically in major ports.

Opposition was widespread throughout the big locals on the first ballot and Bridges obtained barely 12 votes more than the two-thirds margin he would need on the second round. In the Bay Area, Local 10 voted for the contract on the first ballot by a vote of 1,092 to 811, but has reportedly rejected it on the second by about 200 votes. Seattle voted in favor, but only by a four to three margin on the second round. A coast-wide contract rejection would be unprecedented in the history of the ILWU, which has gone on strike in the U.S. only twice since World War II. Its last strike, in 1971-72, was a fiasco because of the class-collaborationist policies of Bridges and Co.

Canadian Strike

Sentiment to reject the contract was enhanced by Canadian ILWU longshoremen, who struck on March 1 after two months of working without a contract. The International virtually blacked out news of the Canadian walkout, using a strike by the ILWU's office workers as an excuse. The bourgeois news media cooperated and no mention of the strike was made on television or in the daily press in San Francisco.

The Canadian ILWU strike has been publicized, however, by the *Longshore Militant*, a new class-struggle oppositional newsletter published in Local 10 by veteran militants Stan Gow (a Local executive board member) and Howard Keylor. Circulating widely up and down the Coast, the *Longshore Militant* is demanding that all attempts by the employers to divert struck Canadian cargo through U.S. ports must be "stopped cold":

> "In the past, the PMA [Pacific Maritime Association, the employers' group] has not only intimidated us into scabbing on our Canadian brothers, but many times has locked out a U.S. port (Los Angeles, Portland), diverted cargo to other ports, and threatened us with a coast-wide lock-out if we supported our brother longshoremen. We can't let this go on any longer."

Referring to the Boron strike last year, in which an ILWU local lost 400 jobs to scabs because the International leadership failed to organize a labor boycott of struck borax (which was even moved by ILWU longshoremen!), the paper calls for "hot-cargoing" diverted cargo and a coast-wide strike in the event of any lockouts of ports refusing to handle diverted cargo. The paper also advocates that the opportunity be seized for "...the first coastwide international contract fight in the West Coast's history."

The mounting sentiment against Bridges' contract is not difficult to understand. Claiming to have signed yet another "no layoffs" agreement, after his previous "no layoffs" pacts have led to a reduction in the number of active longshoremen by nearly *half* since 1959, Bridges now proposes to provide the best deal ever for the profit-hungry employers. The allegedly "depression-proof" contract allows layoffs under "unusual circumstances" (such as depressions!), and forced migration for longshoremen caught in "low work opportunity."

No Love for Bridges' Contract

In addition a new attack against the second-class union members ("B-

continued on page 11

Port of Vancouver, British Columbia.

U.S. Longshoremen Must Boycott Diverted Cargo

Vancouver Dockers Walk Out

VANCOUVER, March 6—A major step toward an unprecedented West Coast-wide longshore strike was taken at midnight on March 1 when 3,500 Canadian members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) walked out following the breakdown of contract negotiations with the British Columbia Maritime Employers Association (BCMEA). The strike, the fifth in ten years in the Canadian section of the union, has shut down all maritime shipments of grain and other key commodities through Vancouver and ten other West Coast Canadian ports. Only a few smaller non-union and one single-product ILWU port under separate contract remain open.

The strike follows a full five months of contract negotiations, including two months following the expiration of the old contract on December 31. It coincides with the rejection by ILWU Local 13 in Los Angeles of Bridges' sellout proposal for a new contract for U.S. longshoremen which would allow further erosion of jobs and working conditions due to automation. The L.A. rejection means the vote on the contract must be taken again, with a two-thirds majority required for passage. A coast-wide strike to defend longshore jobs and conditions is thus an immediate possibility.

In mid-January the union membership in British Columbia voted by a 92 percent majority to reject management's inadequate offers and authorize a strike. Yet the Canadian ILWU leadership continued negotiating while the members worked under the old contract terms. The union demanded $1.50 an hour increase on a base rate of $6.08, while management countered with smaller wage offers. The issue which finally forced a strike on the reluctant leadership, however, was the question of containerization.

Unlike the American majority of the ILWU longshore membership, the Canadian area has had a small amount of protection against the negative effects of containerization through a clause which allows container destuffing—unloading of the container—to be done only on the docks or in the shippers' own dock area warehouses (if there are two or more consignees' goods in the containers). In the U.S., Bridges' "Modernization and Mechanization" ("M and M") agreements of 1961 and 1966 meant that containers could be transported inland to be unloaded by non-longshore or non-union labor. The "M and M" agreements have led to a drastic slashing of longshore jobs, while in Vancouver loss of work opportunity over the decade has been minimal.

The BCMEA demanded the revocation of this protective clause, ostensibly only for a one-year trial period, as a condition for signing a new contract. Although this was the immediate provocation forcing the strike, the Bridges regime is already preparing a betrayal of this vital though minimal protection of longshore jobs. The 21 February *Dispatcher*, newspaper of the International, makes no mention of the job protection issue in its report on the status of negotiations, while Canadian area president Don Garcia claims that the best way of dealing with the containerization issue can only be decided after further "study" by both union and management. Area officials are proposing that the union pay half the cost of a study on the possibility of changing the clause in conjunction with the opening of new container facilities at the end of the year (Vancouver presently has only one container crane).

Government intervention, which has been used to break strikes repeatedly in the past, is already a threat to the strike. The Canadian Wheat Board, worried about the loss of foreign markets, has asked Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau to intervene with emergency legislation if an immediate settlement cannot be reached. The Vancouver Board of Trade sent a telegram to Ottawa "urg[ing] the federal government through its Department of Labour to use its very vast efforts to restore normal operations as quickly as possible to the port of Vancouver and other British Columbia ports." The daily press is trying to whip up hysteria over the longshoremen's "unreasonable demands," decrying the loss of international prestige for Vancouver and call-

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 65 28 March 1975

Thieu's Troops On the Run

Take Saigon!

AP

Refugees flee from Hue on vehicles of Saigon puppet army.

MARCH 23—U.S. imperialism's Vietnamese puppets have been compelled to surrender almost two-thirds of the territory of southern Vietnam to the forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF). Nguyen Van Thieu's army is in full retreat, desperately trying to regroup around Saigon and Danang. Quang Tri, Kontum, Pleiku, Phubon, Darlac, Phuoc Long and Binh Long provinces have already been captured by DRV/NLF forces. The fall of Thua Thien, Khanh Hoa, Quang Duc, Tuyen Duc and Lam Dong provinces is imminent.

While Saigon's control in most of these provinces was always nominal outside of the larger towns, the current withdrawal is a stinging political and military defeat, which could take on the character of a total rout. Fleeing South Vietnamese army (ARVN) units find themselves helplessly entangled with hundreds of thousands of refugees who have clogged the roads leading from the Central Highlands south and east to the coast of the South China Sea and to Saigon.

U.S. newspapers again recite the once-familiar names of the cities and the battlefields of the northern coastal region and the Central Highlands—Khe Sanh, Phu Bai, Pleiku, An Khe, Kontum, Hue—sites of some of the bloodiest fighting of the Vietnam war. It was here that the massive buildup of American troops began ten years ago. All revolutionaries in the world, and especially the workers and peasants of Vietnam

continued on page 8

CIA's Murder, Inc.

The ruling British Labour Party has recently protested the presence of 10 agents of the Central Intelligence Agency, masquerading as attachés, in the American embassy in London. Agents by the hundreds have poured into Portugal and the Near East as a result of the increasing tensions between the governments in those areas and the shapers of U.S. foreign policy.

The cooperation between the CIA and the State Department was dramatically underscored by Richard Helms' appointment to an ambassadorship in (of all places) Iran. Helms was director of the spy agency during its "dirty" period—1966-73. Meanwhile, the U.S. ambassador to Italy was formerly envoy to Greece where he developed a "special relationship" with the colonels who were ousted last year. And Portugal got the former U.S. ambassador to Chile who helped engineer the overthrow of Allende.

Since Watergate popped the lid off the CIA, creatures have slithered forth from its depths such as normally surface only in the pages of a John Le Carré novel. Lonely, wandering travel writers, employed by the very real Fodor's Travel Guides Inc., turn out to be secret agents surreptitiously translating their "reviews" into code. Assassination plots hatched in the highest Washington circles bear fruit in distant Vietnam (Diem) and the Dominican Repuhlic (Trujillo). Former movie mogul Howard Hughes stars in a CIA-sponsored, multi-million dollar production to liberate the corpses of seamen in a sunken Russian submarine from their ocean grave—along with secret code books and nuclear missiles.

Government operatives were discovered to have negotiated "contracts" with Mafia hit men to eliminate "totalitarian" leaders (Castro). In return the CIA performs favors such as spying on singer Phyllis McGuire for her then-boyfriend and Chicago racket chief, Sam Giancana. Leading journalists (the syndicated columnist Tom Braden, *New Republic* publisher Robert J. Myers, *Philadelphia Bulletin* editor George Packard, etc.) are linked to the CIA and Mexican presidents (Díaz Ordaz, López Matcos and Echeverría) are revealed as hip-pocket collaborators of the U.S. spy agency.

The still-unresolved assassination of John Kennedy is also among the contents of this Pandora's box. The 8 March *New York Times* reports disputed photographic evidence that some contend places Watergate burglars E. Howard Hunt and Frank Sturgis on the grassy knoll near Kennedy's limousine at the time of the 1963 assassination. Hunt was then a clandestine CIA operative and head of the Mexican CIA station at the time Lee Harvey Oswald visited there. Sturgis is known to have worked for the agency during the Bay of Pigs invasion. The men in the photo had been placed under arrest by Dallas police.

Summa Corporation

The "Glomar Explorer," used by CIA to salvage Russian submarine in 1974.

Clearly, whether or not the latter speculations bear any relation to the truth, any real exposé of behind-the-scenes activities of the cloak-and-dagger set would implicate those in the very top levels of government and industry.

Good old, "dumb-but-honest" Gerald Ford has come up with the answer. He quickly appointed a "blue-ribbon" commission to investigate CIA intrusion into domestic affairs. Of the eight men on the panel, three have had direct associations with the CIA—Nelson Rockefeller, C. Douglas Dillon and General Lyman

continued on page 9

Expelled ITers Join SL

"The SWP Is Finished As a Revolutionary Force"

The authors of this document were expelled from the Internationalist Tendency last October for demanding a clear political break with the reformist Socialist Workers Party. The IT had earlier been bureaucratically expelled from the SWP. However, in order to further the maneuvers of the centrist majority of the "United Secretariat" under Ernest Mandel, the IT has been forced to crawl back to the SWP to beg for readmission. The SWP, however, has refused to take it back.

In order to stifle opposition within the IT to this suicidal and unpopular policy, it was necessary to get rid of Comrades R. and C. (both members of the IT steering committee, one full and one alternate; one was formerly the organizer of the Houston IT branch). By this anti-Leninist act of political suppression the IT leaders demonstrated once again their submissive kowtowing before Mandel & Co. and their affinity for the USec's brand of dishonest wheeling and dealing—and drove another nail into the coffin of their tendency.

We welcome our new comrades to the struggle to recreate an authentic Trotskyist Fourth International.

8 March 1975
Houston, Texas

Dear Comrades,

Having reached basic agreement with the political positions of the international Spartacist tendency, we would like to submit our letter of application to the Spartacist League.

We are not newcomers to Trotskyist politics. One of us joined the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance in 1970, the other in 1972. The SWP had been the first socialist group we had come into contact with and their analysis of class society was radically different than what we had heard anywhere else. But it became increasingly apparent that the SWP's practice did not reflect what it had said its goal was—to lead the American socialist revolution. The SWP's line on feminism, on black nationalism, on students, in the antiwar movement—in fact, its line on all the "sectors" in society—were alike in one main point: they failed to link these struggles to the working class's leading role in society, and consequently, the role of the vanguard party. The working class was seen as just another sector. The Internationalist Tendency's predecessor, the Proletarian Orientation Tendency, had roughly outlined these criticisms. Their document also stated opposition to the United Secretariat's line on guerrillaism, while at the same time exposing the SWP's psuedo-orthodoxy and legalism in opposing guerrillaism. These criticisms were dropped, however, when it seemed possible to link up with the International Majority Tendency led by the USec leadership, and we became the Internationalist Tendency.

The factional atmosphere inside the SWP increased. IT comrades were summarily removed from positions of responsibility. We were constantly stifled at meetings—questions were called before there was adequate discussion, motions were ruled out of order, etc. Major questions that faced the party were not allowed to be discussed at branch meetings. IT comrades were not allowed to speak for the party, at forums or classes, or as candidates. All recruits to the YSA and party were forewarned about the "disrupters." No union meeting was ever run tighter than SWP branch meetings.

The SWP's increasing degeneration, both politically and organizationally, had its effects on the IT rank and file. In May 1974, the IT held a national conference to discuss perspectives. Overwhelmingly, the IT ranks wanted an *independent* organization, aligned with the IMT. But the IMT and IT leaderships, fearing a split with the SWP, began a campaign to quiet the ranks and beat back any moves toward a split. Comrades from Washington, D.C., made the following motion: While accepting the positions and authority of the IMT Bureau, we reject the perspectives of the IMT for the IT (prolonged work within the SWP) and will struggle against the IMT for our perspectives. The motion further demanded an immediate discussion to be opened up on perspectives for North America. The motion was reported to the IMT in a letter from [IT leader Bill] Massey. Point 3 was added to the original motion: "However, we will accept the authority of the IMT Enlarged Bureau and will therefore seek to carry out the line of the resolution. We will however attempt to change the thinking of the comrades of the IMT Bureau and Steering Committee by political persuasion." The letter also stated that the national leadership of the IT was in agreement with this motion, but that they did not initiate it or motivate it. The last paragraph of the letter is the most disgusting: "In short, we urge the comrades of the IMT, who we recognize as our political leaders, to take strong actions to help us democratize the SWP, so that we can carry out the perspectives of the Bureau. Without your strong actions, we will die trying. But, we will die." Massey wanted his swan song to be the IT's theme song! *This* was a *leader*? We were to be offered up as sacrifice for the sake of our political leaders, and their political expediencies. How many comrades was Massey willing to lose, how much of the IT's work was to go down the drain before he'd fight for independence for the IT?

Several weeks after the May conference, Cde. Charles of France, representing the IMT, toured the U.S., along with [IT leader John] Barzman. The purpose of the tour was to inform the IT ranks of the IMT and IT leadership's position that the SWP was revolutionary and that the best place for the IT to work and recruit was *inside* the SWP. (Cde. Charles said this, even though it was his and others' opinion that the SWP leadership was *not* reformable *nor* was the majority of the membership.) The order to remain inside the SWP completely negated and overturned the decision of the May conference.

During the summer, political tensions mounted. The SWP was embarrassed by their Argentine factional partner's bloc with the Perón government. The SWP found it intolerable to coexist with the IT and its uncritical approval of guerrillaism and adventurist tactics, such as those of the ERP/PRT and the actions that led to the banning of the French USec section. In reaction to the SWP's conscious rejection of the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state, and its rejection of the role of the vanguard party and of the working class in accomplishing this, to the IT comrades the guerrilla line seemed more "revolutionary." But, guerrillaism also negates the role of the class and of the party in revolution. Thus the SWP, in the faction fight, was able to cover itself with "Leninist-Trotskyist" orthodoxy because of the IT analysis; but in fact, the two camps, with their seemingly opposite lines, ended up at the same watering hole. Nonetheless, the IT was expelled on July 4, 1974.

This opened up a Pandora's box for the IT leadership, for the IT had never been a homogeneous group. The womb that had been holding us together had expelled us. On the one hand, there was a feeling of elation, all the energies that had been channeled into the faction fight came to the fore; on the other hand, the suppressed differences also came out. The IT leadership recognized the danger of open political debate. They deliberately failed to act decisively upon the expulsion. The first plenum after the expulsion was not held until *October*.

By now, the deliberate footdragging of the IMT really disgusted us and the two of us began work on a document for the plenum, on the nature of the SWP, calling it reformist and calling for the IT to make a clean political break. This went directly counter to the USec leadership. We had learned by now that whatever USec wanted, the IT leadership was ready and willing to rubber stamp. The plenum was finalized for October, ostensibly to discuss perspectives; but since Cde. Charles had already pointed the way, the plenum would be nothing more than a "democratic" vote for those already decided-upon policies, i.e. "reintegration." Our document threw a wrench into an otherwise smooth operation, for in the main the IT ranks had been sufficiently demoralized by the bureaucratic overturn of the May conference, by the delay by the leadership after expulsion and by the "prestige" of "The Fourth International" presenting a solid front with our spineless leadership in opposing independence for the IT. The leadership could easily expect to railroad through *their* perspective of re-entry into the SWP.

We began to look more closely at the USec and its policies. It seemed quite apparent to us that anyone who closely examined the positions and practice of the SWP could see that what existed today was qualitatively different from the party of Trotsky. Why was the USec bringing all its pressure to bear to force us back into a party that, by Cde. Charles's own admission, was not reformable. The questions of guerrillaism, of the deals made at the Tenth World Congress, of the dual sections [in countries where the USec majority and minority had split into separate organizations], of the actions of the Argentine PST, of the Union of the Left popular front that the French comrades had called upon the working class to support—these questions raised themselves in the context of the IT expulsion.

Comrades in the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (BLT) of the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) were raising the same questions. Their document analyzed the crisis facing the USec and their concept of communist work in the trade unions.

> "It is an undeniable fact that the method that the international majority leadership has used in constructing the International is not the Leninist one. The Fourth International is not a democratic centralist organization today precisely because it has not been constructed on a firm and well defined programmatic basis. Democratic centralism can have no meaning except as an organizational form at the service of the revolutionary proletarian program. The federalist practices of the Fourth International correspond to a quite different political conception. They reflect a tendency to subordinate political principle to organizational unity. The fact that the international majority has succumbed to this clearly demonstrates its political opportunism and its equivocation before the historically essential task of constructing a revolutionary international. The SWP has repudiated

continued on page 11

SPARTACIST LOCAL DIRECTORY

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA ..... (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Votes for Break With Democrats

AFSCME Local Elects Militant

LOS ANGELES—Since the beginning of the "fiscal crunch" of the late 1960's government workers have increasingly flocked to trade unionism. But while the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is now the fastest-growing union in the country, its leadership under liberal Democrats Jerry Wurf and Victor Gotbaum has no answer to the current sharp economic slump. In fact, Gotbaum's recent "achievements" in collective bargaining with New York City officials all amount to *giving up* hard-won union gains.

Members of AFSCME Local 2070, the UCLA campus workers' union, have recently taken steps toward a program to combat these attacks on labor. Last month Alice Lichtenstein, a member of the Militant Caucus, was elected to the Local's executive board. Shortly afterward the 2070 membership also approved offical participation in a California AFL-CIO march against unemployment, under the banner "Break with the Democratic and Republican Parties—For a Workers Party Based on the Unions."

The Militant Caucus was founded in 1972 by stewards and organizers who had played a prominent role in the Local's drive to unionize dormitory, custodial and library staffs. Faced with vicious anti-labor legislation (which does not even provide for collective bargaining for government workers) and an AFSCME burcaucracy hostile to organizing university employees (regarded as prone to infection with unruly radicalism), the MC has stressed the need for reliance on labor's own strength, not Sacramento politicians. This has consistently set it apart from the leadership's "Unity Committee," whose key members are sympathetic to the "anti-monopoly" policies of *People's World*, the West Coast Communist Party newspaper.

On the heels of its election victory, the Militant Caucus responded to the AFL-CIO call for a March 8 rally for jobs in Sacramento by proposing a Local 2070 contingent to march under the following slogans: A shorter workweek at no loss in pay—30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay—Jobs for all! A full cost-of-living escalator! Union strikes against layoffs! Break with the Democratic and Republican Parties—For a workers party based on the unions! Stop the deportations—Full citizenship rights for all foreign workers! Expropriate industry without compensation—For the planning of production under a workers government!

The motion passed, with the exception of the last point, which was blocked by Local officers, members of the Unity Committee, who were fearful of scaring off potential members of an "anti-monopoly people's coalition" with talk of a workers government and attacks on private property. However, these reformists let pass the call for a workers party, a demand they have consistently opposed in the past. Correcting for their "error," Unity Committee supporters virtually boycotted the Sacramento march.

The march itself was intended by the state labor federation as an escape valve for discontent over mounting layoffs. Labor skates such as ILWU president Bridges and UAW regional director Whipple shared the podium with Governor Brown and Senator Tunney. Eager to avoid embarrassing their Democratic Party friends, the bureaucrats made only token efforts to publicize the rally and hounded unionists with "unacceptable" signs (such as "30-for-40"!) along with leftist paper salesmen to the end of the march. Nevertheless, almost half the marchers booed as Brown and Tunney appeared.

The Militant Caucus' struggle against reliance on capitalist politicians was also the central theme in recent local elections. The incumbent Unity Committee campaigned on the slogan "Vote for Experience," projecting itself as the best qualified to take advantage of the pending Greene/Dills public employee collective bargaining act. This legislation provides for a Taft-Hartley-style 60-day "cooling-off" period and empowers any judge to terminate a strike, sending the dispute to compulsory binding arbitration if it threatens "public health and safety"! The Unity Committee supports this bill.

Since the two Unity Committee incumbents running for three open spots on the executive board were virtually assured of re-election, the real contest was between the MC candidate and Barry Sautman, whose views reflect the type of "militant" reformism characteristic of the Progressive Labor Party. Sautman's campaign theme was "Vote for a Change," and his equally vague program concentrated mainly on pressing grievances in a more militant fashion. His campaign leaflet assured Local members that "in the coming year, collective bargaining will probably become a reality for campus workers...."

The Militant Caucus alone exposed the restrictive, anti-labor provisions of the Dills bill and hammered at the necessity of union organization to build the power for successful strikes. Transcending the minimal and parochial approaches of the other candidates, the MC pointed to capitalism as the cause of assaults on government workers. Its program included not only the demands raised for the Sacramento march, but also the fight against imperialist war; for international workers' solidarity; for the elimination of racial and sexual discrimination—jobs for all, union control of hiring/training; for the expulsion of cops and prison guards from AFSCME; for a workers party to fight for a workers government.

The Militant Caucus program points the path forward for government workers and all labor. The election of Lichtenstein is a victory, but we can be sure that the reformists will only redouble their efforts to keep the Local on the path of class collaboration. The MC must meet this attack by stepping up its own fight to provide resolute leadership in every aspect of the class struggle, and by extending its efforts by joining with militants elsewhere who wish to fight for a program of complete victory for labor against capital.■

WV Photo

AFSCME Local 2070 banner at March 8 AFL-CIO jobs rally in Sacramento.

Letters

Dacca, Bangladesh
10 February 1975

Dear Comrade,

I have seen *Workers Vanguard* No. 61 in which my letter written to you from Calcutta was published. You must have learnt about the latest developments in Bangladesh which confirm the correctness of your analysis of the political situation in Bangladesh. Trotskyists in India misguided by the two factions of the dis-United Secretariat failed to adopt a correct stand on Bangladesh, not to say of intervening effectively in Bangladesh. Either they wanted to tone down all criticism of the Awami League or tended to identify themselves with one of the Maoist groups [the Communist Party of East Bengal (Marxist-Leninist)] led by [Abdul] Matin and Alauddin.

Another little known fact about the emergence of Bangladesh is that Indian forces had entered into the territories of the then East Pakistan at least two months prior to the declaration of war in December 1971. Visitors to the so-called liberated areas in September or October 1971 were able to see Indian soldiers everywhere and the Awami League people asked them not to disclose it to the press. True, there were Awami League forces too but their role was rather insignificant and the visitors were rather astonished to learn from the Awami League and their liberation forces that they were going to win fully by December.

Greetings,
Farooq Alim

WV replies: We are indebted to the writer for this information on Bangladesh. In the January 1972 issue of *Workers Vanguard* we pointed out that India, with the connivance of the Awami League, had used the refugee problem and the Bengalis' just struggle against Pakistan for self-determination as pretexts to take control of the insurgent "Mukti Bahini." Its aim was to eliminate Pakistan as a serious rival and to establish Bangladesh as a client state.

At the time of the Indian invasion the SL called for revolutionary defeatism on both sides, i.e., urged the workers, peasants and soldiers to "turn their guns around" and struggle against their own rulers, rather than serve as pawns for the competing bourgeoisies. The issue of Bengali self-determination was subordinate to the reality of an India-Pakistan war.

In contrast, other left groups such as the reformist Socialist Workers Party were hailing the "strength of the Indian army" and, in the case of the political bandits of the Healyite "International Committee," actually "critically support-[ing] the decision of the Indian bourgeois government to give military and economic aid to Bangla Desh."

As we wrote then, "To describe the Indians as providing 'military and economic aid to Bangla Desh' is about like terming the U.S. Army in Vietnam 'advisors'!" This additional report from eyewitnesses confirms that far from merely giving military aid to the insurgents, the Indian military apparatus was in control of the Awami League guerrillas fully two months before the actual invasion in December 1971.

●

Chicago
15 February

To the Editor:

The otherwise excellent article on the "illegal aliens" scare ("Stop the Deportations!," *WV* No. 60, 17 January 1975) was flawed in one respect: the sentence reading, "At present, 2,000 Cubans enter the country each month, adding to the 750,000 *gusano* families already here" could be construed to imply that the entire Cuban-American population is *gusano*.

The counter-revolutionary *gusano* organizations in the U.S. are well known and justly hated throughout the left for their complicity in CIA attacks and sabotage in Cuba, their campaigns of terror against left groups, Cuba-support organizations, and the Puerto Rican independence movement, as well as the involvement of some *gusano* elements with the heroin traffic. Many, myself included, have had to guard their own homes or organizational offices from threatened *gusano* attack. The workers movement as a whole must be on its guard against these thugs in the service of imperialism and reaction.

It must be noted, however, that (a) many Cuban refugees leave the island not for clearly defined or active opposition to the Cuban Revolution but in the pursuit of acquisitive individualism, or for family reasons, and, more important, (b) there exists a layer of radicalized young Cubans who have grown up in the U.S. and have come to support the gains of the revolution. Some have become involved in left groups such as the Young Lords or in pro-Castro Cuban groups, and many of these subjectively revolutionary or radical young Cubans can be won to revolutionary Trotskyist politics.

Comradely greetings,
Sandor Jonas

10 Fires in Four Weeks

Company/FBI Crackdown in NY Telephone

MARCH 20—Somebody is allegedly trying to burn down New York Telephone. A big fire at the Second Avenue switching center at the end of February knocked out phone service for the entire Lower East Side of Manhattan. Smaller fires have since occurred at several phone company locations and after three weeks service in the area only now is being restored.

While the fires have caused considerable disruption of New York City—causing even traffic lights and bank burglar alarms to stop functioning—they do not represent a blow against the telephone monopoly. AT&T, the parent company of New York Telephone, will simply write off the damages for tax purposes, get a tax credit for new investment and use the rebuilding expenses as a rationale for bigger rate increases.

Although it is not known who is starting the fires there will certainly be no lack of "suspects." With the FBI involved, the stage is set for a witchhunt against union militants, those with long-standing beefs against the company, those with a history of radical politics, homosexuals, etc. Secret agents now roam the phone buildings and management has stated that it wants to weed out "undesirables" from its workforce. Militants must demand that these government and company spies be immediately removed!

Moreover, stringent sign-in procedures have been set up, which will undoubtedly be used to discipline all phone company workers through stepped-up "absence and lateness control." It is also likely that future layoffs will be justified by referring to the fires.

These fires, if they are deliberate arson, are indefensible. Telephone service is a vital social service for working people. How many elderly, for instance, have died as a result of this vandalism simply because they could not call a doctor? (Of course, a strike can also cause hardship and deprive working people of needed services and goods. Though strikers may make provision for emergency service, the primary consideration must be defense of the struggles of the organized working class.)

Acts of industrial sabotage are frequently a desperate response to the betrayals of the trade-union bureaucracy. Faced with the refusal of their leadership to do anything about speed-up, auto workers have long used mildly effective harassing tactics to slow down the breakneck pace of the production line. But even where such acts are not a threat to the life and limb of fellow workers (it is simply luck that no phone workers have been seriously injured by the recent fires), sabotage is a primitive form of resistance which cannot seriously challenge the power of the owners of the means of production.

For example, in the 1971 New York phone strike rank-and-file outrage at the sellout contract negotiated by CWA president Joe Beirne resulted in a wave of low-level sabotage, including such acts as overturning phone trucks and dragging cables out of the ground. While harassment can sometimes supplement strike action, in 1971 it was no substitute for what was needed to achieve victory: *shutting down phone.*

But as long as the present misleaders are in control of the unions such a militant policy is out of the question. Beirne (and his successor Glen Watts) stood by as the company sent scabs in from out of state; Local 1101 President Carnivale (and his successor Ed Demp-

continued on page 11

New York Times/Neal Boenzi

February 27 fire at Second Avenue telephone center in New York.

Set Up By Union Tops

800 Long Lines Workers Suspended

NEW YORK—A cynical maneuver by the leadership of Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 1150 here has ended in a disaster for the membership. More than *800* New York-area Long Lines phone workers were suspended last week as the result of an inept attempt by the executive board to pull off an "unofficial" job action. The walkout was called in order to bolster the sagging reputation of the Local leadership under Anthony Candopoulos, which had been seeking (so far unsuccessfully) to get the ranks to vote a hefty dues increase.

The dues increase is now the least of ex-President Candopoulos' worries. Rather than go along with the "protest" charade, AT&T Long Lines management swiftly moved to lock out workers who attended a union meeting on company time, then suspended all those who responded to union officials' call for a walkout on March 14. Seeing that their bluff had been called, and unwilling to mobilize the ranks for a real fight, the 1150 tops decided to send everyone back to work. As a sop to the furious membership, Candopoulos' resignation was announced two days later.

(This was not the first time Candopoulos had sacrificed militants to company victimization. Last August, when 250 Long Lines employees were suspended for walking out in solidarity with a wildcat at the same location, the leadership ordered everyone else to stay on the job while individual grievances were filed!)

The recent clashes began earlier this month when 70 Long Lines operators and plant workers in a White Plains facility were suspended for walking out in support of an operator disciplined for supposedly making a personal phone call. Management at first refused to even meet to discuss the union's grievance. A few days later a clerk at the 811 Tenth Avenue phone center was suspended for being late. (Subsequently the supervisor admitted seeing her in the building before the shift began.)

Although the union has repeatedly failed to take action against such company harassment in the past, this time a noon meeting was called in the lobby of 811. When management proceeded to lock out all those who participated on company time, stewards and executive board members pulled out the rest of the building. According to workers at that location interviewed by *Workers Vanguard*, these union officials claimed the walkout would be local-wide and promised the quick appearance of picket lines at other buildings.

In reality, however, the Local 1150 leadership refused to take any responsibility for the action. (Under the CWA constitution local unions cannot call strikes.) A union leaflet merely called on the membership "to take the lockout with our sisters and brothers." Furthermore, it said that the protest meeting was held "to squash rumours and prevent a walkout."

Over the weekend, Local bureaucrats' bravado began to falter as the company announced mass suspensions. This did not stop their loyal "left" cheering squad, the *Final Warning* group supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Union, from claiming in a leaflet that Candopoulos was going to carry out city-wide picketing, including at the key Second Avenue switching center where 4,000 phone workers are on round-the-clock shifts restoring lines damaged in recent fires (see story above). But the pickets never materialized. Long Lines operators went to work unhindered on Saturday and Sunday, and by Monday the union simply abandoned the suspended workers.

Workers in Local 1150 report that as a result of the latest fiasco many members have become demoralized, expressing impatience with the frequent walkouts at 811 and saying that nothing can be done except to follow the ineffectual grievance procedures. While isolated adventurist actions *do* lead to defeat (even when they are called by the leadership!), phone workers cannot afford to take a dive. This would simply give the company free rein as it steps up harassment and attempts to whittle away union gains during the economic crisis.

Candopoulos' resignation is not sufficient. The Local executive board was secretly meeting throughout this time and planning every move. Long Lines workers must demand immediate Local elections so that the entire leadership can be held accountable for its criminal irresponsibility.

What should have been done was to call an official local strike to force management to rescind the suspensions. At the same time, a militant leadership woud have demanded a special union convention to reopen the contract in order to get rid of the company's arbitrary absence/lateness control procedures, and to provide protection against layoffs by instituting a shorter workweek with no loss in pay.

Such demands will not be won by a bureaucracy which seeks above all to protect its own petty privileges through working out "deals" with the company. It is necessary to prepare the membership for militant action, democratically decided upon, by fighting for a new leadership committed to a class-struggle program.■

Clique Fights Shatter RSL

Some twenty months ago a new ostensibly Trotskyist organization was born in the United States. Following a several-year period of factional/cliquist instability a left wing congealed in the left social-democratic International Socialists (IS) group. This left wing, a hasty amalgam led by IS former National Secretary Sy Landy and Ron Taber, precipitated itself out of the IS and founded the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL).

Now the RSL has had its second split in eight months (for the first defection—Margaret Brecht et al.—see "Witchhunt in the RSL," *WV* No. 52, 13 September 1974 and "TRUTH Lies," *WV* No. 64, 14 February 1975). The present fight had been simmering for several months: however, the "Declaration of the Revolutionary Tendency of the RSL" signed by 18 comrades from Detroit and Los Angeles did not appear until 6 February 1975. The "Statement of Resignation of the Revolutionary Tendency of the RSL" signed by 22 comrades appeared on 9 February, three days later.

The new split actually consists of two elements: a group whose central spokesman is former RSL Political Committee member Bruce Landau and which is based in Detroit; and the former RSL "L.A. caucus" led by Eric Olsen. The materials we have consist almost entirely of materials of the component around Landau. A reply by the RSL majority appears in the RSL's irregular paper, the *Torch*, 15 February-15 March 1975.

The comrades of the Landau grouping appear to be thoughtful. One of their first acts after resigning from the RSL was to send their documents to *WV*. (This in itself is not surprising. The Spartacist League is both the tacitly acknowledged "Trotskyist standard of honesty" and also the only organization which will publicize the doings of our competitors, even our minuscule competitors. Therefore lots of people send us their documents.) But the Landau grouping mailed us their documents—and also gave us documents of the RSL majority so that we could examine both sides as we appraised the split from our vantage point. (All this material shows the central cliquist culpability of Taber and Brecht.)

The positions of the Landau/Olsen comrades are deserving of scrutiny. But our main interest at present must be the light which the various documents cast upon the revolutionary pretensions of the Taber-led RSL: the cynical, clique-ridden and programmatically Shachtmanite organization which is the left wing of the old IS.

RSL In Its Death Throes

This second split in eight months of RSL leading elements and others, which is numerically significant when measured against the small size of the remaining RSL, is evidence of the deep crisis of that organization. First the departure of RSL National Organizational Secretary Margaret Brecht and her "Soviet Defensists," then the demotion of Sy Landy and now the departure of 22 comrades (including three members of the Central Committee, one CC "candidate" and four members of local Executive Committees)—only the shell of the leadership remains: Taber and a Landy whose authority is badly damaged within the organization.

The fundamental reasons for the stagnation and resultant frenzy of the RSL are of course political. The most striking organizational manifestation is the continuation of the old IS brand of cynical cliquism, which means that many of the correct and incorrect programmatic positions of the RSL are not real positions, but rather are window-dressing for organizational maneuver and manipulation. The political and the organizational aspects come together in the main roadblock standing between the RSL and opportunist "success": the Spartacist League.

The Spartacist League is not a mass proletarian vanguard party. It is the nucleus of such a party and is based upon the central programmatic points which must define such a party, although it still lacks many of the elements of a party (in particular, it lacks deep, historically tested and verified, hegemonic implantation among the most militant layers of the working class). The Spartacist League is a propaganda group. It is however unique among U.S. ostensibly Trotskyist organizations to the left of the Socialist Workers Party in that it is achieving and consolidating successes in its political development and its work both domestically and internationally. In short, the SL/U.S. is growing and its growth has sterilized its U.S. centrist competitors, who are suffering repetitive splits as well as less spectacular depletion of their memberships.

The documents of the RSL bear witness to the impact of the SL. The minutes of the RSL Central Committee gathering of 2-3 November 1974 (published in RSL *National Secretary's League Report*, Volume III [No. 1], 18 January 1975) are fixated on the SL. A main bone of contention is the series of debates between the RSL and SL: if the RSL lost them, why the RSL lost them, whether it is even theoretically possible for the RSL to do better in the future, etc. The SL is presented as the horrible example of *everything*: all combatants accuse all others of making arguments that logically lead to "the method that the Spartacists use in their opponents work." "Orthodox" rhetoric is put forward which is nothing but a bad carbon copy of the positions of the SL; and some of the worst positions taken by the RSL have been chosen in part out of a desperate desire to distinguish the RSL from the SL.

In fact a central dispute between the Taberite leadership and the Landau opposition is that both see the need to defend themselves against the SL but they cannot agree on how to do so. Thus Taber produced a seven-page mimeographed "Motion (First Draft) on the Opportunist Character of the Spartacist League" (undated) seeking to prove that the main deviation of the SL is rightist opportunism; the Landau minority, showing at least a bit more sense, considers this a "ludicrous pronouncement" and insists that the SL's main deviation is sectarianism. (The latter position is more sensible inasmuch as it recognizes that the RSL stands to the right of the SL and will have to do less blatant distorting of SL positions if it seeks to attack the SL from the right and not from the pseudo-left. Of course, the fundamental predicament that both sides have is that the SL is neither right-opportunist nor left-sectarian, but revolutionary.)

Cliquism

The documents by the Landau opposition at least seem to show rationality. The apparently pre-factional (undated) "Resolution on the Torch" has dug up some excellent Lenin quotes from the 1900-1902 period discussing the need for a polemical press rather than a fake-mass garbage organ. (What seems to be missing from the Landau conception, however, is the insistence which characterized the Spartacist tendency since its inception on building a *fighting* propaganda group—a propagandist orientation of which an essential element is exemplary work among the exploited and oppressed.)

But Landau's greatest service to the socialist movement thus far has been his exposure of the corrupt cliquist character of the RSL regime, a regime of which he was a part. He has published documents submitted to the December 1973 plenum of the Central Committee, along with an "Introduction" explaining who wrote them and what they prove. They are supposed to prove that "...the cynicism, the substitution of personal maneuver and back-slapping for politics, the bureaucratism, the generalized abandonment of political debate in favor of any method necessary to maintain organizational control—all these phenomena were first discovered in the functioning of Taber and Landy by Taber and Landy themselves."

And the documents certainly prove what they are supposed to prove! Here are some quotations from the "Political Committee Report" written by the central leadership of the Taberite RSL:

> "The Revolutionary Socialist League is now in the process of transformation from a hastily-organized tendency within the IS to a Bolshevik cadre organization....
>
> "The nucleus of what is now the Revolutionary Socialist League was...for lack of a better term, a clique, or rather a series of cliques, centering around different personalities....
>
> "The leadership of the League has been in the hands of Comrades Landy, Taber, Brecht and Landau who functioned in a cliquist manner...."

If this expert testimony, combined with the fact that the RSL leadership attempted to suppress these documents from being circulated to their own membership, were not enough, let us quote from the "Statement of Comrade Landy" which is characterized by far less double-talk:

> "...While we engage in this and other acts within an ongoing web of cliquist functioning, we from a high moral position severely penalized and castigated Los Angeles comrades for cliquism as well as others. This, while we, Comrades Landy, Taber, Brecht (quite possibly Comrade Landau didn't know what he was participating in) knew we were operating in the same fashion and then some. At the very convention we blasted the LA group we were still engaged in 'setting up' Comrade [Chris] Hudson.
>
> "The amount of untruths, manipulations, cynical tacking and veering in allocating posts to Comrade Hudson as well as in general was high. Not only did the actions react upon the PC, but the CC and certain rank and filers. In fact, at a recent PC meeting where it was charged (not by me) that clique considerations were involved in the make-up of the CC slate, this was not denied. It could not be denied....
>
> "On the PC, there is little trust or confidence in general. It is not peculiar. Given our intimate knowledge of the cynical tactics that we individually and as a group used recently, there is substantial basis for the lack of confidence and suspicions we have of one another."

Whither the RSL?

With the new organizational split coming on top of continuing insoluble political difficulties, it appears that the RSL has likely already gone below a viable level. The appearance of this article will, we hope, assist subjective revolutionaries remaining within the RSL and within its sundry decomposition products to separate the wheat from the chaff of the ostensibly Trotskyist movement.

Where the Landau and Olsen oppositions are going is more difficult to determine. Both groupings have expressed the desire to study the history of the workers movement, in itself a valuable commitment (as Marx himself said, ignorance never did anybody any good) if it does not become simply an excuse for retreat into petty-bourgeois academia. Both groupings have verbally declined invitations to discuss with the Spartacist League, at least for the present. But perhaps they will include our suggestion in their projected course of study: a critical examination of the documented history of the Spartacist tendency, undertaken with the recognition that many of their present disagreements may represent not irreconcilable programmatic disparity but old prejudices and slanders inherited from the old IS and its Frankenstein monster, the RSL. The leap from Shachtmanism to Trotskyism which these comrades must make, transcending a fundamentally flawed tradition, is difficult but by no means impossible. The Leninist Tendency of Shapiro/Hayes, which resigned from the IS at the time of the Landy/Taber group's departure from the IS in 1973, subsequently fused with the SL and provides a model for serious comrades to study.

The following incident is cited in Bruce Landau's "Statement for the Minutes of the 2-3 November 1974 CC Plenum," dated 26 November 1974: Landau had accused RSL leaders of manufacturing differences with the SL because they feared that they would not achieve leadership positions in the SL were they to fuse. "...In private discussion, I suggested to Landy and Gregory that one reason for the RSL's uncoordinated and unclear initial 'combat' with the Spartacist League (SL) was the RSL's determination to build a group independent of the SL at any cost." Landy is quoted as replying, "No, I was never afraid of being denied leadership in the SL. After all, I knew [SL National Chairman James] Robertson would have made me a leader. He knows as well as I do the importance of preserving the remnants of our [political] generation."

Notwithstanding the fact that in the SL leaders are not "made" by cliquist appointment by national officers, there is a core of truth to the observation. The SL recognizes the importance of making the experiences in struggle of comrades from the ostensibly Marxist movement a part of our own accumulated experience. The central cadre of the SL has been built by fusions with elements from the "Trotskyist" movement (SWP), the Maoist movement and Progressive Labor, even the IS. If real programmatic unity can be achieved (the central programmatic barriers at present separating ex-RSL comrades from the SL are the Russian question and democratic/race oppression issues), and if the comrades manifest a determination to "say what is," past combats, even the most bitter ones, are not a barrier to future principled unification.■

> **"The RSL still remains trapped within the framework of its historic origins as a break away from Trotskyism, i.e. the revolutionary Marxism of our time. Politically its future, though not necessarily now determined, is not promising. Organizationally its perspectives, objectively considered, are suggestive of early disintegration. Its prior shaping experience in the welter of IS personality blocs is poor preparation for the crystallization of a cadre capable of class-struggle combat; and a grouping of under a hundred comrades had better have a characteristic and vital programmatic quality if it is reasonably to expect to exist and grow."**
>
> **—"IS Explodes," *WV* No. 26, 3 August 1973**

Indian Trotskyist Peasant Leader Persecuted

Defend Jagadish Jha!

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, is launching a campaign to generate international support for the persecuted veteran Indian Trotskyist, Jagadish Jha. Comrade Jha and a number of fellow militants have been subjected to five years of vicious government harassment and prosecution for their courageous efforts in 1969-1970 to organize the agricultural workers of Bankura.

The district of Bankura, with a population of 1.7 million, is the most arid and backward section of the state of West Bengal. The state government at the time Jha's organizing drive was at its height was the so-called "United Front" which included the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the centrist Revolutionary Socialist Party, as well as such outright bourgeois parties as the Bangla Congress Party.

Trotsky called Stalinism the syphilis of the workers movement, and in the Indian strain we find Stalinism at its most virulent. While the CPI(M) sometimes made halfhearted attempts to organize agricultural workers and lead land seizures (mostly prior to its entry into the popular-front government). Comrade Jha's campaign was the first serious effort. Typical of the West Bengal Stalinists' practice was to permit the capitalist landlords (the "jotedars") to join their parties and then defend the jotedars against the agricultural workers who were often members of the same parties. This was as true of the CPI(M) as of the CPI.

Furthermore, their coalition partner in the popular-front state government, the Bangla Congress Party, was openly the party of the jotedars and the urban capitalists. It is not surprising, therefore, that Jha's organizing efforts, conducted through the Paschim Bangla Palli Shramik Krishak Sangh (PSKS—West Bengal Village Workers and Tillers Union), encountered savage repression from the "United Front" government.

(The head of the police at the time in West Bengal was Jyoti Basu, a leader of the CPI[M], who also unleashed a murderous campaign to round up militants of the Communist Party of India [Marxist-Leninist], the official Maoist group, which had recently organized a peasant uprising against landlords in the Naxalbari district.)

Since 1970 Comrade Jha has been arrested three times and the police have brought 39 cases against 150 of the PSKS members and organizers. Jha is a member of the Communist League of India (CLI), formerly the Socialist Workers Party of India (SWPI), a section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec) of Ernest Mandel. The SWPI and USec supported and widely publicized Jha's organizing drive at the time of its initial successes. However, now that these militants no longer have the media appeal of, for example, Bangladesh Maoists or the Chilean MIR, they have been criminally abandoned by the opportunist United Secretariat.

Moreover, Jha and the other defendants have accumulated enormous legal expenses which cannot be paid simply from the pittances which can be contributed from the meager earnings of agricultural workers. They have been forced to sell their livestock and implements but still cannot meet the cost of court appearances (lawyers' fees, travel expenses, etc.), much less bail. Jha himself must support a family of six and is seriously ill, presently being hospitalized. All this makes the negligence by the USec particularly despicable.

A detailed account of Jha's 1970 organizing drive, including the program of the PSKS and a brief biographical sketch, appeared in the SWPI magazine *World Outlook* (May 1970) and was subsequently reprinted in *Intercontinental Press* (11 and 25 May 1970). The article is by Sitaram B. Kolpe, a leading member of the SWPI and CLI. He writes:

> "Now forty-seven years old [making him 52 today, quite old for a worker or peasant in India] and the father of five children, Jagdish Jha started his political career as a trade-union worker in Calcutta in the forties. He was one of the first group of workers who were attracted to the Bolshevik Leninist party which was then the Indian section of the Fourth International.
>
> "He helped to organize the first Fire Brigade Workers' Union and other unions in Calcutta City.
>
> "When the BLPI entered the Socialist party in 1948—after the former Congress Socialist party seceded from the Congress party to form an independent SP—he moved to the Raniganj area, where he organized the colliery workers in the coal mines. He was later elected secretary of the Bankura district committee of the SP. He was one of the first trade unionists to be detained by the then West Bengal government under the Public Security Act. On his release he was 'externed' from Bankura district but he continued to work 'underground.'
>
> "In 1952 when the SP merged with the Krishak Mazdoor Praja party [KMPP], a dissident group from the Congress party, to form the Praja Socialist party [PSP], he resigned along with other Trotskyists and functioned for a while under the banner of the Socialist party (Marxists). Thereafter he lost contact with the Trotskyist groups that existed in different parts of the country and settled down in Bankura to work among the peasants."

As to the later organizing which led to the PSKS, Kolpe writes:

> "Jha has emerged as a militant peasant leader after the successful ten-day strike of 15,000 farm labourers in 400 villages in Bankura district in November 1969. The farm hands, as a result of the strike, got their daily wages nearly doubled—from two and a half kilograms of paddy [threshed unmilled rice] to four kilograms plus two free meals for an eight-hour working day.
>
> "But they got their wages only during the sowing and harvesting season. They are condemned to remain idle from January to June."

He quotes Jha as saying:

> "The jotedars and rich peasants agreed to a wage rise because the strike took place during the harvesting season. But they are launching an offensive now. All sorts of tricks are being employed to scare the rural poor away from the PSKS.
>
> "There are court cases pending against eighty-three of the militants of the PSKS, including me. The charges vary from rioting to illegal seizure of land, use of firearms, and incitement to violence. We were charge-sheeted by the police under the United Front government which has since fallen. But the prosecution continues, naturally, now that the president's rule [by the central government] has been imposed on the state."

The program of the PSKS contains a number of vitally necessary reform demands, such as for a statutory minimum wage, year-round employment, full unemployment compensation, disability allowances, land distribution, free medical care and education, as well as the demand "Nationalization of all large-scale industries in the urban areas to abolish the monopoly of the capitalist class over them, nationalization of all principal means of production and distribution including transport, wholesale and foreign trade and commerce, as well as all credit institutions under the management of workers through elected committees of workers in all undertakings."

In many cases the demands reveal the stark poverty which exists in West Bengal, calling for things which are taken for granted even in many semi-industrialized capitalist countries. However, neither in the demands relating to distribution of land or in the demand for nationalization of industry is the stipulation "without compensation" included. This is crucial in order to contrast the Trotskyists' call for *expropriation* to the bourgeois nationalizations proposed by the social-democratic and Stalinist reformists. In addition, no demands are raised for political power, i.e., for the elimination of capitalist rule by a workers and peasants government.

Kolpe quotes Jha as stating, "Unless we establish a firm alliance with the working poor and the urban working class, we cannot win our struggle." Even if the SWPI had been a healthy revolutionary party, it would have required a strong base in the Calcutta proletariat to back up and provide working-class leadership for the mass organizing of the agricultural workers. Had the continuity of revolutionary Trotskyism not been broken in India, had the Trotskyist movement not been totally disoriented and dealt a lethal blow by two decades of liquidationism, a genuinely Marxist party could very well have stood at the head of the Indian proletariat. In that case Comrade Jha's courageous efforts in attempting to organize the agricultural workers might not have gone down in defeat.

The defense of Jagadish Jha is not only necessary because of the government repression of the activities of the PSKS which, whatever their limitations, were clearly on behalf of the oppressed and exploited. It is also required because Jha and his fellow militants have been vilely abandoned by their "comrades" of the CLI and USec, including by the USec's financially rather well-off "fraternal" group in the U.S., the Socialist Workers Party. The defense of this veteran Trotskyist and valiant fighter for the cause of the workers and exploited peasants is an elementary duty for socialists and a necessary part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International in India.

We strongly urge our readers to contribute to the defense of Jagadish Jha through the PDC. Checks should be made out to "Partisan Defense Committee" and contributions for the defense of Comrade Jha should be so marked. All contributions should be sent to:

PDC
Box 633, Canal Street Station
New York, NY 10013
USA

Australasian Spartacist

Published by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)
U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 20001 Australia

Rightist Coup Smashed

Portuguese Left in Crisis

MARCH 23—On March 11 two planeloads of parachutists occupied Lisbon airport and encircled the nearby First Light Artillery Regiment (RAL-1), reputed to be strongly leftist. The encampment was also subjected to rocket and machine-gun strafing by several jet trainers and helicopters. Meanwhile, in the center of the Portuguese capital, elements of the Republican National guard (GRN), a paramilitary organization from the period of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship, attempted to take over GRN headquarters. In several minor installations around the country there were similar reports of an attempted coup d'état by reactionary officers in the armed forces.

The conspirators were easily defeated. At the airport and RAL-1 the parachutists were quickly surrounded by leftist militants and workers from TAP (national airlines) and nearby workplaces who sought to win over or neutralize the soldiers. Vigilance groups organized by the Communist Party (CP) set up roadblocks at key points around the city and elsewhere in the country to check automobiles for guns and known reactionaries.

In a number of towns the workers, alerted by the radio and left-wing parties, surrounded army barracks, parked cars on air strips and took other measures to frustrate the putsch. Bank workers occupied and closed down their offices in order to prevent a flight of capital from the country. Both in Lisbon and Porto, the second largest city, offices of the reactionary parties were sacked in the wake of the aborted coup.

As the total collapse of the plotters' inept plans became clear, General António de Spínola fled to Spain with 18 associates. Spínola was formerly head of the Military Junta of National Salvation which took power following the overthrow of the rightist dictatorship of Marcelo Caetano last April 25. Deposed in September after attempting to rally a "silent majority" against the CP and leftist officers of the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA), the bemonocled general was either the leader or figurehead of the new conspiracy. Having rallied only a handful of officers to his side and thoroughly botching the planned takeover, Spínola now joins Caetano in Brazilian exile.

"Not the Last Coup"

A move by right wingers in the military had been expected for some time. Rumors of an impending coup had led many housewives to stock up on food and provisions, while some of the more guerrillaist-oriented "far left" groups, notably the PRP-BR (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades), had taken to target practice with machine guns.

Conservative forces reportedly viewed the transfer of the leftist RAL-1 unit to its strategic location next to Lisbon airport as a threat. They were encouraged to act by recent elections to advisory bodies for each of the branches of the military, in which leading "progressive" officers were defeated (including Premier Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves and Brigadier General Otelo de Carvalho, commander of the Lisbon military district and head of the elite Continental Operations Command [COPCON]).

However, it was generally expected that "moderate" elements would case out the leftists peacefully. As *Esquerda Socialista* (13 March), the newspaper of the left-reformist MES (Movement of the Socialist Left), noted:

> "Although propitious conditions for a coup were being created, the truth is that no one counted on it then. It was thought that the bourgeoisie would wait for the elections which, according to all indications, would reinforce its positions...."

Within the military, conservative elements around General Francisco da Costa Gomes (head of the junta and a longtime friend of Spínola) and liberals around Majors Vítor Alves and Ernesto Melo Antunes (associated with the Socialist Party) had been able to force the convocation of the 200-member assembly of the MFA on March 11. Presumably Carvalho and possibly even Gonçalves would have been dumped at that meeting.

The bourgeoisie is understandably furious with Spínola for his precipitous move. The *New York Times* (16 March) wrote, "Leftist officers...came close to losing power on Tuesday and were saved by premature action of General Spínola that may have defeated the cause of moderation in Portugal." A high State Department official put it more bluntly: "It couldn't have gone better if it had been planned by the K.G.B."

But while the "progressive" officers won this round, there is no guarantee for the future. As Premier Gonçalves said prophetically the day after the putsch, "I think yesterday's was not the last coup."

"We Know that the CIA Is a Serious Problem"

The Movement of the Armed Forces has always been a very heterogeneous phenomenon. It was originally formed in August 1973 by some 200 junior officers to protest a Caetano decree giving equal rights to conscript officers (the *milicianos*), many of whom were former leftist students. However, the debilitating African wars were a source of far greater disgruntlement and soon moved the MFA toward political opposition to the dictatorship.

While the MFA's 20-man coordinating committee has been largely leftist or liberal in outlook, its leaders have consistently sought to avoid splitting the

David Barrett/Gamma

The "anti-imperialist" generals Pinochet, Spi caste led to bloodbaths in China and Chile. I

Rightist Coup Smashed

Portuguese Left in Crisis

Esquerda Socialista

Leftist militants and troops at Artillery Regiment in Lisbon after defeat of March 11 putsch attempt.

MARCH 23—On March 11 two planeloads of parachutists occupied Lisbon airport and encircled the nearby First Light Artillery Regiment (RAL-1), reputed to be strongly leftist. The encampment was also subjected to rocket and machine-gun strafing by several jet trainers and helicopters. Meanwhile, in the center of the Portuguese capital, elements of the Republican National guard (GRN), a paramilitary organization from the period of the Salazar/Caetano dictatorship, attempted to take over GRN headquarters. In several minor installations around the country there were similar reports of an attempted coup d'état by reactionary officers in the armed forces.

The conspirators were easily defeated. At the airport and RAL-1 the parachutists were quickly surrounded by leftist militants and workers from TAP (national airlines) and nearby workplaces who sought to win over or neutralize the soldiers. Vigilance groups organized by the Communist Party (CP) set up roadblocks at key points around the city and elsewhere in the country to check automobiles for guns and known reactionaries.

In a number of towns the workers, alerted by the radio and left-wing parties, surrounded army barracks, parked cars on air strips and took other measures to frustrate the putsch. Bank workers occupied and closed down their offices in order to prevent a flight of capital from the country. Both in Lisbon and Porto, the second largest city, offices of the reactionary parties were sacked in the wake of the aborted coup.

As the total collapse of the plotters' inept plans became clear, General António de Spínola fled to Spain with 18 associates. Spínola was formerly head of the Military Junta of National Salvation which took power following the overthrow of the rightist dictatorship of Marcelo Caetano last April 25. Deposed in September after attempting to rally a "silent majority" against the CP and leftist officers of the Movement of the Armed Forces (MFA), the bemonocled general was either the leader or figurehead of the new conspiracy. Having rallied only a handful of officers to his side and thoroughly botching the planned takeover, Spínola now joins Caetano in Brazilian exile.

"Not the Last Coup"

A move by right wingers in the military had been expected for some time. Rumors of an impending coup had led many housewives to stock up on food and provisions, while some of the more guerrillaist-oriented "far left" groups, notably the PRP-BR (Revolutionary Party of the Proletariat-Revolutionary Brigades), had taken to target practice with machine guns.

Conservative forces reportedly viewed the transfer of the leftist RAL-1 unit to its strategic location next to Lisbon airport as a threat. They were encouraged to act by recent elections to advisory bodies for each of the branches of the military, in which leading "progressive" officers were defeated (including Premier Vasco dos Santos Gonçalves and Brigadier General Otelo de Carvalho, commander of the Lisbon military district and head of the elite Continental Operations Command [COPCON]).

However, it was generally expected that "moderate" elements would ease out the leftists peacefully. As *Esquerda Socialista* (13 March), the newspaper of the left-reformist MES (Movement of the Socialist Left), noted:

> "Although propitious conditions for a coup were being created, the truth is that no one counted on it then. It was thought that the bourgeoisie would wait for the elections which, according to all indications, would reinforce its positions...."

Within the military, conservative elements around General Francisco da Costa Gomes (head of the junta and a longtime friend of Spínola) and liberals around Majors Vitor Alves and Ernesto Melo Antunes (associated with the Socialist Party) had been able to force the convocation of the 200-member assembly of the MFA on March 11. Presumably Carvalho and possibly even Gonçalves would have been dumped at that meeting.

The bourgeoisie is understandably furious with Spínola for his precipitous move. The *New York Times* (16 March) wrote, "Leftist officers...came close to losing power on Tuesday and were saved by premature action of General Spínola that may have defeated the cause of moderation in Portugal." A high State Department official put it more bluntly: "It couldn't have gone better if it had been planned by the K.G.B."

But while the "progressive" officers won this round, there is no guarantee for the future. As Premier Gonçalves said prophetically the day after the putsch, "I think yesterday's was not the last coup."

"We Know that the CIA Is a Serious Problem"

The Movement of the Armed Forces has always been a very heterogeneous phenomenon. It was originally formed in August 1973 by some 200 junior officers to protest a Caetano decree giving equal rights to conscript officers (the *milicianos*), many of whom were former leftist students. However, the debilitating African wars were a source of far greater disgruntlement and soon moved the MFA toward political opposition to the dictatorship.

While the MFA's 20-man coordinating committee has been largely leftist or liberal in outlook, its leaders have consistently sought to avoid splitting the military institution. At the time of the April 25 coup they turned formal power over to a junta composed exclusively of right-wing generals and admirals, all of whom had recently held high commands in Africa. Costa Gomes remained as chief of staff, a position he held under Caetano.

L'Express

General Francisco da Costa Gomes

Even the most left-wing members of the MFA have refused to break with their reactionary fellow officers. Thus COPCON chief Carvalho has declared that "the Cuban Revolution is extraordinary. ....My admiration for Fidel Castro is great" (*Afrique-Asie*, 10 February); but in September he said in an interview that "I knew I was not fighting against Spínola. That was never my intention and it never occurred to me to go against him or to make some sort of coup d'état to remove him from power." On the one hand, he says "We know that the CIA is a serious problem....NATO is another organization to combat communism" (*New Left Review*, November-December 1974). On the other hand he remains in NATO and declares that "foreign companies...do not need to fear nationalization."

Most important, even the most "progressive" of the "progressive" officers are firmly determined to keep order in the military and to control the left and workers movement. When two *miliciano* officers refused to break the postal strike last June they were arrested. COPCON troops have been used to return the occupied Timex factory to its American owners last summer, to ban demonstrations by the Maoist MRPP (Movement for the Reorganizing of the Proletarian Party) on several occasions, to guard the U.S. embassy during a leftist march against layoffs and NATO on February 7, and to arrest Maoist leaders of the Chemical Workers Union only four days before the coup attempt. No wonder the MRPP claims that COPCON is really an abbreviation for "how to organize PIDE [Salazar's hated political police] with a different name."

For a few days after the abortive March 11 putsch there were speculations that non-leftists had been definitively removed from power. However, Costa Gomes remains as "President" of the country, a suitable rallying point for another reactionary coup, and on March 22 the Supreme Council of the Revolution added Majors Alves and Melo Antunes and Admiral Vitor Crespo, all of them pronounced liberals, to its ranks.

A Shift to the Left?

Among the immediate consequences of the March 11 events was the formation of the Supreme Council of the Revolution, replacing the military junta, the council of state and the coordinating committee of the MFA. Two days later the Supreme Council announced the nationalization of all banks and insurance companies not owned by foreign capital. In addition, a number of leading financiers have been arrested on charges of economic sabotage. Among them are the heads of the Champalimaud, Espirito Santo and CUF trusts.

These moves have been interpreted by the more alarmist bourgeois press as the "beginning of the end" for Portuguese capitalism. It is true that the banks control much of the country's industry, but their nationalization was a measure that had been demanded even by the pro-American Socialist Party (SP) of Mario Soares and the bourgeois PPD (Popular Democratic Party). (Both parties are suspected of having had contact with Spínola in the weeks before the putsch.)

Moreover, many western capitalist countries have a high percentage of state ownership in certain sections of industry and finance. Much of Italian industry, for instance, is controlled by two super-trusts left over from the period of fascist rule. Given the severe economic difficulties accompanying Portugal's loss of its former colonies, a degree of state ownership may be necessary in order to accomplish a reorientation of the capitalist economy toward Europe. These bourgeois nationalizations do not mean the expropriation of the capitalist class any more than did similar measures taken by "anti-imperialist" military regimes in Egypt, Algeria and Peru in the past.

An important issue not yet fully resolved is the elections. Originally scheduled for March they have been twice pushed back, the latest date being April 25. In addition, three parties which had been scheduled to run in the election have now been taken off the ballot and forbidden to hold demonstrations or public meetings before April 25. These are the rightist Christian Democratic

continued on page 10

David Barrett/Gamma

Joao Ribeiro

The "anti-imperialist" generals Pinochet, Spínola and Chiang. Stalinists' policies of alliance with bourgeois officer caste led to bloodbaths in China and Chile. Is Portugal next?

Take Saigon!

(continued from page 1)

who have fought so long and suffered so much, can celebrate the headlong retreat of the puppet forces of U.S. imperialism from this strategic area.

USSR, China Must Aid the DRV/NLF

The precipitous retreat of Saigon's forces is the direct outcome of the current DRV/NLF offensive, an offensive which began last December. By January the DRV/NLF had captured Phuoc Long, a province northwest of Saigon on the Cambodian border. Then the heaviest fighting since the Easter campaign of 1972 began in the northernmost province of Quang Tri located just below the demilitarized zone. The offensive subsequently shifted southward into the Central Highlands and toward Saigon.

The puppet forces attempted to make a stand at the Highlands town of Ban Me Thuot located on the strategically important Highway 14. Battered to pieces by the DRV/NLF units Thieu's troops broke and withdrew, setting in motion the massive retreat which is still going on. The imminent loss of the old imperial capital of Hue, the center of Vietnamese culture and the site of bloody battles in the 1968 Tet offensive, will be a severe blow to the Saigon regime.

The battle for Ban Me Thuot spotlights a very important aspect of the current offensive. The DRV/NLF attack was spearheaded by a sizeable tank column. Throughout the current offensive DRV/NLF forces have employed sophisticated weapons such as tanks, armored personnel carriers, heavy artillery and radar-aimed anti-aircraft guns against the ARVN. This is no guerrilla offensive such as in 1968. Further, since the DRV is totally dependent upon the Soviet Union and China for such weaponry, the attitude of Peking and Moscow toward the situation in Vietnam takes on decisive importance. In the past the nationalist Russian and Chinese bureaucracies have cynically turned off the spigot of military supplies in order to induce Hanoi to fall in line with their efforts to achieve "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. This criminal policy must be stopped. Revolutionary militants must demand that the USSR and China supply the DRV/NLF fighters with all necessary military equipment.

The military situation in Vietnam is still extremely fluid and reports coming from the areas of battle are necessarily spotty and very likely inaccurate. Nonetheless, it seems clear that the DRV/NLF forces are in a position which enables them to easily cut southern Vietnam in half, isolating the battered and demoralized ARVN troops now concentrating around Danang. Most likely the DRV/NLF will seek to consolidate its hold in the north and in the Highlands, to control Highway 1 and other strategic avenues of supply, and to begin the encirclement of the city of Saigon in preparation for a more intensive pressure campaign next year, timed to coincide with the U.S. presidential elections.

Unlike the Tet offensive of 1968, present actions have so far excluded the city of Saigon and avoided major battles in the rice-rich Mekong delta. But like Tet in 1968 and the Easter offensive in 1972 the strategic *political objective* is to *pressure* for a negotiated coalition government in the South. It is therefore no accident that major offensives by the DRV/NLF have taken place during U.S. presidential election years.

That the strategic aim of the Vietnamese Stalinists is not outright military victory but pursuit of a popular-front coalition in the South is now clear to nearly everyone including even the more obtuse members of the bourgeoisie. Indeed, as early as January 31 the *Wall Street Journal*, house organ of American finance capital, explained to its readers that the North Vietnamese promise that 1975 would be a year for "new opportunities for decisive blows" did not mean that "the Communists" wanted "outright victory with Communist columns marching into Saigon. Rather the Communists seemed to be aiming to...switch the balance of power...to form a coalition government."

The announced purpose of the DRV/NLF to form an all-class "democratic" government is completely in accord with their Stalinist traditions. The Stalinists once again seem determined to sacrifice military victory in order to gain a political defeat. The incomparable military courage of the Vietnamese worker and peasant fighters has been matched only by the political treachery of their leadership.

Yet Another Sellout?

The fact is that for over three decades the armies of the Vietminh, NLF and North Vietnam have been at war with the bourgeoisie—the French, Japanese, British and American imperialists and their "own" bourgeoisie. Socialists must recognize the class character of this civil war and call for military victory to the DRV/NLF, but at the same time withholding any political confidence in the Stalinist leadership.

The Stalinists, both in Moscow and Peking as well as those in Vietnam, have a despicable history of selling out the Vietnamese struggle in an effort to come to an accommodation with imperialism and its local lackeys. Thus Ho Chi Minh supported French colonialism during the period of the popular-front government in France (1936-39), calling only for limited independence within the French Union.

After the Japanese defeat in 1945 there was an insurrection in Saigon which aimed at resisting the British and French troops reoccupying Vietnam. The Vietnamese Trotskyists who stood at the head of the revolutionary masses were butchered by Ho Chi Minh in order to smash this resistance and to further Ho's successful effort to sign an agreement in Hanoi in 1946 permitting the reintroduction of French troops.

At Geneva in 1954, after the overwhelming Viet Minh victory at Dien Bien Phu, the Vietnamese Stalinists under the tutelage of Chou En Lai and the Soviet Union returned half the country to imperialism, withdrawing their troops to seal the bargain.

Once again, in 1972 the DRV/NLF signed the so-called Paris "Peace" Accords. These accords provided for the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam and an in-place ceasefire. But, additionally, the Paris treaty called for the establishing of a popular-front coalition government in the South. World Stalinism joined in chorus with its liberal friends to sing the "Sign the Peace Treaty" song: form a coalition government with the oppressors of the workers and peasants in South Vietnam.

At the time the Spartacist League declared that the terms of the Paris treaty were a robbers' peace, while pointing out that the treaty was simply an episode in the ongoing civil war. As the SL Political Bureau statement of February 1973 said: "the cease fire does not mean an immediate liquidation of the struggle and could well eventually lead to a Viet Cong victory in the South" (*WV* No. 16, February 1973).

U.S. Imperialism, Hands Off Vietnam!

While Hanoi doubtless still seeks accommodation through the creation of a popular-front government in the South, it is not yet clear what the implications of the current offensive are. Should Thieu's army be mortally wounded and incapable of defending Saigon there will be a very strong pressure upon the American imperialists to intervene directly to head off a collapse such as that occurring in Cambodia. (A major battle near Saigon in which units of the ARVN are pulverized would produce a panic in the already shell-shocked puppet army, thus starkly posing this question.)

Vietnam is much more important to the imperialists than Cambodia. American imperialism was never directly involved in the Cambodian civil war, whereas in Vietnam it committed a very large expeditionary force. Vietnam represents an investment of billions of dollars in the most highly mechanized army in Southeast Asia. Loss of Vietnam would represent a political and military defeat of incomparably greater weight than loss of Cambodia, a defeat whose ramifications would extend far beyond Indochina.

A new American intervention into Vietnam must not be permitted. Militant workers must raise the demand: U.S. Imperialism, Hands Off Vietnam! Should such an aggression occur it would be the elementary duty of the world proletariat, and especially the American working class, to combat it by means of class-struggle actions: e.g., political strikes against intervention and the "hot-cargoing" of military supplies bound to the U.S. Army and Thieu. Likewise, the Soviet Union and China must supply the DRV with the most modern weapons systems to ward off imperialist attack. Once again, as we did as early as 1964, the Spartacist League raises the call: Soviet Nuclear Shield Must Cover Hanoi!

Imperialism's Dilemma

In the current deep economic crisis and in the face of the certain widespread revulsion which a new Vietnam adventure would certainly engender, American imperialism would prefer to avoid direct military intervention in Indochina. Instead, through aid to Thieu and by seeking an accommodation with the Stalinists it hopes to extricate itself from its difficulties in the region. Present bourgeois reaction to the crumbling position of U.S. imperialism has so far been confined to blustering threats and political maneuvering amongst the various factions.

Thus, after conferring with Gerald Ford, former U.S. Vietnam commander General Westmoreland moaned that it was "too bad" that the U.S. "couldn't again mine Haiphong harbor" and fly saturation bombing raids by B-52's (*New York Times*, 14 March). Only slightly less rabid were the sentiments offered by Chief of Staff Brown, Defense Secretary Schlesinger and President Ford, all of whom have been trying to score political points for the Republican Party by blaming the Democrats for "letting Indochina go Communist."

Eager to replay the "Who lost China?" game, Ford and the Republicans accuse the Democrats of a "sudden reduction" of U.S. aid to Cambodia and Vietnam. They want to pin the collapse of the Lon Nol government and the retreat of Thieu's troops on the Democrats' aid reduction.

Keystone

Paris peace conference on Vietnam, January 1973: civil war continued despite the accords.

SUBSCRIBE TO **Young Spartacus**

Monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

$2
11 ISSUES

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. P.O., N.Y., N.Y. 10013

But the issue is a red herring. Last year aid to Vietnam was $805 million. If the Ford administration gets the $300 million it seeks in addition to the $700 million already appropriated for Vietnam aid this year, Thieu's loot will exceed that of any year since the Paris peace accords.

In making a plea for aid to pad the Swiss bank accounts of Thieu and his cronies Ford and other reactionaries wept crocodile tears over the plight of the refugees created by the latest offensive. We do not deny that the human misery of these people is indeed staggering. But Ford's unctuous moralizing is just one more example of the imperialist hypocrisy from the representative of a class that has butchered *millions* in Indochina.

The hue and cry about the refugees and the incipient "communist bloodbath" comes to us from the people who saturation bombed North and South Vietnam, from the architects of "free fire zones" and "strategic hamlets," from the "humanitarians" who sprayed plant killers over whole provinces to "deny the enemy his food supply." The proletariat in power will give its own answer to these imperialist jackals.

U.S. aid will only go toward building up the "Paris Retirement Fund" for the ARVN officer corps, toward further oppressing the workers and peasants of Vietnam. We say: No Aid to the Rotting Corpses of the Reactionary Thieu and Lon Nol Regimes! Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!

Indochina and the U.S. Antiwar Movement

As the Thieu government retreats to prepare the next year's "defensive," the Lon Nol government is precipitously collapsing in Cambodia. Lon Nol is, in fact, already packing his bags for a quick departure. Embassy files are being burned, household items shipped out, and even U.S. relief agency personnel are trying to clear out of Cambodia (*New York Times*, 20 March).

Laos has also felt the effects of the intensifying Indochina war. According to the *Economist*, the Pathet Lao now controls about 65 percent of Laos "and could probably seize the rest easily." The dominos are tilting precariously.

In Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos the Indochina civil war has raged on for years. In the United States antiwar movement it was the SL alone that carried the slogan "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" The reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party (CP) who, with the liberals, led that long protest march into the Democratic Party, used to giggle at such "sectarianism." They preferred to build a movement in the United States based on the strategy of the liberal bourgeoisie: social pacifism ("Peace Now") and social patriotism ("Bring the Boys Home").

While the SWP's failure to call for the military victory of the NLF is a capitulation to liberalism, its "fraternal" colleagues of the International Majority Tendency of the United Secretariat preferred to capitulate to the popularity of Vietnamese Stalinism and Ho Chi Minh, the butcher of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. Revolutionaries cannot depend on the "logic" of armed struggle by Stalinist peasant armies which can at best create deformed workers states.

Rather, powerful Trotskyist parties capable of leading proletarian revolutions as part of a reborn Fourth International must be forged against all revisionist currents and particularly against the stranglehold of Stalinism. Such parties and such an International will never be built by those who yesterday and today chant: "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh." The SL slogans posed during the height of the antiwar movement are no less applicable today: Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution! For International Communist Unity Through Political Revolution, From East Berlin to Hanoi! No Political Confidence in the Stalinist Leadership—All Indochina Must Go Communist! For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!■

CIA's Murder, Inc.

(continued from page 1)

Lemnitzer. In addition to Dillon and Rockefeller himself, two other panel members also have direct connections with Rockefeller interests—John T. Connor, chairman of Allied Chemical Corporation (and one-time fund raiser to buy back Cuban counterrevolutionaries taken prisoner in the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion); and Lane Kirkland, secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO and member of the board of the Rockefeller foundation.

Both the Rockefeller group and the Meanyite AFL-CIO bureaucracy have long-standing and intimate connections with the CIA in the fight against Communism, especially in Latin America (e.g., Chile). The CIA responded to Meany's kindness by illegally opening his mail, suspecting him of mismanaging CIA funds.

Other members of this commission are Ronald Reagan; ex-U.S. Solicitor General and suspected Watergate perjurer, Erwin Griswold; and finally the as yet innocuous ex-University of Virginia president, Edgar F. Shannon.

In reality the President has little taste for an exposé of the CIA. He and Rockefeller have both indicated a Watergate-like reluctance to cooperate with the newly-formed Senate Select Committee on Intelligence which will "independently" investigate the CIA and FBI.

Rocky, who is reportedly worried lest the authority (!) of the presidency be destroyed by the Senate hearings, previously announced that he anticipated his commission would deliver the ho-hum finding that "the Central Intelligence Agency had violated its charter by undertaking activities within the United States" (*New York Times*, 27 January). Later he told reporters that the commission would only deal with "apparent violation(s) of the statutes relating to domestic activities." However, the Butcher of Attica was mum when asked if executing foreign leaders qualified as a "domestic violation."

Mr. Ford, in the meantime, has been treating us to an incredible outpouring of moral cant. Although originally only "opposed to a policy [not the practice] of political assassinations" (*New York Post*, 12 March) he has recently stated that he would "not condone under any circumstances any assassination attempts," and indeed "condemn[s] any CIA involvement" (*New York Times*, 18 March). Eisenhower did it, Kennedy did it, Johnson and Nixon did it. Ford, however, is now mainly concerned about Southeast Asian dominoes and the need to increase the U.S.-financed slaughter there. (After contemplating Diem's fate Lon Nol, at least, must devoutly hope that this president's "condemnation" is sincere.)

The FBI has evidently engaged in tamer forms of gangsterism. It has "merely" practiced kidnappings and taking suspected foreign agents for rides in order to extract confessions. It was recently revealed that in 1970 the FBI forged letters in an effort to remove Socialist Workers Party (SWP) member, Dr. Morris Starsky, from his teaching position at Arizona State University. (Similarly, a forged letter was used in an attempt to scare a black minister out of the civil rights movement during the FBI's campaign to smash that movement in the 1960's.)

In fact, the FBI had a large-scale campaign directed against the SWP over a 10-year span as it reluctantly revealed by releasing 3,100 pages covering 41 different operations. The bureau's efforts were directed along its normal smutty lines. Agents harassed relatives and employers, published slanderous materials and scurrilous innuendoes concerning the private lives of several SWP electoral candidates, encouraged law-enforcement agencies to engage in petty harassments of party members and even tried to encourage the Boy Scouts of America to drop a scoutmaster because his wife was in the SWP!

On several occasions FBI representatives have perjured themselves before courts. Recently the chief security officer for the American Indian Movement during the Wounded Knee trial confessed to being a paid FBI informer. At the trial a sworn affidavit was presented by the government which claimed it had no informers in the defense ranks (*New York Times*, 13 March). And J. Edgar Hoover's secret files on the left-wing ties, drinking and brothel-attending behavior of U.S. congressmen will soon provide comic relief for members of the Select Committee.

Paris Match

Cubans capture prisoners during CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion in 1961.

There is *no* chance that the current investigations will lead to any but the phoniest reforms. Indeed, the opposite may be the case. A U.S. Court of Appeals reprimanded a lower court judge in February for putting "excessive pressure" on the CIA. The unfortunate judge had merely insisted that the spy agency document its contentions that certain sections of Victor Marchetti's *The CIA and the Cult of Intelligence* contained "classified" information. CIA chief William Colby has, in fact, used the current investigations to demand "legislation to strengthen our ability to protect those secrets necessary to successful intelligence operations" (*New York Times*, 16 January).

Frank Church, liberal-Democratic chairman of the Select Committee, reassured Colby that "we're as mindful as he is of legitimate security" and declared that the hearings are not going to be a "manhunt" (*New York Times*, 28 February). As with Watergate, the focus is on removing the bad apples, in this case perhaps Helms, and attacking even Secretary of State Kissinger, while erecting safeguards so that such exposures will never occur again.

"Blue-ribbon" commissions, "select" committees, etc., are simply the democratic froth covering up the structure of avarice, anarchy and destruction which is based on the profit-driven engines of capitalism. Cleaning up past "dirty tricks" is not enough. Workers must demand a full disclosure of all "classified" secrets in open televised hearings. CIA and FBI criminals must be incarcerated. The CIA, FBI and all such agencies must be abolished. What at times seem more like silly high jinks and impotent machinations are, in reality, the armoring of the state's fist in preparation for future Chiles, the "conventional" warfare of a Vietnam and world nuclear holocaust.

The CIA's greatest crimes remain untold. As the resigning chief of Latin American operations, David Phillips, stated, "a few of our older documents from the cold war period will make for pretty heady reading today" (*New York Times*, 22 March). The massacre of the Greek Communist revolt after World War II, the worldwide infiltration of trade unions, the slaughter of the Rosenbergs and the days of McCarthyism seem "heady" only to these scum. They are, in fact, despicable crimes against the people and the world working class in particular.

Although to call for abolishing these institutes for murder is in form only a democratic demand, such a measure would have a substantial disorganizing effect on the world's leading imperialist power. That is why even the most "left" liberals only dare to call for the elimination of so-called "dirty tricks" and domestic operations. The CIA and FBI will not be abolished by the bourgeoisie, but only by the class-conscious proletariat in the process sending capitalism to the graveyard of history and establishing its own democratic class rule.■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00–6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Portuguese Left

(continued from page 7)

Party, the MRPP and another Maoist group, the Workers and Peasants Alliance (AOC).

The Working Class Under the Gun

The left shift in the ruling circle following March 11 is not unprecedented. Similar steps have been taken by generals in Burma, Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, Libya, Peru and elsewhere. But this is usually undertaken in the absence of a combative working class, or else after the workers movement has been crushed. In Portugal this is not the case. There are literally tens of thousands of workers who stand to the left of the Stalinist CP and the MFA. Many of them are organized in militant unions, workers commissions, and a number of ostensibly revolutionary communist parties.

The repeated attacks on the MRPP by the regime (which twice banned its newspaper, prohibited its demonstrations on several occasions, and jailed its principal leader) point to the inevitable clash between the MFA-Stalinist coalition and the combative workers movement. Another was the recent arrest of several leaders of the Chemical Workers Union who were also candidates of the AOC for the constituent assembly. Their crime was to have publicly criticized the MFA, to oppose the government's law for a state-imposed single union federation, and to have failed to carry out a directive of the Labor Ministry controlled by the CP.

This is not the only union where the pro-Moscow Stalinists are weak. In January postal workers elected a leadership which consists of the former Comissão pró-sindicato which led the CTT strike last June in the face of CP gangs of scabs. Among workers at the giant Lisnave shipyards the CP is frequently heavily outvoted by a bloc of Maoist and syndicalist tendencies. And in the industrial zone on the south bank of the Tage River which includes the Lisnave yard, workers commissions from 38 enterprises have joined to form the Reunião Inter-Empresas which organized the February 7 demonstration against a government ban (*Voz do Povo*, 11 February).

Among the masses of Portuguese workers there is a substantial current which has seen through the "socialist" rhetoric of the MFA and is eager to fight for socialist revolution. What it lacks above all is a revolutionary Trotskyist party capable of leading the exploited masses to victory. On the so-called "far left" in Portugal today there is no group which combines unshakable fidelity to the Marxist program of proletarian independence from alien classes, including their most "left" manifestations, with a principled use of the Leninist united-front tactic in order to reach those workers still under the influence of the pro-Moscow Stalinists and their military allies.

It is the task of authentic communists to warn the working masses against placing any confidence in the officer caste of the bourgeois armed forces. The Marxist program is not to ally with the "progressive" wing of the hired guns of the class enemy, but to *smash* this institution for the control and murder of the exploited population. The officers who today oppose Spinola at the same time hold down the workers' mobilization and tomorrow will serve as the cat's paw of imperialist reaction.

Third-Period Maoists

The largest Maoist organization, whose supporters number several thousand militants, is characterized particularly by its wooden imitation of the "ultra-left" tactics of Stalinism during the so-called "third period" (1928-33). The MRPP holds that the main danger at present is "social fascism," by which it means the Portuguese Communist Party of Alvaro Cunhal.

We have described the views of the MRPP elsewhere (see "Which Way for the Portuguese Revolution," *WV* No. 48, 7 July 1974). Some recent statements by MRPP leader Saldanha Sanches indicate some ambiguities in its sectarian "third-period" Stalinist policy. Thus he is reported as saying of the CP that "They are social fascists, but this is not yet the opinion of the large masses whom we have to educate" (*New York Times*, 23 March). Meanwhile, the MRPP continues to exclude all other tendencies from its demonstrations, including other Maoist tendencies, and even if the issue is defense of the MRPP's own right to free speech!

In the trade unions its slogan is "Social Fascists Out of the Unions!" *Luta Popular* (12 December 1974). While Trotskyists call unambiguously for the expulsion of scabs from the unions for their concrete acts against the workers movement, and while the Stalinists in Portugal have in some cases acted as literal strikebreakers (as in the postal strike in June 1974), their basic role is as the agents of the bourgeoisie *within* the workers movement. Thus it is necessary to *expose* their fake pretensions to be communists to demonstrate that their line of capitulation to the MFA and the capitalists is in fact the road to defeat, as in Chile or in Spain during the civil war.

The MRPP is politically reformist, calling for a "democratic and popular revolution" rather than proletarian revolution. Nevertheless, it interprets this "intermediate" stage as involving the elimination of capitalist rule and has consistently vigorously opposed the MFA. Despite the ban on MRPP demonstrations it managed to mobilize some 10,000 militants in an orderly march on the presidential palace to protest its elimination from the elections. Despite the large distance which separates these Maoists politically from the program of Marxism, many individual militants may well possess the qualities of which revolutionaries are made.

The Opportunist Maoists

Probably the most contradictory of the Maoist organizations in Portugal is the Communist Party of Portugal Marxist-Leninist (PCP-ML), whose trade-union supporters are grouped in the AOC (one of the two leftist groups banned from the elections for the constituent assembly). Alone among the Maoists, the PCP-ML holds that the task in this period is socialist revolution. The "stage of popular-democratic revolution belonged to the fascist epoch" (i.e., before April 25) and the goal now is to "overthrow the power of the monopolies, expel imperialism and install the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat" (*Unidade Popular*, 16 January).

The PCP-ML also condemns terrorist tactics, and fought against the state-imposed trade-union "unity" law—a correct position taken by few of the Maoist and "Trotskyist" groups, most of whom were busily tailing after the CP, which vigorously backed the law since it would reinforce its stranglehold on the Intersindical, the only existing labor federation.

While this would appear to give the PCP-ML a left aura, it is in practice aligned with the *right* wing of the MFA, in particular with the Socialist Party. This is accomplished by carrying out the logic of the Chinese foreign policy line that the main danger internationally is "Soviet social imperialism."

The PCP-ML does not shrink from drawing the necessary conclusions from this policy. It writes: "German imperialism is interested in guaranteeing that Portugal does not fall into the social-imperialist camp. And here the working class has interests which coincide with those of German imperialism..." (*ibid.*). What is clearly meant here is that if the CP attempts to establish a state on the model of Eastern European "peoples democracies," the PCP-ML would fight (together with the Socialists and the CIA) against that.

This is a graphic demonstration of the bankruptcy of the Maoist line that Russia is now capitalist. For Trotskyists, in contrast, the defense of the historic gains of the October Revolution and the overthrow of capitalism require our *unconditional military support*, even if this means defending or placing in power a parasitic bureaucratic caste which would have to be overthrown in a subsequent political revolution. To act otherwise would mean becoming "State Department socialists."

LCI: Critical Support to the Workers Parties of the Popular Front

The first ostensibly Trotskyist organization to emerge after April 25 was the International Communist League (LCI), affiliated with the United Secretariat and politically following the line of the European majority led by Ernest Mandel. We have criticized the LCI for its uncritical tailing after petty-bourgeois nationalists in Africa, its failure to raise political and transitional demands in strike situations, its failure to undertake student work, and above all its desire to liquidate into a false unity with some kind of "new mass vanguard."

The LCI has continued to seek out a bloc with various groups to its right, revealing in the process an opportunist appetite which can only lead to serious errors. Thus in a recent article it refers to the "left social-democratic character" of the Socialist Party (*Luta Proletária*, 14 January); earlier it referred to the Left Socialist Movement (MES) as "tak[ing] positions within the camp of the revolutionaries." But comrades, the SP of Soares is notoriously rightist, accused of having contacts with Spinola, and pro-American in orientation; the MES, on the other hand, is simply the left cover for the MFA-Stalinist alliance and may imminently enter the government!

The LCI is presenting candidates in several constituencies in the coming elections, but according to *Diario de Noticias* (10 March), representatives of the LCI announced at a press conference that "all militants of the League must vote for the CP in those districts where the party [LCI] is not running." This is the same policy as adopted by both majority and minority of the USec, of voting for the workers parties of the popular front. (In the March 1973 elections the French Ligue Communiste actually called for votes to the bourgeois Left Radicals as well.)

In Portugal today no one can hide the fact that the CP is running as part of a coalition with the bourgeois MFA. By giving critical support to the workers parties of a class-collaborationist coalition, the "Trotskyist" LCI in fact exposes its own opportunism and not the contradictions in the Stalinist party.

PRT: Strategic United Front

A second main "Trotskyist" organization has recently taken the name of the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT). This group, formerly known as the Revolutionary Marxist Group (GMR), supports the positions of the SWP-led minority of the United Secretariat. But while the international minority is reformist in character—supporting the capitulation to bourgeois liberalism of the American SWP and the Argentine PST's shameless tailing after the murderous Peronist regime—the PRT does not appear to be identical with its international mentors.

Many of the PRT's positions are to the left of the LCI, in particular its emphasis on the need to struggle against the class-collaborationist policies of popular frontism, a theme which is rare in the LCI's *Luta Proletária*. However, the PRT falls into a policy which, although not fully developed theoretically and in practice, tends toward the concept of a strategic united front, as put forward by the French OCI and the LCE of Spain.

This is seen most notably in the PRT's declaration that "we supported the demonstration" organized by the Communist Party and the Intersindical in January, in favor of the government's single-union federation law (*Combate Socialista*, 23 January). While the same issue of its paper publishes a leaflet distributed at the demonstration, in which a call is made for "strong democratic unions independent of the state and the bourgeoisie," neither editorial nor leaflet explicitly attack this MFA-Stalinist law, which is a straightjacket for class-struggle elements who attempt to fight CP control of the existing unions.

Without a clear understanding of the united front as a *tactic*, not a strategy of unconditional support for the reformist workers parties, ostensible Trotskyists will in fact end up being the willing or unwilling tail of the class traitors, and of their policies of cooperation with the bourgeoisie.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name_____

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____

65

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY,NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Strike Wave in British Columbia

(continued from page 12)

there can be no collective agreement signed."

In the face of this provocative stance (the employers also hinted at the possibility of using "casuals," who are not full union members, as scabs) it is vital to raise the demand for jobs for all, through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Other key demands are to reject the companies' proposed change in the container clause (which would cause the kind of massive job losses the ILWU has suffered in the U.S.), for full status for all dock workers (casuals are a substantial portion of the longshore workforce here), and for a full cost-of-living escalator.

However, the settlement recommended last week by Canadian Area ILWU officials contained no cost-of-living clause at all, no form of contractual job security and agreed to have a supposedly neutral professor "study" the implications of management proposals on the container issue! A supplemental unemployment benefits (SUB) fund is being posed as "security," but in addition to its low ceiling and tie to the number of man-hours worked, it is evident that (as is already happening with a similar fund in the UAW) it will simply go bankrupt during periods of economic depression.

The voting on this proposed settlement began Friday evening following a meeting of about 1,500 members of Vancouver Local 500 in which the sentiment was heavily against any contract which did not provide job security. (According to union members interviewed following the meeting, even a section of the leadership opposed the contract.) The results announced late last night were 55 percent against acceptance (59 percent no in Vancouver). And the foremen's union will join the strike Monday morning.

If longshoremen are to win job security, protection against inflation and other vital demands it will be necessary to mount a united struggle all along the coast. But so far ILWU members in the U.S. (particularly Seattle) have been ordered to scab on their Canadian brothers by unloading cargo diverted from Vancouver, which is then trucked across the border.

So far the Canadian Area leadership has apparently not made a formal request to the International for "hot-cargoing" of the diverted goods. Moreover, when one militant proposed such a request for elementary union solidarity at the Friday meeting, Local 500 leaders managed to keep the motion from coming to a vote.

At a recent meeting of the executive board of Local 10 in San Francisco, a supporter of *Longshore Militant* introduced a motion calling for refusal to handle cargo diverted from Canada during the strike. The proposal failed while another, endorsed by Archie Brown (a well-known supporter of the views of the reformist Communist Party) calling for not handling diverted cargo *if requested by Canadian locals*, was approved. Since the Canadian Area, in whose leadership the CP has a certain influence, has not made such a request, it is obvious that the Stalinists' real position is for continued scabbing. This is not surprising since Stalinist-inspired elements in Vancouver have been among those pushing hardest for the proposed sellout settlement which was voted down by the membership Friday.

Tailism or a Program for Victory?

The opportunist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG—Canadian sympathizing organization of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat") intervened in this strike wave with a special leaflet directed at Vancouver postal workers on March 14. After a generally accurate analysis of the government's intentions and the bureaucrats' sellout maneuvers, it ends with the following "strategy":

> "The ways can be found to strengthen PSAC's pickets; the ways can be found to support the brothers and sisters in Montreal [LCUC workers suspended for refusing to cross PSAC picket lines]; the ways can be found to bring the struggles of LCUC and CUPW back together where they belong. All that is needed is full discussion, and democratic, militant action."

If all that is needed is democracy and militancy, then one wonders why the RMG bothers to dabble in revolutionary politics at all!

The Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency issued a leaflet on March 21 which puts forward a program for victory, in stark contrast to the RMG's pathetic tailism. Underlining the need for labour solidarity against government attacks, it calls for preparations for a province-wide general strike should the government attempt to smash the longshore, government workers' or other major strikes.

The leaflet emphasized, furthermore, that the trade-union bureaucracy has no intention of carrying out such militant action. Its obedient knuckling under to the anti-labour legislation passed by the social-democratic New Democratic Party government of British Columbia is only a reflection of the fact that it accepts the limits of capitalism. Though they may not openly endorse compulsory arbitration the labour tops, like B.C. NDP leader Dave Barrett, seek to achieve "harmony" and "friendship" between labour and management. Consequently they produce one sellout after another.

Only an alternative leadership committed to vigorously waging the class struggle and opposed to the entire capitalist system can achieve victory for labour. Union militants must build caucuses committed to a class-struggle program in contesting the stranglehold of the current misleaders. Only by raising the struggle to the political level, through a series of transitional demands, can they prepare the ranks for the necessary struggle against the bourgeoisie and its governments. In the present sharp economic crisis the need for expropriating industry and instituting a planned economy under a workers government has never been more clear.■

...NY Telephone

(continued from page 4)

sey) failed to organize the operators and to extend the strike nationally. And so the strike was defeated.

It is the thin layer of the pro-company union bureaucracy that is the main obstacle standing between the union ranks and a militant fight which could unite the class in struggle against capitalism. What is needed is a fight in the unions to dump these traitors and replace them with a militant new leadership committed to a class-struggle program.

The phone company has earned the just hatred of hundreds of thousands of its workers for its dictatorial workplace rules and low wages; millions of consumers are enraged by its shameless profit-gouging. Predictably AT&T is now seeking to use the massive reconstruction effort on the Lower East Side to spruce up its image and to demonstrate why the nationwide monopoly should not be busted up (as the government's anti-trust agency proposed last year). Hailing the "Miracle on 2nd Avenue," the company notes in full-page newspaper ads that it was able to ship in a new main frame from San Francisco, miles of cable from Chicago, and so on.

It is true that breaking up the company into regional/state components is an archaic conception. In fact this "trust-busting" would be nothing but a sham, like the original dissolution of the Standard Oil empire; if really effective it would actually make phone service more inefficient. But as long as the telecommunications monopoly remains in the hands of the capitalists it will continue to serve the interests of the ruling class and not the millions of working people who are its unwilling victims.

Militant phone workers must demand the expropriation of the telephone monopoly, without compensation, and organize to institute workers control of the industry. To carry out such a demand it is necessary to fight for a program of consistent class struggle. While the various "rank-and-file" caucuses in Local 1101 (and elsewhere in the country) fail to raise such a program, for fear of losing temporary popularity, they therefore also capitulate to the "militant" bureaucrats of Dempsey's ilk.

The Militant Action Caucus in Oakland and San Francisco is quite different. It has raised the call for nationalizing the phone company without compensation, a demand which caused the company to refuse to permit MAC election handbills on union bulletin boards, as well as calling for a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. It is by building such an alternative leadership that phone workers can open the way to victory.■

Expelled ITers Join SL...

(continued from page 2)

> in practice the construction of a democratic-centralist world party because it has embraced a class collaborationist perspective. At the same time it must be said that the international leadership has lost sight of this task to the extent that it has departed from a proletarian perspective. There is a fundamental harmony between the international leadership's historic perspective on the construction of the international and its political program. The international majority's politics are characterized by a lack of confidence in the proletarian road to power and the Trotskyist vanguard's historic mission in assuming the leadership of the proletariat. This is reflected in its adaption to petty-bourgeois guerrillaism in Latin America, erstwhile youth vanguardism, Stalinism, and popular frontism. It is only logical that this opportunist approach be extended by the international leadership to the task of building the International."

We supported the politics contained in the BLT document and submitted our document and the Canadian document (the latter for discussion, not a vote) a month and a half before the plenum. The documents were never sent out to Steering Committee comrades. We were told, by Massey, when we protested, that other documents had political priority over ours and were being prepared first. Two weeks before the plenum, Cde. Massey made it quite clear to us that the first point on the agenda was our expulsion; that our adherence to the political positions in the BLT document "placed our loyalties outside the FI and the IT." Bret Smiley of the RMG told us, and the IT leaders concurred, that in the RMG, which was a party, they had room for opposition, but the IT was a *tendency*, and it would be unprincipled, given our differences, to allow us to remain! Cde. Massey said he had more respect for Cde. Don Smith, who at least recognized the extent of his political differences and kept himself "principled" by resigning from the IT. (Previously, Cde. Smith had been criticized for not having enough respect for the tendency to fight out his differences in a Leninist fashion.) At the plenum, comrades were allowed 20 minutes to read the BLT document (although Cde. Massey graciously said if comrades needed extra time he would allot an extra five minutes). There were presentations and discussions, and in its summary the IT Political Committee put a motion on the floor for our expulsion. We put forward a counter-motion saying that the SWP was finished as a revolutionary force. We were summarily expelled with only one comrade daring to vote against this political purge. The extent of the maneuver was made clear when it became obvious that they had never even printed our document on the SWP, which *should* have been the discussion at this plenum. The BLT documents were collected as we were ushered out.

In our minds, the IT had decisively chosen its path and rejected any meaningful fight for a principled Trotskyist program. As it turned out, the cycle has made its complete turn and the extent to which the IT leadership is willing to destroy the cadres of the Tendency for the sake of its masters and "co-thinkers" in the USec has become fully exposed: individual reintegration is now on the bargaining table in Brussels in exchange for some favors for the SWP.

We made our protests to the USec and to the IMT on the expulsion, which in itself was ironic considering that Cde. Charles was at the plenum actively arguing for our expulsion. As we expected, we received no reply.

We feel that the SWP's recent call for troops to Boston and its renunciation of revolution in the courts has more than proved our position on the SWP. It is reformist and if it is ever in a position to lead the working class, it will lead us into the class-collaboratinnist swamp and to the bloodbath and destruction of the revolution that necessarily come out of such politics. The SWP is an obstacle to revolution and must be fought and exposed in the political arena. Its politics are potential killers, just as the policies followed in Chile were death to the Chilean working class. Any young person seriously interested in revolutionary politics has the duty to examine critically the politics of the various left groups. After our experiences, we realized what a dead-end the IT was. The group that had been saying these things all along, that had been warning that this was the inevitable end of the IT, was the Spartacist League. After discussions and political work with the SL we are asking to join the comrades of the SL in the fight to build the Trotskyist party in the U.S. and to reforge the Fourth International.

Comradely,
R. and C.

Published by the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands

U.S. $4—4 Issues

Postlagerkarte A 051 429
Berlin 120 West Germany

Postscheckkonto Berlin West:
503 57 - 107 (Wolfgang Hohmann)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Longshoremen Turn Down Rotten Settlement

Strike Wave in British Columbia

VANCOUVER, March 23—Canada's West Coast province is experiencing a strike wave that has substantially disrupted transportation, mail, schools and local governments. Although the numbers involved are not large—a count by one newspaper last week showed 8,500 on strike and another 4,500 honouring their picket lines—the impact of the strikes is such that federal Parliament has been debating emergency back-to-work legislation for the last week.

The tie-ups are centered particularly in British Columbia ports where 3,500 ILWU (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) dockers have been on strike since March 1, and grain weighers and samplers of the PSAC (Public Service Alliance of Canada) have been out since mid-February. This has had the effect of piling up freight trains on sidings all across the prairie provinces. At present some 20,000 grain cars, virtually the entire capacity of the railways, are reportedly idled at points from here all the way east to Thunder Bay, Ontario.

The current rash of labour disputes is partly the result of near-simultaneous contract expiration dates, but as they drag on the stakes are escalating rapidly while the bureaucracy's control weakens. The rejection of a proposed ILWU longshore contract by B.C. strikers this week is indicative of the unrest in the ranks. And although a settlement was also announced by PSAC leaders on Wednesday, early returns indicate a close vote.

The cross-Canada strike of blue collar government employees involves 18,000 workers nationwide, but only 200 are out in British Columbia. Nevertheless, because of their strategic location at grain terminals, airports and post offices, and the strong traditions of labour solidarity in this province where half the entire workforce is unionized (the highest rate on the continent, more than double that in the U.S.), PSAC strikers have considerable power.

Unfortunately, the union brass has not sought to use this potential strength. For almost four weeks full PSAC picket lines did not go up at the Vancouver post office due to a bureaucratic deal with the other postal unions, LCUC (letter carriers) and CUPW (inside workers). When they were finally set up on March 14, about 50 pickets were sufficient to completely shut down mail handling. Yet only four days later the lines were down again as federal negotiators worked out a contract settlement at little more than half the original wage demands.

A hot issue in this strike has been the government's designation of some 5,000 members of the General Labour and Trades division of PSAC (the unit involved in the current bargaining) as essential workers who are legally prohibited from striking. The federal treasury board has applied for authority to prosecute about 500 of these "designated workers" for participating in the selective strikes.

In the face of threats of possible back-to-work legislation, the imposition of wage guidelines and prosecution of the PSAC strikers, a national strike by federal government workers is called for. Such action has been demanded in motions passed by LCUC and CUPW locals in Toronto and by Vancouver CUPW. This would be an important step toward the formation of a single national postal workers union. But instead of heeding the ranks' call for unity, the bureaucracies of all three unions continued their stalling and divisive tactics.

The same has been true of strikes involving municipal workers organized in locals of the Canadian Union of Public Employees. CUPE has already begun strike action against several municipalities including Victoria, the provincial capital. In the Vancouver district, however, the bureaucrats' actions have been limited to impotent "work-to-rule" slowdowns and one-day stoppages, although for more than a month they have had strike votes averaging almost 85 percent in their pockets. In the strike by Vancouver school maintenance workers, CUPE tops arranged a deal with the teachers' union which forces teachers and students to cross picket lines in order to keep schools functioning at a minimum level.

ILWU Leaders Attempt to Scuttle B.C. Strike

Far and away the most important of the current disputes is the strike by British Columbia dockers. With ILWU longshoremen in the U.S. in the midst of contract negotiations, the possibility of a first-ever coast-wide international strike is sharply posed.

The Canadian port walkout began three weeks ago as the employers' association (BCMEA) demanded that the union permit stuffing and unstuffing of containers away from the dock area and by non-ILWU labour. According to a strike bulletin published by the ILWU Canadian Area news sheet *Waterfront News* (4 March), a BCMEA spokesman said: "There can be no agreement on term or money unless the change is there in the container clause. This is our position and you may have to test our resolve by going on strike. We must have the change or

continued on page 11

ILWU Dockers Reject Pact Again!

Bridges Moves to Void Contract Vote

SAN FRANCISCO, March 21—In a second, coast-wide vote, West Coast longshoremen again rejected a contract proposal from ILWU President Harry Bridges and the employers' Pacific Maritime Association. Although the reported tally was 6,131 yes and 3,132 no, it fell short of the two-thirds margin necessary to override an earlier veto by the port of Los Angeles.

This two-time rejection of the leadership's proposal is unprecedented in the history of the union. Moreover, in the key Bay Area Local 10, opposition to the contract increased sharply on the second round. In the first vote the proposed agreement won by 1,092 to 811; this time it was decisively turned down, with 962 voting for and 1,192 voting against.

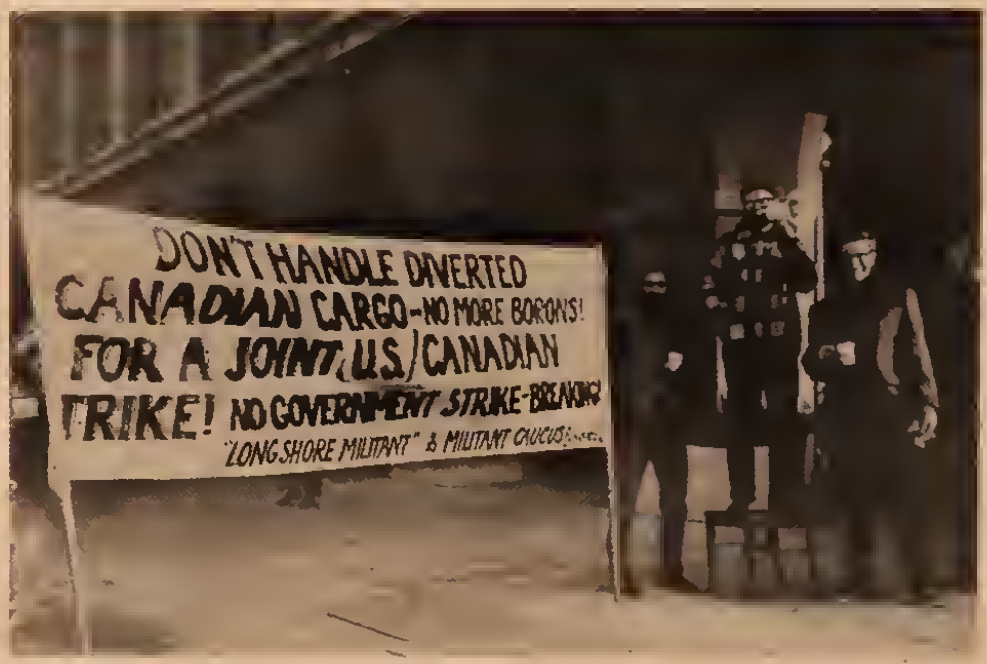
Despite this strong opposition, at the Local 10 membership meeting last night Bridges dropped a bombshell into the contract dispute. Since the ranks persist in turning it down, the International is now demanding that the Coast Longshore Caucus drop its two-thirds rule and pass the contract, as is, by a majority vote. ILWU militants must vigorously protest this slimy maneuver!

Of those leading the fight against the contract, the most resolute is the *Longshore Militant* published by longtime Local 10 oppositionists Stan Gow and Howard Keylor. In its 11 March issue, *LM* calls for immediate recall and new elections for the Coast Caucus and negotiating committee, and for a strike vote. Bridges' threat underlines the need to mobilize the ranks around these demands.

While reformist elements are simply urging additional bargaining to "sweeten" the package, *Longshore Militant* calls for an entirely new set of contract demands and "the first coast-wide cross division strike in history." Its demands include: a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, no "steady men" (all jobs to be dispatched through the union hiring hall), full "A" status for all "B-men," full right to strike on union issues and common expiration dates for all ILWU contracts. In addition, the newsletter headlines the demand that U.S. longshoremen must refuse to handle cargo diverted from Canada as a result of the ILWU strike there which began March 1.

During a rally at Local 10 paylines on March 14, called by *LM* to defend the Canadian strike and attended by the Militant Caucus of ILWU warehousemen, we were able to interview several longshoremen about the contract and "hot-cargoing" goods diverted from Vancouver. "Sure I'm against handling the stuff," said one member. "It's a sister local. Let's act like one union and not allow one section to be played off against each other."

Another commented: "I'm glad it [the contract] was defeated. It was rammed through by the Bridges faction." He singled out the steady man question (section 9.43 of the present contract) and the wage guarantee as the main issues. "We shouldn't work the Canadian cargo," he added. "That's how the '71 strike was broken." In the 1971-72 U.S. longshore strike the International leaders permitted cargo to move through Vancouver in Canada and Ensenada, Mexico. They also permitted military cargo to be shipped to Vietnam.



WV Photo

ILWU militants demonstrate in San Francisco for boycott of cargo diverted from Canada during B.C. dock strike.

Bridges' rotten contract and haughty disregard for rank-and-file opposition are the logical outcome of his overall program of class collaboration. ILWU militants must take up the demands raised by the *Longshore Militant* and fight for a new leadership committed to a class-struggle program of consistent opposition to the capitalists, both economically and politically. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 66 11 April 1975

ARVN troops being evacuated from central Vietnam. AP

All Indochina Must Go Communist!

Life Magazine

Nguyen Van Thieu

No U.S. Intervention!

No Coalition Governments!

New York Post

Lon Nol

APRIL 7 Since the beginning of the current offensive by the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and National Liberation Front (NLF) against the U.S.-backed puppet regime of Nguyen Van Thieu, Saigon troops have abandoned one town after another without a fight. Beginning with Thieu's order to evacuate the Central Highlands in the middle of March, panic has gripped the South Vietnamese army (ARVN). The most experienced combat units fled from Hue and Quang Tri, soldiers shedding their uniforms and weapons, commanders leaving behind well over $1 billion in arms and literally hundreds of tanks and aircraft.

In the space of a little over two weeks the area controlled by the Thieu regime shrank to a perimeter less than 50 miles to the north and east of Saigon. While the Mekong delta to the south is still shown in white on the military maps published in U.S. newspapers, ARVN units there are reportedly isolated, without ammunition and transport and commanded by incompetents—in short, militarily worthless. Even in the "capitol sector" the puppet army is outnumbered by DRV/NLF forces and without hope of reinforcement. The South Vietnamese military command is now actually trying to seal off Saigon from the several thousand troops evacuated from Da Nang and other coastal cities where their marauding led to a total breakdown of social order well in advance of the approach of DRV/NLF units.

Although U.S. Army Chief of Staff General Weyand claimed to be confident that the Saigon army "still has the spirit and capability to defeat the North Vietnamese" as he was leaving South Vietnam last week, this view is not shared by anyone else. Asked what could be done in Vietnam, Vice President Rockefeller replied candidly, "It's really too late to do anything about it" (*New York Times*, 4 April). The only debate at present is whether the Saigon regime's future can be counted in terms of days or weeks.

Already a week ago, the leading military commentator in the bourgeois press reported "increased pessimism in the Defense Department over the South's ability to hold Saigon" and that U.S. officials "considered that the North Vietnamese had sufficient strength in the sector now to mount an offensive" (*New York Times*, 1 April). Yet in the ensuing days there has been no move toward the capital. Why?

Stalinists Say "Implement the Peace Accords!"

The reason is political. As the NLF has been saying since the spring of 1973, what the Stalinists want is to implement the

continued on page 2

Labor Reformism and Stalinism in the ILWU

Harry Bridges and the Communist Party/6

No Coalition Governments!

(continued from page 1)

Paris "peace" accords, and more specifically to create a coalition government of national reconciliation, composed of the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG), parts of the present Saigon regime and a so-called "third force" of non-aligned elements. According to a March 31 statement by the NLF-dominated PRG, its program remains the application of the peace accords despite the stunning disarray of the Saigon armed forces; the only obstacle standing in the way of a coalition government, it says, is the tiny clique around Thieu. The current lull in military activity around Saigon by the DRV/NLF forces is above all an invitation to some kind of a coup to oust Thieu.

This is the same "strategy" followed by the Stalinists elsewhere in Indochina. In Laos a coalition government exists although there is no doubt that the Pathet Lao could drive out the right-wing generals tomorrow. In Cambodia Stalinist-led insurgents have refrained for months from driving straight into Phnom Penh precisely in order to encourage a coup against the Lon Nol regime and the formation of a coalition government with elements of the bourgeoisie. As in Cambodia, where the puppet army is in shambles and businessmen are fleeing the country in droves, the Vietnamese NLF may have increasing difficulties in finding significant bourgeois forces with whom to form a coalition government. But there should be no question about the Stalinists' desire to maintain capitalist regimes in Indochina and elsewhere.

Far from being something new, the call for a coalition government has been part of the NLF policies since it was formed 15 years ago. The 1960 NLF "Program" demanded that "this regime must be overthrown and a government of national and democratic union put in its place composed of representatives of all social classes, of all nationalities, of the various political parties, of all religions...." This is a far cry from a call for socialist revolution. Moreover, at present the PRG is reportedly discussing with Duong Van Minh, a liberal pro-American former president of South Vietnam.

To those who follow the *Reader's Digest* view that all this talk of coalition government is just a smokescreen, it should be pointed out that in August 1945 the Viet Minh under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh actually set up such coalition regimes in both Saigon and Hanoi on the basis of the existing capitalist state apparatus. In the south the Stalinists greeted the arrival of British occupation troops and went so far as to put down a popular uprising (led by the Trotskyist International Communist League) against the imperialist occupation (see "Stalinism and Trotskyism in Vietnam, Part II: Saigon Insurrection 1945," *WV* No. 20, 11 May 1973).

Trotskyists Demand "Break with the Bourgeoisie!"

The Stalinist policies of conciliating imperialism and the native bourgeoisie spell defeat for the workers. The August 1945 "revolution" was drowned in blood as the British and French imperialists proceeded to drive out the Viet Minh. The Geneva "compromise" of 1954 meant the abandonment of the south to a U.S. puppet regime which has lasted 21 years; millions of Vietnamese workers and peasants have died as a result of the refusal of the Russian, Chinese and Vietnamese Stalinists to consummate a military victory which was easily within their grasp.

Such policies—whether in the guise of "peaceful coexistence," "two-stage revolution" or a "popular front"—are common to all Stalinists and are the expressions of the interests of a parasitic bureaucratic caste sitting atop the property relations of a workers state. Fearful that an international proletarian revolution would topple them from their privileged positions, these bureaucracies seek peace with the class enemy even at the cost of tremendous suffering for the working masses.

This is the lesson of the failure of the popular fronts in Spain, Chile and elsewhere. When the Stalinists have taken power (as in North Vietnam or China), this has only been under conditions of extreme disorganization of the local bourgeoisie and the absence of an organized proletariat fighting in its own class interests. Even in these exceptional cases, what the Stalinists create is a bureaucratically deformed workers state in which the proletariat must carry out a political revolution in order to open the way to the construction of socialism.

While the Stalinists seek to ally with the "anti-imperialist" national bourgeoisie in the backward capitalist countries, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution explains that the bourgeoisie of the backward countries, out of fear of the proletariat and because of its close ties with imperialism and domestic feudal and semi-feudal forces, cannot carry out even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. It is necessary instead for the proletariat, leading the peasantry, to establish its own class rule in order to achieve real national independence, agrarian revolution and democracy for the working masses. Such a permanent revolution would quickly pass over to socialist tasks, not halting at some artificially determined "democratic" stage.

Thus rather than calling for implementing the terms of the robbers' peace, which at this point means stopping a potentially victorious military offensive and placing in power some form of popular-front capitalist regime, Trotskyists demand that the DRV/NLF break with the bourgeoisie and take Saigon, Phnom Penh and Vientiane. No coalition governments!

Orphans and Imperialist Hypocrisy

While the puppet army and the Saigon government are rapidly disintegrating, the Ford administration is "reassessing" its policy and accumulating a flotilla of warships off the coast of South Vietnam. Already on the scene, according to an Associated Press dispatch, are four aircraft carriers, five destroyers, a half dozen amphibious ships and elements of a Marine Corps division (*New York Times*, 7 April). The U.S. president also announced last week that he is prepared to intervene with troops in order to "save American lives," the same excuse given by former President Johnson for the 1965 U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo. Socialists and labor militants must denounce these preparations for imperialist aggression, demanding the immediate withdrawal of all imperialist forces from Southeast Asia and cessation of U.S. aid to the puppet Saigon and Phnom Penh regimes.

An integral part of these preparations is the current propaganda offensive concerning the refugees and orphans. While Ford and Rockefeller tell the public that the hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese who poured out of Hue and other coastal cities are "voting with their feet" the media have mounted an anti-communist campaign focusing on the bewildered faces of orphan children who supposedly must be "saved" from a fate worse than death at the hands of the "Viet Cong." That this disgusting reactionary chauvinist demagogy is consciously orchestrated by the government in order to build support for intervention and military aid was admitted by none other than the U.S. ambassador to Vietnam, who told a leading official of the Saigon regime that the orphans and refugees would be invaluable to "help create a shift in American public opinion" in favor of Saigon (*New York Times*, 7 April).

The imperialist hypocrisy of these napalmers, terror bombers and defoliators is limitless. The very planes which are bringing in weapons and ammunition to prolong the war and the suffering of the Vietnamese people are flying out several thousand babies in an allegedly "humanitarian mission." Even the tragic death of more than 100 of these innocent children in an airplane crash is used to whip up anti-communism. The fact that most of the children were fathered by American GI's and then abandoned is conveniently ignored.

The Great Refugee Hoax

As to the refugees "voting with their feet," this is another concoction of the imperialist propaganda mills. The *New York Times* (26 March) reported the results of its own correspondents' conversations with numerous refugees:

> "In the last few weeks, New York Times correspondents in South Vietnam have interviewed hundreds of refugees from different parts of the country. Each refugee has been asked why he or she chose to join the human tide, abandoning home, possessions and livelihood. "'Because everyone else is going,' was a typical reply. Not one said it was because he or she feared or hated Communism."

Who are the refugees? The overwhelming majority of them have left their homes in fear of being left behind in a war zone. Eight years of bitter experience have seared into their memories one fact: when DRV NLF forces take control of a village or a town, the Americans bomb it mercilessly.

This is also behind the tale of the 3,500 supposedly massacred by the NLF in Hue during the Tet offensive of 1968. There is no way of determining who killed the people in 19 mass graves which were subsequently discovered. But what is known is that at the end of February fully one half of the city was flattened by U.S. saturation bombing, necessarily causing numerous casualties, and the retaking of the city by Saigon soldiers and U.S. Marines was accompanied by widespread looting and rampaging.

There are, of course, those who have good reason to fear DRV/NLF control. These are the collaborators of U.S. (and before that French) imperialism and oppressors of the Vietnamese working people. Capitalists, officers and high-ranking officials of the Saigon regime include many who are guilty of heinous crimes against the people and will do anything to escape to Paris or Honolulu. Unfortunately, many of them may succeed because of their connections and wealth.

But most of the scenes of crazed brutality, of children being trampled on and civilians shoved off boats, are the work of remnants of the routed puppet army. The reign of terror during the last days before the fall of Da Nang to the DRV/NLF was caused particularly by elite, essentially mercenary units with a long history of brutalizing peasants and workers in the guise of rooting out communism. The responsibility of the U.S. rulers and their Vietnamese lackeys for creating these bands of professional murderers is manifest.

No Coalitions! No U.S. Intervention!

Top U.S. leaders are reportedly now conferring on plans for a "limited" intervention with the Seventh Fleet and airborne troops, presumably to establish an enclave around Saigon and a corridor to the South China Sea. Socialists must be prepared to mobilize massive protests against renewed imperialist aggression.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

TELEGRAM:

Militant Seamen Protest U.S. Vietnam Intervention

To President Ford:

We demand an immediate stop to the use of merchant ships to advance U.S. intervention in Indochina through phony "humanitarian" schemes. False excuses of evacuating U.S. citizens and Vietnamese civilians are being used to endanger seamen's lives and oppress working people of Vietnam so that business interests will be protected. This is the same old excuse always used for U.S. military aggression such as in the Dominican Republic and Lebanon. Seamen and the rest of labor have no interest in protecting the interests of the international conglomerates which you represent!

(signed) Militant-Solidarity Caucus in the NMU
(a non-official, rank-and-file group of working seamen who are members of the National Maritime Union of America)

and in particular to call for action by the organized working class against another Indochinese adventure, whose victims will be the working people of the entire world.

The U.S. ruling class does not desire an essentially hopeless military involvement in Indochina, as demonstrated by the difficulties which Ford has experienced trying to obtain increased military aid for Saigon. Even in the relatively short run, intervention by an expeditionary corps cannot alter the basic fact of accelerating disintegration of the Saigon regime. The fundamental threat to a military victory by the DRV/NLF forces remains the Stalinists' own class collaborationism.

At the time of the signing of the Paris "peace" accords in January 1973 we wrote that due to the extreme fragility of the corrupt Thieu regime, the continued presence of DRV/NLF troops in the South and the difficulties for the U.S. in re-invading, "the ceasefire does not mean an immediate liquidation of the struggle and could well eventually lead to a Viet Cong victory in the South." "However," we added, "this gamble is based on the fundamental *strategy of betrayal* which has been the essence of Vietnamese and international Stalinist policy since the inception of the struggle."

With the disappearance of more than half the ARVN and the hold of the puppet regime in Saigon growing shakier daily, the chances for a coalition government with bourgeois forces and the maintenance of the capitalist state apparatus grow increasingly dim. On the one hand this may lead to intensified efforts by the imperialists to impose an enforced settlement from the outside, efforts which are only aided by the fact that today both Henry Kissinger and the Vietnamese Stalinists are calling for implementation of the Paris peace accords.

But if in spite of the Stalinists' strategy of class collaboration Vietnam should pass out of imperialist control, and a bureaucratically deformed workers state is set up as the result of a military victory by the DRV/NLF, a political revolution will be necessary, through revolutionary action by the working class under the leadership of a Trotskyist party, in order to open the road to socialism. The key task facing revolutionary socialists in Indochina is the construction of Trotskyist parties, part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, as the necessary precondition for establishing the democratic rule of the working class.

—No U.S. Aid to Saigon and Phnom Penh! Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Forces from Southeast Asia!

—No Coalition Governments! Down with the Robbers' Peace! Take Saigon, Phnom Penh and Vientiane!

—For Labor Strikes Against Imperialist Intervention in Indochina! Oust the Bureaucrats—Build a Workers Party—Forward to a Workers Government!

—All Indochina Must Go Communist! Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Demonstrate Against Imperialist Chief Gerald Ford!

—Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and aid from Southeast Asia!

—Military Victory to the NLF and Cambodian FALN!

—All Indochina Must Go Communist!

Law School—Yale University
New Haven

Friday, 25 April
at 6:30 p.m.

For further information:
New Haven SYL: (203) 432-1170
New York SYL: (212) 925-5665

At San Francisco State:

Charges Brought Against Anti-Nazi Demonstrators

APRIL 7—In the context of sharp economic crisis and an upsurge of violent racism around the issue of school integration, small but vicious fascist groups are becoming increasingly active in various parts of the country. Recently at San Francisco State University a left-liberal professor invited Bay Area Nazis to present their "point of view" to an "Advocates and Issues" debate class.

Spartacus Youth League (SYL) members in the class protested this invitation and promised a demonstration against the Nazis. On the SFSU campus the SYL initiated and energetically built a united-front "Ad-Hoc Committee to Stop the Fascists" (CSF) around the demand "No Platform for the Fascists!"

The CSF call drew some 150 to an angry but disciplined demonstration outside the classroom building on March 10. After an hour of picketing, some participants broke away from the line to enter the building and crowd the debate classroom, where they began an hours-long exchange between the professor (Ted Keller) and students awaiting the Nazis.

As the crowd dwindled in the afternoon, rumors circulated that the fascist scum had earlier entered the building, taking refuge in a nearby office. An investigation of the building proved the rumor to be true. The barricaded door of the office was rushed by the remaining demonstrators, and after some time the door suddenly opened to reveal seven Nazis protected by campus and local cops.

In flying-wedge formation the cops and fascists charged for a waiting van to escape from the enraged students. Fists flew, the fascist received a few well-placed blows; one was flattened out on the pavement. A student was clubbed by a portable fire extinguisher, following which the Nazi sprayed the chemical contents in the student's face.

In the wake of this success in denying paramilitary ultra-rightists a campus forum, the S.F. State campus newspapers, local press and wire services were filled with coverage, photos and editorials on the demonstration. Now the university administration, along with some faculty members and students, is raising a hue and cry of "free speech for all"—including Nazis—on the grounds that sadistic killers deserve equal legal rights under "democracy."

Marxists know that bourgeois justice is not "equal" and thus it is not surprising that the advocates of free speech for Nazis are now threatening to gag militants who protested the Nazis' appearance, specifically the SYL and Progressive Labor. Two formal complaints have been filed against the CSF demonstrators, with recommended reprisals including expulsion of individual students, eliminating official recognition of the SYL and PL, and banning them from use of campus facilities.

In the face of this gag threat, the SYL has initiated a SFSU March 10 Defense Committee around the demand "No Reprisals!" A petition being circulated by the committee against the reprisals has been signed by, among others, Professor Keller of the debate class; Charles Garry, lawyer; the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA); individual members of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB); and the Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League. Letters appealing for support of the defense campaign from Bay Area trade unions have also been sent.

Although Progressive Labor is one of the groups threatened with possible expulsion, it refuses to participate in the defense committee. The RSB, which held its own sectarian mini-demonstration on March 10, told the defense committee that "we don't unite with Trots" and also refused to participate. Originally expressing interest in participating in the March 10 Defense Committee, the YSA has been lukewarm and has limited its support to minimal petitioning. In a letter to the campus paper *Zenger's* (19 March), the YSA termed the anti-Nazi demonstration "unfortunate" and a "disruption."

A press conference will be held at the S.F. State campus on Wednesday, April 9, at 2 p.m. to publicize the issues and charges faced by the anti-fascist demonstrators. The press conference will be held under the auspices of the March 10 Defense Committee. Confirmed speakers include Charles Garry, lawyer; Martha Phillips of the SYL; and Darlene Fujino of the Committee for a Militant UAW, an opposition caucus in Local 1364 (Fremont). Following the press conference, a film on Nazi atrocities ("Night and Fog") will be shown by the SYL. ■

Defend Anti-Nazi Demonstrators!

The March 10 Defense Committee is collecting funds to pay for preliminary legal consultation in connection with the charges brought against students and organizations involved in the demonstration against Nazis at San Francisco State University. Readers of *Workers Vanguard* are urged to contribute through the Partisan Defense Committee. Checks should be payable to "Partisan Defense Committee" and earmarked for "March 10 Defense Committee." Mail contributions to PDC, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

CORRECTION

The article "Portuguese Left in Crisis" in our last issue contained a misleading sentence which stated that the Trotskyist position of unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states could include "defending or *placing in power* a parasitic bureaucratic caste which would have to be overthrown in a *subsequent* political revolution" (emphasis added) in a situation such as that presently existing in Portugal where there is a vacuum of revolutionary proletarian leadership. This non-Trotskyist formulation implies a concept of revolution by stages.

It is true that a Trotskyist party in Portugal would certainly conclude military blocs with Stalinist-led forces against imperialism or in confrontations with the reactionaries, but it would at all times struggle for the independent political and military mobilization of the working class under its own program. The only defense of the historic gains of the October Revolution is the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the capitalist countries and political revolution to oust the treacherous bureaucracy of the deformed workers states, a struggle led by a Trotskyist vanguard under the banner of a reborn Fourth International.

Toward the Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD!

Observant readers of *Workers Vanguard* will have noted that the last issue of *WV* was more attractive and readable than the preceding issues. The change is due to new photocomposition equipment purchased to facilitate the transition to a weekly frequency, which is urgently needed as the complement to the greatly expanded political tasks of the Spartacist League/U.S. As a vital, informative and polemical weekly, *WV* will be a crucial part of the continuing transformation of our press into an active organizer seeking to offer concrete leadership to class-struggle militants while providing clarity and direction in the fight for the Leninist program of socialist revolution.

The acquisition of our new technical equipment marks a significant step toward the achievement of the weekly. We wish to thank our subscribers and friends for their material and moral support to this important undertaking.

Condemn RSB Gangsterism!

At an April 7 demonstration at Columbia University against military recruitment on campus, members of the Revolutionary Union (RU), Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) initiated a savage attack on members of the Spartacus Youth League and trade unionists who supported the demonstration. Members of the RSB, who outnumbered the SYL at least four to one, jumped SYL members when they attempted to join the picket line, dragged three of them to the ground and continued kicking them in the head and back.

It is imperative that all students, faculty members and campus workers denounce this cowardly and vicious assault by the RSB!

8 April 1975
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

Union Militants Murdered in Argentina

MARCH 29 As the death toll from rightist terror squads continues to mount in Argentina (111 political murders in the first 83 days of 1975, the vast majority of the victims being leftists), an increasingly shaky Peronist regime is lashing out wildly against "Marxist" parties and all sectors of the labor movement not under the thumb of pro-government bureaucrats.

Last week a massive dragnet was mounted by federal and provincial authorities who occupied the heavy industrial center of Villa Constitución. More than 200 persons were detained in this action, including several leaders of the Metal Workers Union (UOM) at the Acindar steel plants. In retaliation a Peronist guerrilla group, the Montoneros, shot the assistant chief of police and the next day several dozen guerrillas attacked two police stations and then ambushed an armored relief column.

Despite the guerrilla theatrics (there were no reported deaths), the real action in Villa Constitución was carried out by hundreds of metal workers who occupied three major plants (which together produce 60 percent of the country's steel) in answer to the invasion by police and army units and the arrest of local union leaders and activists. After six days of the sitdown strike police were finally able to take control of the plants on March 27, but workers vowed to continue the strike.

The government claimed to have discovered a secret plan to paralyze the heavy industrial zone from Rosario to Buenos Aires. However, the police/army occupation was clearly an attempt to placate jittery Peronist union leaders. The UOM section in Villa Constitución had earned the ire of the national bureaucracy by recently demanding a minimum wage of 525,000 pesos (US$350) a month and a sliding scale of wages. Given the more than 50 percent inflation rate during the last 12 months, top union bureaucrats are afraid that a rank-and-file explosion could break out at any time.

Early on the authorities detained the secretary-general of the UOM section in Villa Constitución, Alberto Pichinini. A year ago Pichinini was the principal leader of a week-long factory occupation at Acindar which succeeded in forcing the reactionary UOM bureaucracy to hold elections at this key center. (The local unions had been under receivership for the preceding four years.)

During the past year efforts by Peronist labor czars to eliminate all potential leaders of an anti-bureaucratic rebellion have included placing several "combative" union locals in receivership and murdering numerous left-Peronist and independent union leaders. One case which illustrates the extent of this reign of terror is that of a paint factory, Miluz, near the national capital.

In late 1973, following a factory occupation some weeks earlier, the workers of Miluz elected a young militant, Jorge Fischer, as shop steward and member of the plant committee. When, next April, the plant committees of Acindar metal workers followed up their successful sitdown strike with a "national anti-bureaucratic plenum" in Villa Constitución, Fischer attended as a delegate from Miluz.

"Anti-bureaucratic plenum" at Villa Constitucion. Militant

At the meeting Fischer, who was also a leader of Política Obrera (PO), an ostensibly Trotskyist group aligned with the French OCI, called for the formation of a national anti-bureaucratic opposition tendency in the unions. Although this proposal was defeated due to the desire of reformist local bureaucrats to gain the support of left Peronists, it did draw the attention of the Political Secretariat of the National Presidency. Perón's office sent a note to the painters union asking for information about participation by the Miluz delegation at the Villa Constitución meeting.

This signal set off a series of attacks on Fischer and his comrades that ultimately led to their murder. In August leaflets were distributed at the factory signed anonymously by "authentic Peronists" and threatening the assassination of Fischer and Miguel Angel Bufano, another union activist at Miluz who was a member of PO. In October Fischer's house was ransacked by a commando claiming to be police, and his father was beaten and kidnapped (although he was released a few blocks away when his abductors realized they had missed their target). In both cases the attacks were sharply repudiated by union meetings at Miluz.

Then on December 13 Bufano and Fischer were kidnapped near the factory by a gang of more than 20 armed thugs. Two days later their disfigured bodies were discovered full of bullet holes.

The authors of this crime could have been located easily, for they were seen waiting outside the factory for *four hours*. Workers reported this suspicious behavior to the police, who sent a car to investigate. However, when Fischer and Bufano were seen leaving the factory, one of the members of the gang ordered the uniformed police officer to leave, which he did. The group then hauled the two militants off a mini-bus in which they were traveling. The authorities claim they have no clues!

Two weeks later, in retaliation for the assassination of Fischer and Bufano, a commando of the ERP (People's Liberation Army, often referred to—falsely—as "Trotskyist guerrillas") shot the head of personnel and the manager of the plant. This stupid act of vengeance did not in any way aid the Miluz workers in recovering from the serious blow they had received, and in fact invited further attacks by the company, police and union bureaucracy.

However, another union militant who had been associated with Fischer and Bufano, Hector Noriega, did take up the struggle, attempting to put life into the frightened plant committee. On February 14 he, too, was kidnapped and murdered, along with two other leftist union militants.

The brutal assassinations of Bufano, Fischer and Noriega must be vigorously protested internationally, together with those of militants of other tendencies who have been subjected to the rightist terror. During 1974 seven supporters of the PST (Socialist Workers Party, a sympathizing group of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" led by Ernest Mandel) were killed by anti-communist gunmen. Among the victims was César Robles, a member of the PST's National Executive Committee.

A second Argentine sympathizing group of the USec, the LCR (Revolutionary Communist League, formerly the Red Faction of the PRT/ERP), lost two of its members in December in a police attack on their house. One of these was Mario Rodríguez, a delegate to the Tenth World Congress of the USec. In the same month another member of Política Obrera, Ester Raquel Kitay, was arrested at the Buenos Aires airport on her way to an interna-

Canadian Longshore Strike Scuttled

Globe & Mail (Toronto)

Container crane at port of Vancouver.

Bureaucrats Bow to Anti-Strike Edict

VANCOUVER, March 30—A three-week-old strike by British Columbia dockers ended in bitter defeat last week as the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Canadian Area leadership acquiesced to emergency federal strikebreaking legislation. The longshoremen were forced back to work under the terms of their old contract, subjected to binding arbitration on disputed issues, and denied the right to strike until 1977. This pitiful capitulation by the ILWU brass now opens the door for similar anti-strike laws to be used against other workers under federal jurisdiction, notably postal employees.

The dockers were not even given a chance to vote on whether to obey the government edict. No doubt fearing a repeat of the contract vote only a few days earlier, when the membership heavily rejected a settlement recommended by the leadership, the union bureaucrats simply told the ranks to return to work at "informational" local meetings on March 26.

Leaflets were circulated at the Local 500 meeting here calling on the union to defy the back-to-work legislation, as well as calling for a coast-wide longshore strike and for solidarity from other unions (notably postal and government workers) leading to a British Columbia-wide general strike against government strikebreaking. However, according to longshoremen interviewed by a *WV* reporter, when a militant attempted to raise a motion containing these demands during the meeting he was ruled out of order. When he challenged this undemocratic ruling by the chair, the challenge was also ruled out of order.

This is the second time in 30 months that the federal government has smashed a West Coast longshore strike. As in September 1972, the anti-strike law received support from the parliamentary caucus of the social-democratic NDP (New Democratic Party). NDP Leader Ed Broadbent tried to cover up this despicable scab action by moving an amendment to the law stipulating a minimum wage increase of $1.15 per hour (an offer the strikers had already rejected). But when this was turned down, the NDP voted for the government's strikebreaking legislation anyway.

ILWU Canadian Area president Don Garcia charged that the law "emasculates the union." But the main force crippling the union in the fight against layoffs and inflation, preventing an effective defense against the government/employer attack, is the pro-capitalist labour bureaucracy.

What is needed to replace the sellout labour tops is a leadership committed to a program for victory in the class struggle, for the expropriation of industry and the creation of a planned economy under a workers government. Only the construction of opposition caucuses in the unions based on such a transitional program can prevent future sellouts such as this.■

Jorge Fischer — Política Obrera

Juan Carlos Coral — Militant

tional meeting of the OCI-led "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International." Kitay was subsequently severely tortured by the authorities.

The wave of terror against leftist and militant labor activists in Argentina, whether carried out openly by the police or covertly by the "Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance," is clearly the responsibility of the treacherous Peronist leaders. Although placed in office by the workers' votes, Peronism is a bourgeois populist movement which is prepared to destroy the unions if necessary to maintain capitalist rule.

However, this did not stop the opportunists from capitulating to the popularity of "el gran líder." When the Peronists won the March 1973 elections PO termed this "an unquestionable triumph of the working class against the military *gorila* clique" (*Política Obrera*, 19 March 1973). The PST went even further, offering critical support to the "positive measures" of the Peronist regime of Hector Cámpora and declaring, "Without confusing the banners, Dr. Cámpora can count on our proletarian solidarity" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 30 May-6 June 1973)!

In contrast, we wrote at that time that:

> "...the current Peronist regime will be a government of reaction....The regime will employ any means necessary to firmly establish bourgeois 'law and order' even if this means outlawing all 'communist' organizations, government 'intervention' into militant unions and massacres of striking students and workers. To call for critical support, tolerance, negotiations for a workers program or any policy other than intransigent opposition to the Cámpora government is to abandon the path of proletarian revolution and prepare the way for the massacres."
>
> "Argentina: The Struggle Against Peronism," *WV* No. 24, 6 July 1973

Today, as Peronist union leaders talk of going into opposition to the government of Isabel Perón (without, however, breaking from Peronism), we must reiterate our warning and state once again that only a Trotskyist policy of working-class independence can lead to victory for the socialist revolution. Bourgeois populism, Stalinist popular frontism and Castroite guerrillaism mean defeat and bloody massacres.■

We reprint below a leaflet published by the Los Angeles Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) on the occasion of a speech given there by Juan Carlos Coral, leader of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party). Coral is currently on national tour putting forward the views of the minority of the "United Secretariat," of which the PST is a sympathizing organization and with which the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has fraternal relations (claiming that it is prevented from joining the USec because of reactionary legislation in this country).

While sharply criticizing Coral's capitulationist line toward the Peronist regime, SL/SYL members helped physically repel a goon squad attack at his speech in Chicago. In Los Angeles, the SL/SYL was officially requested by representatives of the SWP to participate in defense squads for Coral's two public meetings, which we did. We are ready to defend his right to speak elsewhere despite the profound political differences which separate us from the PST's social-democratic reformism.

The Reformist Tricks of Juan Carlos Coral:

On Wednesday (March 12th) when Compañero Coral spoke at UCLA, members of the Spartacus Youth League asked him why:

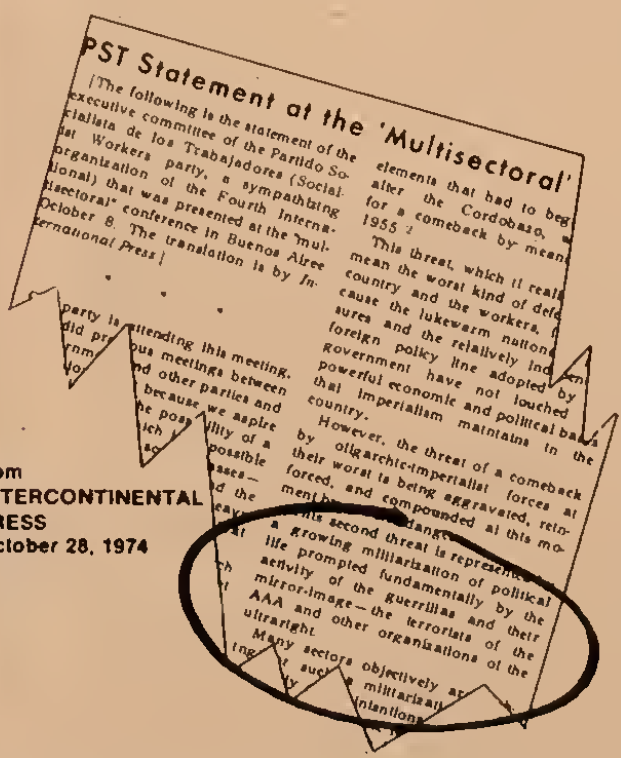
- The PST had denounced the Argentine guerrillas as the "mirror-image" of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance and other organizations of the ultra-right.
- The PST pledged itself to "fight for the continuity of" the Peronist government, when that government was itself backing the right-wing terror.
- The PST had a consistent record of capitulation to Peronist pressures.

These very grave charges are documented in the leaflet attached, which was also distributed Wednesday.

What was Coral's response? The most disgusting demagoguery, evasion, slander and outright lies.

To the first charge Coral replied: But we never said that.

Our response:



PST Statement at the 'Multisectoral'

[The following is the statement of the executive committee of the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (Socialist Workers party), a sympathizing organization of the Fourth International) that was presented at the "multisectoral" conference in Buenos Aires October 8. The translation is by *International Press*.]

party is attending this meeting, did pr ous meetings between nm nd other parties and Jo because we aspire he possibility of a ich possible as— d the

elements that had to beg after the Cordobazo, for a comeback by means 1955.

This threat, which it really mean the worst kind of defe country and the workers, cause the lukewarm nationa sures and the relatively ind foreign policy line adopted by government have not touched powerful economic and political ba that imperialism maintains in the country.

However, the threat of a comeback by oligarchic-imperialist forces at their worst is being aggravated, retorted, and compounded at this mo- ment b

This second threat is represented a growing militarization of political life prompted fundamentally by the activity of the guerrillas and their mirror-image—the terrorists of the AAA and other organizations of the ultraright.

Many sectors objectively as such militarization intentions

from
INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS
October 28, 1974

This is taken from the official translation reproduced by the PST's loyal co-thinkers. WHAT IS CORAL'S ANSWER TO THIS? Can you imagine Lenin calling the Social Revolutionaries the "mirror-image" of the Black Hundreds, comrades of the PST and SWP?

Coral further hinted that the members of the Spartacus Youth League were armchair enthusiasts of guerrilla warfare, like those who criticized the PST from, he says, "comfortable offices in Paris."

Comrade Coral is clearly directing his insults at the wrong target he has confused the international Spartacist tendency with the centrists who make up the majority of the organization the PST sympathizes with, the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." This group, *like the overwhelming majority of the predecessor group to the PST did in the '60's*, advocated the dead-end guerrilla road.

The Spartacist League, *unlike the SWP and top PST leader Nahuel Moreno*, has never abandoned a Leninist critique of guerrillaism. The SL was born in the struggle against the capitulation to Fidel which took place inside the SWP.

Does Coral deny that Moreno and the SWP used to advocate the guerrilla road? They have not abandoned it today out of a concern for Leninist proletarian struggle, but are instead motivated by a fear of upsetting the bourgeoisie. We have never endorsed guerrillaism, *nor* do we equate the comrades of the ERP [Ejército Revolucionario del Pueblo—Revolutionary People's Army, whose leaders were formerly the official representatives of the United Secretariat in Argentina] with the ultra-right today. The PST statement quoted above is not criticism, but craven capitulation. To find a consistent *left* criticism of guerrillaism, you must look to the Spartacist League.

It is also unlikely, Comrade Coral, that any attacks on the politics of the PST will come from the supporters of the United Secretariat majority in the United States. Leaders of this group were observed vigorously applauding you in Chicago, and they will hesitate to raise any strong criticism because it would "be unpopular" in this audience, *and* hurt their chances of crawling on their bellies back into the SWP.

To the other charges of the SYL, Coral had one basic response: demagoguery. While he *admitted* that the PST "fights for the continuity" of the government, (a very different approach than that of Lenin and Trotsky), his weapon was only the cheapest of insults. Yes, Comrade Coral, we do keep records of the writings of the PST, just as Comrade Trotsky kept such records. This, we know, prevents you from rewriting history, but it is a weapon in the service of the working class.

The charge that people, whether in New York, or Los Angeles, or Paris should not presume to comment on what is happening in Buenos Aires and Córdoba, is the most revolting anti-internationalism. It is not, however, original. We last heard it in the service of Allende's popular front road to defeat.

To the SWP we point out: Coral is a photograph of the road you are travelling. You admire his influence, his ability to gain audiences with Perón. You overlook the fact that he *boasts* of capitulations which you label "unfortunate formulations." Soon you will boast of all the PST's capitulations too. We are confident, however, that in the class struggles to come you will be exposed before the working class as the social democrats you really are.

To the supporters of the United Secretariat majority we say: Your leadership tells you to go back into the SWP, which is so clearly rotten, and tells you that it is Trotskyist with slight "deviations." Your leaders shrink from exposing Coral in public. This alone must tell you that you are not in a revolutionary organization!

To the others in the audience: As you can clearly see, this is not some obscure and "sectarian" debate, as the SWP and Compañero Coral will claim. It is, instead, of burning and immediate importance. If you are an academic dabbler in Latin American studies, you can ignore the issues we raise. If not, you too will demand of Coral a response on why he lied, and on the treacherous record of the PST.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

Labor Reformism and Stalinism in the ILWU

Harry Bridges and the Communist Party

The legend of Harry Bridges as a fighting "rank-and-file" leader of American labor, and of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) as a militant left-wing union has grown dull with tarnish. Where is the militancy of a union whose leadership has permitted the number of longshore jobs to be slashed by more than half as a result of successive "Modernization and Mechanization" deals with the maritime bosses? What kind of fighting spirit is there in bureaucrats who order ILWU longshoremen to scab on their brothers *in other locals of the same union*, by shipping scab borax during the bitter 1974 Boron strike and now handling goods diverted from Vancouver in the recent Canadian dock strike?

Who believes any more in the fine words of ILWU resolutions about labor solidarity with Chilean workers and the United Farm Workers, or against the Vietnam war, when they know that the International leadership sabotaged the boycott of goods to and from Chile, has moved scab grapes for years, and never stopped loading war matériel to Vietnam—even during the 1971-72 strike? And what is left-wing about San Francisco Port Commissioner Harry Bridges who collaborates with the shipping companies' politicians such as Joseph "Operation Zebra" Alioto and ostentatiously crosses the picket lines of the ILWU's own office workers? There is indeed little glimmer left of the great militant traditions of the strikes of 1934 and 1936-37 out of which the union emerged.

Even the cravenly reformist Communist Party (CP), the chief builder of the Bridges legend since the 1930's, has been forced to publicly recognize that something is wrong in order to maintain the most minimal credibility as a pro-working-class organization. The CP still refuses to call for Bridges' ouster, or even to criticize him by name (instead it refers obliquely to unnamed "non-struggle elements"). But the "M and M" contracts of 1960 and 1966, which at the time were uncritically reported in the pages of *People's World* (West Coast CP weekly) as "precedent-shattering" and "a revolution," now come in for criticism in a recent series of articles on the union.

The Stalinist Archie Brown, a well-known spokesman for CP views in the union, still plays a compromising role that helps keep Bridges in power, but he uses his editorship of the Local 10 "Longshore Bulletin" to make oblique criticisms of the leadership. *People's World* (19 October 1974) even dares to criticize Bridges' alliance with Alioto, despite the CP's own sorry history of support for Democratic Party politicians.

The Record Begins Early

There is historical truth to the ILWU legend that lies beneath the years of accumulated tarnish. The 1930's strikes were great struggles which made big gains for the working class; the government spent years trying to deport Bridges for "Communism" (a label that never fit); and though he was never more than an opportunist union bureaucrat, Bridges did refuse to go along with the cold-war McCarthy-period witchhunt. Beyond that the "legend" is so much bunkum, dreamed up by the Communist Party to cover a record of class collaborationism, grossly racist national chauvinism and other betrayals. The real story is one of endless sordid betrayals of the working class, betrayals which flow inevitably from the simple trade unionism of Harry Bridges and the Stalinist reformism of the Communist Party. The record begins with the very origins of the union.

In the early 1930's, the CP was in its ultra-left "Third Period" phase on Stalin's orders social-democratic and trade-union leaders were denounced as "social-fascists" and the CP was instructed to set up its own separate "revolutionary" unions. In San Francisco this took the form of the Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU), which counterposed itself to the conservative, AFL International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). In maritime as in other industries the "Third Period" dual unions were artificial contrivances which failed completely to mobilize the masses of workers. When an upsurge began in 1933, workers left the company union and joined the ILA, not the MWIU. As preparation for its later right turn, the CP in effect admitted the failure of the "red" union by calling for MWIU groups to be formed in the ILA (see *Western Worker*, the predecessor of *People's World*, 17 July 1933).

At about the same time a grouping known as the "Albion Hall" group (after the hall where they met), arose in the ILA under the leadership of Harry Bridges. It called for unification of longshoremen on a coast-wide basis, uniform working conditions, a master contract rather than separate port agreements, and union hiring halls. Many personally courageous

Harry Bridges WV Photo

CPers participated in this group, helping to lead the well-known 1934 strike.

Out of this strike emerged the Maritime Federation of the Pacific—a grouping of seven maritime unions which took as its motto the slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all"—which could have led to a militant industrial maritime union. The details of this struggle—in which longshoremen secured most of their demands, most notably the union hiring hall—will not be recounted here. Suffice it to note that it was lucky for the CP that the strike did not occur before it did. Had it broken out earlier, the Stalinists would have denounced Bridges as a "social-fascist" for not leaving the ILA, and a bloc with him would have been out of the question.

From the "Third Period" to the Popular Front

The "Third Period" was so destructive of working-class unity that in Germany Hitler came to power without a serious struggle against fascism by the world's most powerful workers organizations. It was after this disaster for the world proletariat that Stalin began to take fright and now desperately sought to make alliances with the so-called "democratic" bourgeoisie in order to deter a German invasion of the USSR in the expected World War. In countries courted by Stalin as future military allies, the Communist Parties were instructed to subordinate the class struggle to "popular front" alliances with liberal sections of the ruling class willing to ally with the Soviet Union. This policy led to the bloody betrayal of the working class in Spain and other countries as the liberal bourgeoisie predictably proved to be more afraid of the workers than of the fascists.

The new Stalinist policy meant re-entering the unions to ally with officials who were only yesterday denounced as "social-fascists." On the Bay Area waterfront, the Stalinists immediately sought respectability. They viewed with alarm the continued job actions of seamen who wanted to extend some of the gains of the 1934 strike to the ships. They used their rank and file prevented this, but Bridges sought respectability by every available means. Together with the Stalinists, he managed to delay the strike for a month ("to help get Roosevelt elected"), then acceded to employer demands to move "perishable cargo" during the strike.

The latter demand caused division within the Maritime Federation, as Bridges and the Stalinists tried to force this betrayal on the newly elected and more militant syndicalist leaders of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. In the 1934 strike, maritime solidarity had been so strong—including members of all the different unions as well as the unaffiliated, not only longshoremen but also sailors, cooks and stewards, maritime engineers and firemen, even mates and pilots—that as soon as a ship hit the port

The Stalinist Myth of Harry Bridges

"I'll sing you the Tale of Harry Bridges
Left his parents and his home
He sailed acrost that rollin' ocean
And into Frisco he did roam.

Now Harry Bridges saw starvation
Was a creepin' along that ocean shore
'Gonna get good wages for th' Longshoremen!"
That's what Harry Bridges swore."

— from "The Ballad of Harry Bridges"
by Woodie Guthrie
People's World, 4 August 1939

influence in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific to justify moving "hot cargo" when ships that had been struck by a Stalinist-controlled seamen's group in New York sailed into San Francisco. They also organized electoral support for the Democrat Roosevelt, thus reinforcing the class collaborationism of the trade-union bureaucracy and helping prevent the militancy of the big strikes from leading to the creation of a mass workers party.

"Collective Bargaining is Class Collaboration"

The right turn of the CP coincided with Bridges' developing position. From rank-and-file militant in 1934, Bridges had become a trade-union bureaucrat, debating employer representatives before fashionable audiences in San Francisco and eager to find a *modus vivendi* with capitalism which would at the same time preserve the longshore union. "Class collaboration can't be condemned in a flat, general statement," he said in 1939. "Collective bargaining is class collaboration" (quoted in Charles Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*).

It was this spirit that Bridges brought to the strike and negotiations in 1936: protect the members' interests through collaboration with the bosses. More specifically, since longshoremen had less to gain from a strike in 1936 than the seamen, who had yet to get recognition for their hiring halls and ship delegates, Bridges sought to arrive at a separate settlement for West Coast ILA longshoremen. Employer intransigence and immense pressure from the mobilized of San Francisco its entire crew would walk off in support of the longshoremen. This tradition and the rules of the Maritime Federation, according to which none of the unions could return to work until all were satisfied, served to frustrate the determined efforts of Bridges and the Stalinists to sabotage the strike.

"Take the Fink Book"

The Roosevelt government was another major factor in the West Coast maritime strike. The maritime industry was particularly important to the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie in its drive for hegemonic world control in a new world war. World conquest depended on secure shipping, which depended on disciplined maritime labor. The capitalist class was horrified by the results of the 1934 strike, and sought desperately to reverse its gains and find some way to control the workforce.

In 1936 the U.S. Congress passed the Copeland Bill, which sought to discipline seamen through the use of a "continuous discharge book." This "fink book" (as it was more accurately referred to by the seamen) would have enabled employers to spot agitators and union militants by their employment records, and was thus a blow at the hiring halls and the very unions themselves.

The attempt to introduce it coincided with the 1936-37 strike. For three months ships on both coasts were tied up as the government and employers sought to smash the hiring hall and seamen refused to take the "fink book." In the middle of this struggle, the CP came out with the incredible line, "Take the Fink Book and burn it on the Capitol steps on May Day"!

> "They didn't bother to explain, of course, how thousands of seamen scattered on ships in every port in the world would manage to get their Fink Books back to Washington in time for the bonfire. At best it could have been little more than a token burning."
>
> Frederick Lang, *Maritime, A Historical Sketch and a Workers Program* (1945)

The "militant" Harry Bridges chimed in with the same line: in a speech to striking longshoremen and seamen he said flatly, "If refusing to take the Fink Book means continuing this strike, I say take the Book" (*ibid.*).

Despite the Bridges/CP backstabbing and capitulation, the ranks held solid. After 99 days the employers gave in and recognized the union hiring hall. The "fink book" was never introduced, although the government was able to force through official registration of seamen. Following the strike, Bridges broke with the ILA (which had loaded ships in Atlantic Coast ports while rank-and-file seamen were walking off in sympathy with the West Coast strikers) to form the ILWU. But under the weight of the divisive tactics of Bridges and the Stalinists, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific effectively ceased to function.

Revolutions? "Leave them to Earl Browder"

Thus Bridges and the CP consolidated a bloc based on common fundamental aims. Both sought to collaborate with the bourgeoisie, or at least with its more "enlightened" wing: Bridges in order to become and remain a successful trade-union bureaucrat, pressuring for reforms within the system; and the Stalinists in order to slavishly follow the foreign policy dictates of the ruling bureaucratic stratum in Moscow.

Bridges laid bare the nature of this bloc, and his role in it, at a deportation hearing in 1939, the first serious attempt by the government to deport him. Questioned extensively on his view of communism, Bridges pointed to the differences in stated

> "I have no opin
> except that they
> past and they can
> the future....Leav
> Earl Browder; tha
> But my job is hou
> conditions...."

He also repeatedly af
the "American syster

> "Very frankly, m
> Soviet Union is g
> on ships where me
> from the Soviet U
> them...raised a l
> regard to the
> proletarial, and w
> the American form
> read the Constitu
> Rights, can be bett
> world."

Bridges pointed out
that he would oppose
by the workers if this
and respected the pr
property contained in
He explained his
Stalinists as one of ex
the right of union m

ILWU

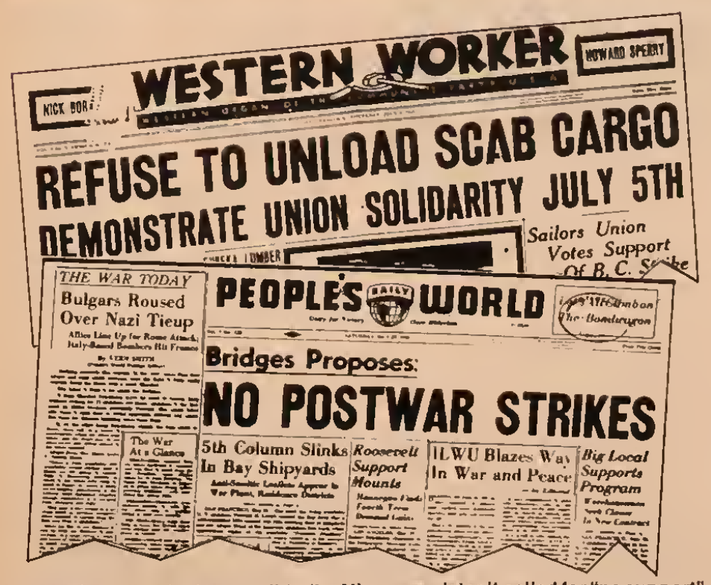
views, but pointing out
members in the union g
would call up the CP ar
it" (quoted in Larrowe

CP, Bridges—Most

This was hardly t
revolutionist on trial, bu
the Stalinists wanted o
trade-union allies—not
the building of a revolu
class movement prepari
capitalism, but a pipeline
with the capitalists prep

During the war itself,
their social-patriotic
Bridges became the mos
patriots imaginable, rea
gain of the workers
successful prosecution
fact that the U.S. fou
imperialist goals, totally
the world working cla
ignored by the CP and,
nothing to Bridges.

Only a brief interlude,
temporary Hitler-Stalin
1939—June 1941), separ
patriotism and popular-
late 1930's from its culm



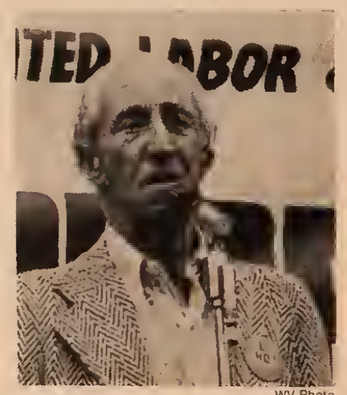
In 1935 CP called for labor solidarity. Nine years later it called for "no support" to strikes (i.e., scabbing).

Bridges and the Communist Party

Communist Party. The record begins with the very origins of the union.

In the early 1930's, the CP was in its ultra-left "Third Period" phase on Stalin's orders social-democratic and trade-union leaders were denounced as "social-fascists" and the CP was instructed to set up its own separate "revolutionary" unions. In San Francisco this took the form of the Marine Workers Industrial Union (MWIU), which counterposed itself to the conservative, AFL International Longshoremen's Association (ILA). In maritime as in other industries the "Third Period" dual unions were artificial contrivances which failed completely to mobilize the masses of workers. When an upsurge began in 1933, workers left the company union and joined the ILA, not the MWIU. As preparation for its later right turn, the CP in effect admitted the failure of the "red" union by calling for MWIU groups to be formed in the ILA (see *Western Worker*, the predecessor of *People's World*, 17 July 1933).

At about the same time a grouping known as the "Albion Hall" group (after the hall where they met), arose in the ILA under the leadership of Harry Bridges. It called for unification of longshoremen on a coast-wide basis, uniform working conditions, a master contract rather than separate port agreements, and union hiring halls. Many personally courageous



Harry Bridges WV Photo

CPers participated in this group, helping to lead the well-known 1934 strike.

Out of this strike emerged the Maritime Federation of the Pacific—a grouping of seven maritime unions which took as its motto the slogan "an injury to one is an injury to all"—which could have led to a militant industrial maritime union. The details of this struggle—in which longshoremen secured most of their demands, most notably the union hiring hall—will not be recounted here. Suffice it to note that it was lucky for the CP that the strike did not occur before it did. Had it broken out earlier, the Stalinists would have denounced Bridges as a "social-fascist" for not leaving the ILA, and a bloc with him would have been out of the question.

From the "Third Period" to the Popular Front

The "Third Period" was so destructive of working-class unity that in Germany Hitler came to power without a serious struggle against fascism by the world's most powerful workers organizations. It was after this disaster for the world proletariat that Stalin began to take fright and now desperately sought to make alliances with the so-called "democratic" bourgeoisie in order to deter a German invasion of the USSR in the expected World War. In countries courted by Stalin as future military allies, the Communist Parties were instructed to subordinate the class struggle to "popular front" alliances with liberal sections of the ruling class willing to ally with the Soviet Union. This policy led to the bloody betrayal of the working class in Spain and other countries as the liberal bourgeoisie predictably proved to be more afraid of the workers than of the fascists.

The new Stalinist policy meant re-entering the unions to ally with officials who were only yesterday denounced as "social-fascists." On the Bay Area waterfront, the Stalinists immediately sought respectability. They viewed with alarm the continued job actions of seamen who wanted to extend some of the gains of the 1934 strike to the ships. They used their influence in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific to justify moving "hot cargo" when ships that had been struck by a Stalinist-controlled seamen's group in New York sailed into San Francisco. They also organized electoral support for the Democrat Roosevelt, thus reinforcing the class collaborationism of the trade-union bureaucracy and helping prevent the militancy of the big strikes from leading to the creation of a mass workers party.

"Collective Bargaining is Class Collaboration"

The right turn of the CP coincided with Bridges' developing position. From rank-and-file militant in 1934, Bridges had become a trade-union bureaucrat, debating employer representatives before fashionable audiences in San Francisco and eager to find a *modus vivendi* with capitalism which would at the same time preserve the longshore union. "Class collaboration can't be condemned in a flat, general statement," he said in 1939. "Collective bargaining is class collaboration" (quoted in Charles Larrowe, *Harry Bridges*).

It was this spirit that Bridges brought to the strike and negotiations in 1936: protect the members' interests through collaboration with the bosses. More specifically, since longshoremen had less to gain from a strike in 1936 than the seamen, who had yet to get recognition for their hiring halls and ship delegates, Bridges sought to arrive at a separate settlement for West Coast ILA longshoremen. Employer intransigence and immense pressure from the mobilized rank and file prevented this, but Bridges sought respectability by every available means. Together with the Stalinists, he managed to delay the strike for a month ("to help get Roosevelt elected"), then acceded to employer demands to move "perishable cargo" during the strike.

The latter demand caused division within the Maritime Federation, as Bridges and the Stalinists tried to force this betrayal on the newly elected and more militant syndicalist leaders of the Sailors Union of the Pacific. In the 1934 strike, maritime solidarity had been so strong—including members of all the different unions as well as the unaffiliated, not only longshoremen but also sailors, cooks and stewards, maritime engineers and firemen, even mates and pilots—that as soon as a ship hit the port of San Francisco its entire crew would walk off in support of the longshoremen. This tradition and the rules of the Maritime Federation, according to which none of the unions could return to work until all were satisfied, served to frustrate the determined efforts of Bridges and the Stalinists to sabotage the strike.

The Stalinist Myth of Harry Bridges

"I'll sing you the Tale of Harry Bridges
Left his parents and his home
He sailed acrost that rollin' ocean
And into Frisco he did roam.

Now Harry Bridges saw starvation
Was a creepin' along that ocean shore
'Gonna get good wages for th' Longshoremen!"
That's what Harry Bridges swore."

— from "The Ballad of Harry Bridges"
by Woodie Guthrie
People's World, 4 August 1939

"Take the Fink Book"

The Roosevelt government was another major factor in the West Coast maritime strike. The maritime industry was particularly important to the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie in its drive for hegemonic world control in a new world war. World conquest depended on secure shipping, which depended on disciplined maritime labor. The capitalist class was horrified by the results of the 1934 strike, and sought desperately to reverse its gains and find some way to control the workforce.

In 1936 the U.S. Congress passed the Copeland Bill, which sought to discipline seamen through the use of a "continuous discharge book." This "fink book" (as it was more accurately referred to by the seamen) would have enabled employers to spot agitators and union militants by their employment records, and was thus a blow at the hiring halls and the very unions themselves.

The attempt to introduce it coincided with the 1936-37 strike. For three months ships on both coasts were tied up as the government and employers sought to smash the hiring hall and seamen refused to take the "fink book." In the middle of this struggle, the CP came out with the incredible line, "Take the Fink Book and burn it on the Capitol steps on May Day"!

> "They didn't bother to explain, of course, how thousands of seamen scattered on ships in every port in the world would manage to get their Fink Books back to Washington in time for the bonfire. At best it could have been little more than a token burning."
>
> Frederick Lang, *Maritime, A Historical Sketch and a Workers Program* (1945)

The "militant" Harry Bridges chimed in with the same line: in a speech to striking longshoremen and seamen he said flatly, "If refusing to take the Fink Book means continuing this strike, I say take the Book" (*ibid.*).

Despite the Bridges/CP backstabbing and capitulation, the ranks held solid. After 99 days the employers gave in and recognized the union hiring hall. The "fink book" was never introduced, although the government was able to force through official registration of seamen. Following the strike, Bridges broke with the ILA (which had loaded ships in Atlantic Coast ports while rank-and-file seamen were walking off in sympathy with the West Coast strikers) to form the ILWU. But under the weight of the divisive tactics of Bridges and the Stalinists, the Maritime Federation of the Pacific effectively ceased to function.

Revolutions? "Leave them to Earl Browder"

Thus Bridges and the CP consolidated a bloc based on common fundamental aims. Both sought to collaborate with the bourgeoisie, or at least with its more "enlightened" wing: Bridges in order to become and remain a successful trade-union bureaucrat, pressuring for reforms within the system; and the Stalinists in order to slavishly follow the foreign policy dictates of the ruling bureaucratic stratum in Moscow.

Bridges laid bare the nature of this bloc, and his role in it, at a deportation hearing in 1939, the first serious attempt by the government to deport him. Questioned extensively on his view of communism, Bridges pointed to the differences in stated goals:

> "I have no opinions on revolutions, except that they have happened in the past and they can conceivably happen in the future....Leave them to [CP head] Earl Browder: that is apparently his job. But my job is hours, wages and working conditions...."

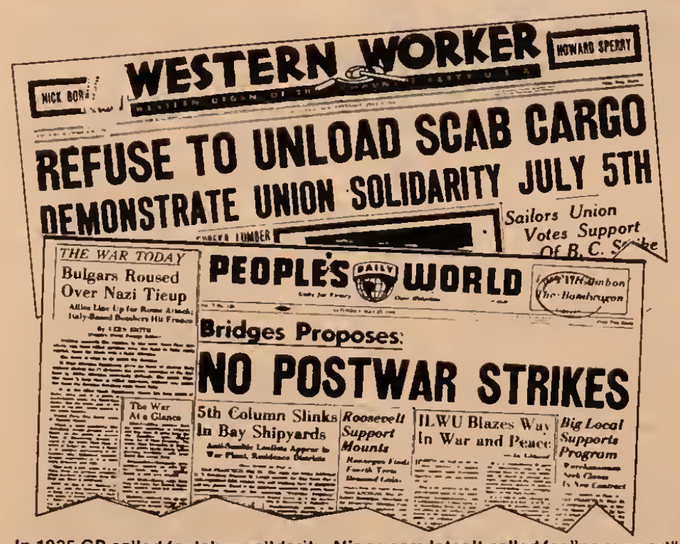
He also repeatedly affirmed his loyalty to the "American system":

> "Very frankly, my knowledge of the Soviet Union is general. I have worked on ships where men have just come back from the Soviet Union; I have spoken to them...raised a lot of questions with regard to the dictatorship, the proletariat, and what not. I don't think the American form of government, as I read the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, can be bettered in any place in the world."

Bridges pointed out in the same hearing that he would oppose the seizure of power by the workers if this involved violence, and respected the protection of private property contained in the Bill of Rights. He explained his alliance with the Stalinists as one of expedience, defending the right of union members to hold CP views, but pointing out that if some party members in the union got "out of line," he would call up the CP and say "I don't like it" (quoted in Larrowe).

ILWU

National Guard mobilized to break 1934 West Coast longshore strike. San Francisco workers responded with general strike.



In 1935 CP called for labor solidarity. Nine years later it called for "no support" to strikes (i.e., scabbing).

CP, Bridges—Most Rabid Patriots

This was hardly the defense of a revolutionist on trial, but it was just what the Stalinists wanted on the part of their trade-union allies—not collaboration in the building of a revolutionary working-class movement preparing to overthrow capitalism, but a pipeline to collaboration with the capitalists preparing for war.

During the war itself, the Stalinists and their social-patriotic friends such as Bridges became the most rabid, pro-war patriots imaginable, ready to sell every gain of the workers in return for successful prosecution of the war. The fact that the U.S. fought for its own imperialist goals, totally counterposed to the world working class, was totally ignored by the CP and, of course, meant nothing to Bridges.

Only a brief interlude, the period of the temporary Hitler-Stalin pact (September 1939—June 1941), separated the social-patriotism and popular-frontism of the late 1930's from its culmination in total submission to the war. Not surprisingly, some of the CP's trade-union allies were more than a little uncomfortable with the sudden anti-FDR and anti-war about-face of the Hitler-Stalin pact period.

An ILWU resolution typified the handling of this problem by the CP. Instead of pushing for an immediate anti-fascist war, as previously, the resolution sought to reassure the bourgeoisie of the ILWU's *general* loyalty:

> "...this convention pledges its wholehearted support and loyalty to our government and the nation for REAL national defense and preparedness...and further that we go on record pledging full support to our country in case of national emergency, invasion or aggression against enemies from without or within." [emphasis in original]
>
> *People's Daily World*, 14 April 1941

When Hitler invaded the Soviet Union in 1941, the headlines in CP papers flipped immediately from "The Yanks Are Not Coming!" to "Invade Europe Now!" Bridges, the CP and the entire trade-union bureaucracy made a "no-strike pledge" in support of the war. The bourgeoisie ignored the demand "Invade Europe Now," preferring to see Germany and the Soviet Union destroy each other, thereby paving the way for U.S. hegemony as well as the destruction of the world's first workers state. Stalin's class-collaborationist "defense" of the Soviet Union (both the pacts with the Axis powers and those with the "democratic" imperialists) was thus as futile as it was a betrayal.

The No-Strike Pledge

The no-strike pledge, however, was more to the capitalists' liking. And Bridges and the Communist Party were the *most vehement* of all in its application:

> "The Communist Party pledges its loyalty, its devoted labor and last drop of its blood in support of our country....
> "In all factories and workshops of America the voice of freedom must be heard in the quickened pace of machines....
> "*Everything for national unity!*
> "Everything for victory over worldwide fascist slavery!
> "Signed, National Committee, Communist Party, Wm. Z. Foster, National Chairman..." [emphasis in original]
>
> —*People's Daily World*, 9 December 1941

Working conditions on the docks rapidly deteriorated. The CP's one request was that it and its allies be allowed to participate with management in this enslavement of the workers for the war. The ILWU leader came up with the "Bridges Plan" in order to combine this request with the capitalist's desire for a tightly controlled, disciplined maritime industry. Essentially, the Bridges Plan involved the setting up of a joint labor-management-government board which would have complete direction and control over the maritime industry. The plan was accepted and a Pacific Maritime Industry Board set up, with its members (including Bridges) appointed and approved by the ship owners' War Shipping Administration.

Slanders and Racism

Supposedly undertaken in "defense" of the USSR, the CP's war hysteria stooped to the most vile, anti-working-class slanders against opponents and to the lowest forms of racism and national chauvinism. Not only were strikes banned, but strikers were denounced as "fascists" and "traitors," thereby inviting government

continued on next page

Harry Bridges...

(continued from page 7)

attack to smash the unions. When the coal miners struck, Bridges said, "John L. Lewis hasn't been battling for anybody but Hitler in a long time" (*People's Daily World*, 27 May 1943). When Montgomery Ward workers went on strike in 1944, the Bridges leadership openly broke the strike by keeping its Montgomery Ward warehouse locals in St. Paul and Baltimore working. Any opposition, even slackness, in the ranks was denounced in the strongest terms, liberally sprinkled with racist slurs on Germans and Japanese:

> "If we all took this attitude [avoiding "sacrifices"] it wouldn't be long until we'd be eating sauerkraut with chopsticks and our work week would be from then on with no pay whatsoever."
> *Longshoremen's Bulletin*, 16 September 1942 (quoted in *Fourth International*, December 1942)

It is little wonder that the CP cheered the fire-bombing of Dresden and unflinchingly applauded the atom-bombing of Hiroshima.

The then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party denounced the Bridges Plan in a pamphlet to longshoremen in 1943, "West Coast Longshoremen and the 'Bridges Plan'" by C. Thomas. The SWP correctly combined a policy of revolutionary defeatism at home with unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union (which despite the usurpation of political power by a bureaucratic caste under Stalin still preserved the economic conquests of the October Revolution, and therefore was a degenerated workers state). This policy recognized that supporting the predatory imperialist war of U.S./British capitalism against its German/Japanese competitors had nothing in common with either defense of the Soviet Union or defeating fascism. The war was fundamentally a war of competing imperialisms, with each side seeking to redivide the world in favor of its own bourgeoisie. Only a proletarian, internationalist policy, opposed to the war aims of both capitalist camps, could really defend the Soviet Union or fight fascism. Thus, in contrast to the class-collaborationist Bridges Plan, the SWP pamphlet demanded independence of the unions from the government control represented by the joint boards pushed by the Stalinists, a sliding scale of wages to meet the rising cost of living, a labor party based on the trade unions and a workers and farmers government.

May 1934: S.F. dockers burn "blue books" of company unions. Two years later U.S. government tried to introduce "fink books" for seamen. Although Bridges, CP said "take the book," sailors refused.

ILWU

"No Postwar Strikes!"

The Communist Party not only sought to erase the class struggle during the war, it also sought to extend this period of class collaboration indefinitely. CP propaganda promulgated the naive notion that the war had rendered the class struggle outmoded, and that cooperation between worker and boss to rebuild the world was now a historic possibility. (In order to be consistent, Earl Browder went so far as to dissolve the CP itself in 1944, a move that was reversed two years later.)

When the ILWU's warehouse Local 6 came up with a promise to extend the no-strike pledge into the post-war period, it wasn't only the bosses who cheered. "No Postwar Strikes!" screamed the *People's Daily World* (27 May 1944). Local 6 pledged not to strike and also to give "no sympathy or support to any union" which did strike and to "support the President, his Administration and all federal agencies in any actions necessary to prevent strikes." The *People's World* purred in agreement:

> "...we shall find a better and happier way of life based on cooperation of all classes.... The ILWU declaration is a signpost toward America's destiny."

However, the U.S. bourgeoisie refused to accept Stalin's offer of worldwide class peace. The U.S. had won the war and it wanted the spoils of victory: world hegemony. Thus the CP and Bridges entered the post-war period schooled in class collaborationism and lies, completely unprepared for new capitalist attacks.

The huge post-war strike upsurge, the biggest ever in the U.S., caught the CP by surprise. When the bourgeoisie under Truman imposed the anti-labor Taft-Hartley Act (passed by Democrats), the CP was already feeling the first stinging blows of the anti-communist purge which was to wipe it out of the unions—largely because its role in the war had so discredited it that militant workers were repelled and refused to defend it.

ILWU

ILWU Local 10 hall in S.F. Repeated employer attacks on hiring hall are attempt to break union.

The Strike of 1948 and Beyond

As in 1936, Bridges was forced into a strike in 1948 only because the employers refused his peace overtures. The employers were just as anxious as ever to smash the hiring hall and get the "Communist" Bridges. Bridges accepted the "cooling-off period" required by the new anti-labor law, and agreed to move Army cargo during the strike (this time there was no "anti-fascist" war on—only imperialist preparations to make the "cold war" hot)!

The U.S. government, in a pre-planned move, refused Bridges' acceptance of its demand to move military cargo, calling it a "Communist trick." The Army tried to recruit scabs without much success, and protests from around the world indicated that ships loaded by troops or scabs would have a hard time finding a place to unload. This defiance was undermined by Bridges, who ordered longshoremen to work Army cargo handled through independent contractors at pre-strike terms. (About 5 percent of the ILWU longshore membership worked during the strike.)

Since the employers were eventually forced to negotiate with the "Communist" Bridges, with whom they had earlier refused to talk, the strike scored a blow against the anti-communist purge, but only because the employers had been more rigid than Bridges was compromising. The end of the 1948 strike ushered in a 23-year period of longshore labor peace.

Bridges sought accomodation with capitalism despite the government's continued attempts to deport him from 1945 to 1955. In 1949, for instance, he presaged his later "M&M" "solution" to unemployment by proposing "temporary layoffs of men at the bottom of the seniority list" (*People's Daily World*, 11 February 1949).

Bridges did, however, refuse to launch a red purge and accepted expulsion from the CIO. Far from being a "revolutionary" impulse, this was merely a practical recognition on Bridges' part that the ILWU had emerged from gigantic class upheaval which gave its ranks a deep-going class consciousness and hatred of red-baiting, which had been used continually by employers against the union. Bridges knew he could live with the CP, since both were firmly committed to class collaboration. His only problem was to convince the bourgeoisie of his intentions.

Through continually undermining every gain won by West Coast longshoremen in the 1934 and 1936-37 strikes, to the point where he is today attempting to dismember the ILWU itself (in the guise of "merger" negotiations), Bridges appears to have achieved his aim. The ILWU chief is now a $50,000-a-year San Francisco port commissioner and close political crony of S.F. Mayor Joseph Alioto.

The Communist Party, despite encouraging and covering up Bridges' sellouts for 40 years, must be more circumspect. But if today the CP hypocritically criticizes the "M&M" contracts (which it supported at the time they were negotiated), militants must connect this with the Stalinists' whole record of betrayal of the working class and support for the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The same Archie Brown who today criticizes Bridges' proposed 1975 contract supported the 1960 sellout and failed to oppose the 1966 contract. During World War II he was enthusiastically pushing the no-strike pledge with the argument "I'm for winning the war and winning it quick" (*People's Daily World*, 24 October 1942). At a December 1970 "Northern California Rank and File Action Conference" this "militant" boasted of killing Trotskyists in Spain during the 1936-39 civil war...and beat back a resolution criticizing the ILWU leadership for victimizing 80 "B-men."

Support for imperialism and national chauvinism, collaboration with bourgeois politicians, breaking labor solidarity by moving "hot" cargo, open scabbing and threatening not only the union gains but the very existence of the union—these are the legacy of the class collaborationism of Harry Bridges and the Communist Party. Only a class-struggle leadership to replace the entire Bridges regime, a leadership committed to a program of proletarian internationalism and militant working-class unity against the bourgeoisie, can reverse this tide. ■

Setback for Women's Rights in Canada

Morgentaler Jailed for Abortion

Reactionary "right-to-life" forces scored an important victory when the Canadian Supreme Court on March 26 upheld the conviction of Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a Montreal physician, for performing an abortion in August 1973. He will serve 18 months in jail followed by a three-year probation period. Morgentaler was acquitted of the charges by a lower court in November 1973, but the following April the Quebec Court of Appeal reversed the decision. The Supreme Court action exhausts his legal remedies.

Canada's abortion law, which carries a penalty of up to life imprisonment, permits a doctor to perform an abortion only after a hospital committee determines that the pregnancy endangers the woman's "life or health." While the law itself is conservative, its actual application is even more so.

In a survey last year of Canadian hospitals which purportedly have abortion committees (only a third of the total), some reported having no such committees at all; others have them, but they have never met. A number of hospitals refuse under any circumstances to give abortions after 12 weeks of pregnancy, and five hospitals reporting performed less than five abortions in an entire year.

Moreover, the federal minister of justice, Otto Lang, a Roman Catholic father of seven, has reportedly sent memos to hospitals in the northern territories (where he has the power of attorney general) implying there would be prosecution of any abortion committee that applied the law loosely (*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 18 October 1974). Lang and other ministers of the Liberal government in Ottawa have also intervened to prevent or discourage government grants to women's groups which do any abortion counseling.

Globe & Mail [Toronto]/Jack Dobson

Dr. Henry Morgentaler

The jailing of Dr. Morgentaler is a blow against the democratic rights of women and a service to the most obscurantist forces in society. Socialists must protest this abomination in the course of struggling against the special oppression of women. But the *program* around which to organize is crucial.

The League for Socialist Action (LSA), Canadian co-thinkers of the reformist American Socialist Workers Party, has consistently refused to include even the minimal demand for repeal of the anti-abortion laws in its actions supporting Dr. Morgentaler, insisting on the single demand "drop the charges." In *Labor Challenge* (8 October 1974) the LSA attacks *any* additional demands as divisive. This is ironic since Dr. Morgentaler never denied performing abortions and based his legal defense rather on the need to repeal the neanderthal anti-abortion laws.

The LSA, faithful to its strategy of appealing to alien petty-bourgeois forces, tells us that struggles for democratic reforms lead women directly into confrontation with the capitalist state. Thus it calls, in *Labor Challenge* (18 February 1974), for "building a mass, independent feminist movement." Trotskyists, while they intervene in different kinds of "women's liberation" groups in order to fight for the revolutionary program, always call for building a *communist* women's movement, as a section of the Leninist party. The LSA seeks instead to liquidate the party into an "independent" multi-class women's organization, which necessarily holds a distinct political perspective hostile to that of proletarian revolution.

WV Photo

SL contingent in October 1973 march in defense of Dr. Morgentaler.

The issue of "autonomous" women's organizations is a real dividing line in the socialist movement, separating opportunist reformists and centrists from the consistent Bolsheviks, since it poses the fundamental question of how to organize the oppressed sectors of capitalist society: "independently" or under the banner of the proletarian party?

The Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) originally opposed, although in a confused manner, the reformism of the LSA's position on the woman question, in particular the latter's refusal to raise the demand for free abortion on demand. The LSA fears that such slogans—not to mention the slightest hint of socialism!—would frighten away less "enlightened" elements of the women's movement. In the "mass," "independent" movement it opposes all anti-capitalist demands, involving them only on safe occasions, such as from time to time in LSA election campaigns.

However, at a forum on the woman question in Vancouver on March 11, RMG spokesman Judy Rebick presented the identical reformist claptrap that the LSA and SWP have been spouting for years. The RMG apparently now calls for building and supporting an "autonomous" women's movement. Rebick also said that the struggle for women's liberation is *not* subordinate to the overall class struggle, but on an equal plane with it.

This reflects the current position of the RMG's co-thinkers in Europe, the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), which wrote last year in *Rouge* (14 June) that "...after numerous hesitations and errors we have come to understand the absolute necessity of an independent women's movement." As these renegades from Trotskyism have said earlier about Fidel Castro, the Algerian nationalists, Vietnamese Stalinists and the "broad mass vanguard," this "independent" movement supposedly has "an anti-capitalist dynamic and an enormous power for undermining the system." Therefore, you see, there is no need to struggle for revolutionary proletarian leadership.

Similarly, the recent "Tasks and Perspectives" document of the RMG Political Committee majority alludes to a "complex of questions raised by socialist women around the 'independence' of women's movements" and, after a vague reference to the revolutionary party as "the agency of strategic unification of all social struggles," gets to the heart of the matter:

> "This position must be advanced in an appropriate form with more politicised elements, not as a 'call' for the Leninist party which has in the past distorted our intervention into broad women's gatherings."

Thus, whatever the "appropriate form" turns out to be, we are assured that it will *not* be a "distorting" call for the revolutionary party to lead the struggles of the working class and oppressed masses!

The Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, a Trotskyist opposition recently expelled from the RMG, attacked this anti-Bolshevik drivel for the reformist nonsense that it is. The BLT statement on the woman question ([RMG]*Internal Discussion Bulletin*, Vol. 2, No. 20, 14 March 1975) correctly notes that a women's movement not based explicitly on the program of proletarian revolution, i.e., Trotskyism, must advocate reforming capitalism, some variant of Stalinism or utopian socialism. It goes on to ask:

> "Should women be organized independent of political parties? From capitalist parties? Yes! From the Social Democracy? Yes! From the opponents of Trotskyism within the left and workers movement? Of course. From the revolutionary party? No."

This position coincides with that of the Third Congress of the Communist International, which opposed "autonomous" feminist groups in noting that the interests of women workers must be fought for by the working class as a whole, under the leadership of its vanguard party. However, it also insisted on the need for special party commissions and sections for work among women.

In October 1973 the Spartacist League participated in a Toronto march to defend Dr. Morgentaler, with signs demanding: "Drop the Charges! Repeal the Abortion Laws!" Unlike the LSA and others, the SL contingent did not limit itself to democratic reforms. We also called for free abortion on demand, a workers government and "Women's Liberation through Socialist Revolution." Through our journal *Women and Revolution* and work to rediscover the Leninist position on the woman question, the Spartacist tendency has shown the way forward to those who seek a revolutionary program to fight women's oppression. Forward to the constitution of a Canadian section of the international Spartacist tendency and the rebirth of the Fourth International!■

Spartacist League Local Directory

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA ..... (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Detroit Unemployed Conference Ends in Confusion

DETROIT, March 29—A two-day "Conference Towards Building a Nationwide Unemployed League" ended here today with minimal results. Despite energetic, non-sectarian building by the International Workers Party (IWP), its main sponsor, the conference failed to attract large numbers of unaffiliated or non-socialist workers. The less than 100 participants were largely from the IWP and the Spartacist League (SL), together with a number of trade unionists from class-struggle caucuses. The latter included UAW militants from New Jersey (Militant Solidarity Caucus), International Harvester (Labor Struggle Caucus) and members of unemployed committees of Local 600, Detroit.

Also attending were the tiny Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist), part of the phantom remains of the California Peace and Freedom Party and the floundering Class Struggle League. Representatives from two so-called "independent unions," supposedly main conference sponsors, failed to appear.

The Spartacist League presented a program for unemployed work for discussion at the conference but did not put it up for a vote, recognizing that a paper organization which concealed important differences would do the unemployed no good. The IWP program was adopted, but its supporters dropped their earlier insistence on a "finalized program," presenting it instead as a draft, subject to change. While several amendments were made during the conference in the direction of the SL position, this did not appear to represent solid political agreement. The only organizational result was the election of a National Interim Committee (in which the SL is not participating) to oversee organizing work prior to projected regional conferences this summer. It was unclear, however, what tasks would be carried out.

The IWP program contained a number of specific demands with which the SL and other conference participants agreed—full productive employment for all, no war production, increased unemployment compensation and cost-of-living protection for all, defense of trade unions and the right to organize, and opposition to the deportations of non-citizen workers. Controversy centered around demands raised by the SL that would provide *direction* to the working class in its struggle to implement these demands, a direction that can only be toward the conquering of power by the workers if the struggle is not to end in defeat.

Controversy Centers on SL Program

The IWP objected to SL demands for workers control of industry through elected factory committees, expropriation of industry with no compensation, and for a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government. The IWP arguments were contradictory: some argued that full employment and no war production—i.e., what the IWP incorrectly terms "expanded reproduction"—were impossible for the capitalist system to grant and therefore revolutionary; others argued that the inclusion of too many demands hindered the immediate building of a mass organization. In other words, either the SL-proposed program was unnecessary for revolutionary struggle, or it was "too advanced" for minimum-level organizing now.

The IWP repeats a classic error in arguing that since a demand cannot be granted by the capitalists it is therefore sufficient as a revolutionary program. "Full productive employment" is advanced by labor fakers, Stalinists and even capitalist politicians in their efforts to mislead and deceive the working class. A genuine revolutionary program must arm the workers with revolutionary *consciousness*, and provide guideposts for the class-struggle road to power.

The more prominent line of reasoning, that SL slogans would "alienate" many workers, represents the danger of capitulation to political backwardness in the working class and to the reformism which lies within IWP views. In general, the IWP reveals a preoccupation with organizational forms, expressed as "class-wide organizing," over considerations of program and real activity. The SL on the other hand sees the struggle for revolutionary program within the mass organizations of the working class—such as the trade unions—as central. Without revolutionary leadership and program, any mass organization will necessarily be dominated by reformist and petty-bourgeois elements, just as the trade unions are dominated by a reformist bureaucracy.

IWP Program Amended

The contradictory arguments of the IWP were capped late in the conference by the hasty adoption of important amendments to its program, roughly in the direction desired by the SL. These included "no confidence in capitalist parties or politicians," advocating instead "independent working-class activity and organization," and the "right" of the working class to expropriate industry without compensation to the capitalists. (In addition, the IWP approved amendments to its anti-war resolution that included support for colonial wars against imperialism and for revolutionary defeatism toward capitalist countries in the event of war with any of the deformed workers states.) But the IWP still does not clearly see its contradiction: while grudgingly adopting transitional slogans considered a few hours before to be "too advanced," it continues to cling to peculiar utopian demands (such as opposition to coal gasification and strip mining, and "declassification of nuclear fusion power research") which are incapable of mobilizing workers to struggle in their *class* interests.

The IWP is a young organization. After several years as a self-described "revolutionary health service collective" inclined toward Maoism, its core membership joined the crackpot National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) of Lyn Marcus & Co. in 1974, only to emerge three months later as the IWP—a little wiser, perhaps, but burdened with much of Marcus' moldy economic baggage. The IWP views the present historical epoch as a new stage of capitalism characterized by imminent "liberal fascist" takeover. To what it sees as the immediate danger of fascist economic measures, implemented "from above" by Rockefeller and other liberals, the IWP counterposes immediate, "class-wide" mass organization around minimal demands, to promote the immediate beginnings of "expanded reproduction."

An early IWP statement ("Liberal Politics Plus Fascist Economics Equal Human Annihilation"), now repudiated, insisted that fascism arrived in 1914. While having drawn back from this fanciful imagining, the IWP still runs into difficulty exploring just what constitutes fascism or the present epoch, since it confuses fascism with the general characteristics of capitalism in the epoch of imperialist decay. Fascism is a particular form of class rule resorted to by a desperate ruling class. It mobilizes a mass movement of enraged petty-bourgeois elements to crush powerful working-class organizations which are combative but unable to take power because of misleadership.

IWP Opposes Busing

The IWP's identification of fascism as the presently preferred method of bourgeois rule is enormously misleading to its members and has immediate programmatic significance. At the conference the IWP argued against busing on the grounds that, given the fascist crisis promoted by the liberals, demands for busing (or integration in any form!) were simply divisive and should be opposed!

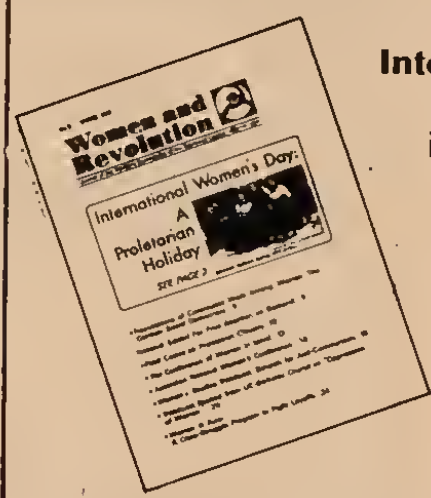
While not accepting the choices offered by capitalism, socialists must nevertheless support democratic demands—opposing racial discrimination, for integrated schools, etc.—with the aim of broadening them into class demands and showing how they can be secured only through a working-class struggle for power. The IWP, however, fails to grasp the question of democratic demands in general, and also opposed raising the right of oppressed nations to self-determination as being "divisive."

The dispute over busing which raged, heatedly at times, in the workshops showed the differences that remained despite the formal agreement of all conference participants to such general slogans as "opposition to racial and sexual discrimination." Thus the SL considered the vote on program and founding of an organization to be premature. Instead the SL proposed continued discussion and united-front actions whenever possible around issues where there is agreement. A number of the militants from class-struggle caucuses in the UAW suggested actions against deportation of non-citizen workers, layoffs and compulsory overtime (which is currently being foisted on Detroit auto workers despite massive unemployment in the industry).

The Spartacist League sees the trade-union bureaucracy as the main obstacle to the immediate mass organization of the unemployed, since this bureaucracy prevents the power of the organized, employed working class from being brought to bear. The unions must organize the unemployed; to accomplish this, revolutionary leadership must be built to challenge and remove the treacherous bureaucracy. Left and labor groups interested in the trade-union organization of the unemployed must unite immediately, however, in concrete, specific actions aimed at furthering this goal. Such actions can greatly aid in forging unity between employed and unemployed workers and exposing the treacherous union misleaders who do nothing in the face of mounting unemployment.■

Women and Revolution

International Women's Day Issue!



includes:

- Foundations of Communist Work Among Women: The German Social Democracy
- Women in Auto: A Class-Struggle Program to Fight Layoffs

Subscribe now! $1 for 4 issues—make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co. Box 1377 GPO NY, NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name_____

Address_____

City/State/Zip_____

66

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY,NY 10001

...RMG Expels Trotskyists

(continued from page 12)

liquidating into the LSA's mentor, the SWP. As the IMT pushes with all its might for liquidation, the IT is being demoralized and destroyed. But now both the IT and RMG remain silent about Mandel's conciliation of Hansen/Moreno reformism.

Why this suicidal surrender to the IMT's destructive maneuvers? Because the RCT/RMG critique of the IMT for "subordination of the political differences to the maintenance of formal organizational unity" with "the SWP/LSA [which] have already been lost from Trotskyism" leads logically to the conclusion that the USec is a rotten bloc with reformists. Moreover, it means that the conciliationist policies of the IMT are characteristically *centrist*.

The conclusion that the USec is a rotten bloc between a centrist IMT and reformist LTF raises the question of the historical origins of this conglomeration in the unprincipled "reunification" of 1963, when the SWP and its Canadian mimics joined the Mandel-Maitan-Frank-led International Secretariat on the basis of support for guerrilla warfare and opportunist papering over of past differences.

There was, however, a tendency within the SWP which opposed the degeneration into Pabloist revisionism: the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) which later became the Spartacist League (SL). And it is precisely the RMG/IT leaders' inability to deal with the Spartacist tendency—especially with its struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International as a fighting, genuinely democratic-centralist revolutionary world party based on a firm programmatic foundation—that makes these centrist capitulators cling to the presumed authority of Mandel and "The Fourth International" no matter what atrocities they are forced to endure.

IT members have been ordered by their cowardly leadership to have no discussions with SLers, and instead are instructed to crawl back into the protective reformist womb of the SWP where they can once again be the "left," if ever so loyal, critics. After losing several members and supporters to the Spartacist tendency last year, the RMG rapidly imposed a similar Stalinist ban on attending CCIST functions. No clearer admission of the inability of the RMG and IT to openly and honestly confront the Trotskyist politics of the international Spartacist tendency is needed.

Where Is the "Broad Vanguard"?

Prospecting in Canada for the "broad vanguard," which according to IMT documents is the way to bypass existing misleaders of the working class (making unnecessary the difficult task of struggling to defeat them politically), has not produced the promised riches for the RMG. It is stagnating at well under 100 members, its Red Circles (sympathizer groups) are in shambles, the work of its supporters in the post office is badly discredited and its press literally a dirty joke. (The March 1975 *Old Mole* called for "A Sliding Scale of Orgasms"!) Its second national convention was hardly a jubilant occasion for the RMG.

The convention brought to a close an eight-month discussion period within the organization. The RMG is led by two tendencies, a "majority" and "minority," which spend a good deal of their time trying to find or invent sufficient differences to justify their separate existences. Both claim to support the IMT and to believe in the "broad vanguard." At the convention they were divided over whether to "penetrate" and "politicize" this as yet undiscovered stratum through economist organizing in the trade unions (as the "minority" argues), or in the "political arena" through throwing together opportunist propaganda blocs around everything from fascism to the repression of adolescent sexuality (the "majority" view).

The "majority" and "minority" were able to muster a sufficient basis for "unity" around at least one question, however: avoiding a discussion of burning international questions. No time was set aside at the convention for discussion of the "Tenth World Congress" or the various issues that are tearing apart the USec (Vietnamese/Chinese Stalinism, the popular front, guerrillaism in Latin America, etc.).

Purge of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency

The most important event of the convention—and another occasion for "unity" between majority and minority—was the purge of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency. The B-LT was formed in August 1974 by three comrades who had gone through the formative struggles of the RCT/RMG and began to draw the clear conclusion that the USec was not the Fourth International but an unprincipled rotten bloc. The initial "Declaration" of the B-LT attacked the IMT's adaptation to guerrillaism, Stalinism (especially in Vietnam and China) and the popular front, and its refusal to adopt a communist orientation to the union movement.

Meanwhile, two comrades in the IT underwent an independent evolution that brought them into political solidarity with the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency. In particular they objected to the politically suicidal course of conciliating the SWP which was imposed by the IMT and IT leadership. For this they were summarily expelled at the IT plenum in October 1974 (see "'The SWP Is Finished As a Revolutionary Force'," *WV* No. 65, 28 March 1975). Ironically, while the purge of its left wing was intended in part to make the IT appear more respectable in the eyes of Hansen & Co. (thereby facilitating its "reintegration"), cynical SWP hatchet men are now using the case of the expelled IT leftists to label the IMT as bureaucratic maneuverers, thereby presumably excusing the SWP's equally bureaucratic expulsion of the IT!

A Lesson in Stalinism

The purge in the IT was the prelude to the RMG's bureaucratic expulsion of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency last weekend. RMG leader Bret Smiley announced that the leadership had decided to open up this session of the convention to contacts and sympathizers, in order that they could benefit from this "lesson in Leninism"! But the very act of admitting non-party members to a debate on the expulsion of party members is itself a Stalinist-style attack on Leninist norms of democratic centralism.

No attempt was made to adduce any evidence of a single breach of discipline by the comrades of the B-LT, although this is required by the draft constitution (section X, subsection 6) submitted to the convention for adoption (after the expulsion of the B-LT, of course). Subsection 7 of the draft constitution requires that "Charges against any member be made in writing" and that "They will be considered no less than two weeks after the receipt by the comrade charged." In this case, however, there were no charges at all, only a "political" statement by the RMG leadership, and the expulsion took place on the same day the comrades received this statement!

The operational portion of the expulsion motion was:

> "The convention declares that the position expressed by the BLT—that the Fourth International is a pseudo-revolutionary obstacle to the building of some new international organization—is programmatically incompatible with membership in the RMG. This position is in reality a political declaration of split with the F.I. The convention therefore expels those members of the BLT who adhere to this position."

In the process of expelling these comrades solely for their political views, the RMG leadership naturally distorted the stated positions of the B-LT. What the latter actually put forward was the following:

> "The position of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency is that the *politics* of *none* of the major tendencies within the United Secretariat can lay the basis for the construction of a democratic-centralist Trotskyist International. We believe that many of the cadres of the United Secretariat will play a significant role in the construction of such an International (which we do not believe exists at this time) to the extent that they are won to an authentic Trotskyist program. As regards the international Spartacist tendency, we have not yet made a *definitive* assessment of this current. This was quite clear in the report that we gave to the convention. Nonetheless we believe that the international Spartacist tendency may play a significant role in the construction of such a revolutionary International."

Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

The recourse to such Stalinist methods of bureaucratic suppression of political tendencies is not infrequent in the Pabloist "United" Secretariat. The IT was expelled from the SWP on a similar pretext that its views already constituted a split. And the utter lack of real democratic centralism in the USec was underlined by the presence at the convention of representatives of the LSA. According to a decision of the Tenth World Congress, the Potsdam of pseudo-Trotskyism, the LSA is the "official section" of the USec in Canada despite the fact that it has continually flaunted the political decisions and breached the discipline of this fake International. The RMG, which attempted to carry out the policies and abide by the discipline of the USec, was relegated to mere "sympathizing group" status.

Following its expulsion the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency issued a statement dated 2 April 1975 which concludes:

> "But the continued crystallization of left oppositionist currents in the USec, such as the BLT in Canada (and supporters of the BLT expelled last October from the Internationalist Tendency [pro-IMT] in the U.S.) and the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency in the U.S. and Australia—currents which rapidly find themselves waging the same fight waged by the RT in the 1962-63 prelude to the unprincipled 'reunification'—means that no bureaucratic ban or expulsion is going to resolve the crisis within the United Secretariat. Only an honest and open confrontation with the politics and history of the Spartacist tendency can lay the basis for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International. We continue to call on the RMG to rescind our bureaucratic expulsion and lift the ban on politically confronting the Spartacist League. Moreover, we declare our readiness to engage in political discussion and common action with the SL towards these ends."

The expulsion of the B-LT from the RMG may be the most important political event of its kind in the history of the Canadian left since Maurice Spector's expulsion from the Stalinized Communist Party in 1928. The Tendency included six members at the time of its expulsion and at the convention received the votes of 10 percent of the RMG. The comrades involved, three of whom were founding members of the RMG and one a member of its Central Committee represent in the context of the very young Trotskyist movement in Canada an important repository of political experience and capacity.

We look forward to a period of joint work and discussion with these comrades with the confidence that given our close political parallelism we can find the way to unity, a unity that would represent a significant step forward toward the rebirth of the Fourth International and the construction of its Canadian section. ■

SPARTACIST FORUM

ALL INDOCHINA MUST GO COMMUNIST!

Military Victory to the NLF and Cambodian FALN!

Take Saigon and Phnom Penh!

Speaker: CHARLES O'BRIEN
Editor, *Young Spartacus*
SYL National Committee
SL Central Committee

NEW YORK CITY

SATURDAY, APRIL 12, 7:30 p.m.
Barnard Hall, Room 306, Barnard College

Donation: $1.00
For more information: 925-5665

SPONSORED BY COLUMBIA SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00–6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

Canadian RMG Expels Trotskyists

TORONTO, April 3 Over the weekend of March 28-30 the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) held its second national convention here and promptly proceeded to expel its Trotskyist left wing, the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT). The RMG is a sympathizing goup of the so-called United Secretariat (USec) which pretends to be the organizational continuity of Leon Trotsky's Fourth International. But as was amply demonstrated by this convention, in particular by the bureaucratic expulsion of the B-LT solely on the basis of its political views, neither RMG nor USec has anything to do with Trotskyism.

Far from being an International, the Usec is actually a rotten bloc between the petty-bourgeois radical International Majority Tendency (IMT) and the social-democratic reformists of the misnamed Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF). The IMT is itself a putrescent centrist swamp inhabited by a wide variety of creatures ranging from South American semi-Guevarists to Bala Tampoe (the Leonard Woodcock of Ceylon), gathered around the patriarchs of Pabloist revisionism, Ernest Mandel, Pierre Frank and Livio Maitan. The more notorious spokesmen for the LTF include Joseph Hansen of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP), that Karl Kautsky of the second mobilization, and Nahuel Moreno of the Argentine PST, a political chameleon who in the last quarter century has capitulated to just about every conceivable political tendency...except Marxism).

RMG vs. the IMT

The RMG originated, at least in part, from a left oppositional current the Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) within the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), the official Canadian section of the USec. While the LSA follows the lead of the SWP LTF in USec factional battles, the RCT launched its struggle against the reformism of the LSA in solidarity with the international majority of the USec.

However, the RCT and the assorted left-wing social democrats and new leftists who were to come together to form the RMG soon received a bitter lesson in centrist *Realpolitik* from Mandel Maitan Frank. Not even two years ago the present leadership of the RMG made the following assessment of the IMT's orientation:

> "Its content may be summed up in a few phrases to subordinate all political initiatives and ideological struggle to the maintenance of the formal organization [*sic*] unity of the International...
>
> "The tendency was virtually crushed in its early period by the LSA: over forty comrades were suspended The International gave no support other than a mild and equivocal letter to the PC [Political Committee] of the LSA... The International was similarly opposed to the external work in Toronto they told the RCT comrades it was lunacy. If that work had not been done, the regroupment would not exist today, and many of the gains inside the LSA YS would not have been made....
>
> "What I want to stress is that these weren't just tactical mistakes or organizational fuckups. They flowed quite logically from the orientation I have described and which has yet to be fully abandoned
>
> "Again let me emphasize that the SWP LSA have already been politically lost from Trotskyism ."
>
> "Report Given at Regroupment Meeting Toronto on behalf of the PC-CC," Sands, undated [delivered summer 1973]

The Sands document condemned as "most serious" the fact that "the International completely abstained from any work within the SWP itself...," as well as protesting the shabby treatment given the group that was eventually to crystallize within the SWP as a pro-IMT wing, the Internationalist Tendency (IT). The document concludes with a call for the "reconstruction of the Fourth International in North America itself and must especially of course in the United States."

Centrism or Trotskyism?

Today the very same question which the RCT/RMG faced earlier is imposing itself on the IT: independent political existence or capitulation to reformism by

continued on page 11

"Implement the Accords" Means Defeat for NLF

Maoists and Cops Exclude Communist Banners at Anti-Thieu Demonstration

At a March 29 demonstration against U.S. aid to the Saigon and Phnom Penh puppet regimes, the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) again showed that the main target of Stalinist apologists is not the class enemy, but rather the revolutionaries. The RU and its allies of the Revolutionary Student Brigade (RSB) and Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW) sought to exclude the Spartacist League, whose banner demanded "All Indochina Must Go Communist!"

The RU RSB, whose slavish tailing of the Hanoi and Peking bureaucracies neatly complements their own domestic reformism, call for "implementing the peace agreement." While NLF forces are at Saigon's doorstep, Stalinists of all stripes unite in calling for a coalition (i.e., *capitalist*) government! This is a program for the *defeat* of the Indochinese revolution.

The Spartacist contingent refused to take down its banner, so the RU/RSB/VVAW rounded up a goon squad to prevent it from marching with the rest of the demonstration. Not content with this blatant violation of the right of marchers to carry their own slogans at a publicly advertised event, the goons told the New York City *police* they wanted to exclude these marchers, which the police then enforced.

It is not surprising that those who oppose our resolute stand for the victory of the Indochinese revolution should also use the bourgeoisie's cops to suppress our slogans. The continuation of capitalist rule and the denial of workers democracy—this is the meaning of Stalinism. ■

WV Photo

Union militants and SL supporters march in March 31 demonstration.

WV Photo

Cops, goons exclude SL from anti-Thieu march.

WV Photo

RU/RSB/VVAW coalition demand SL take down communist banner.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 67 25 April 1975

Phnom Penh Falls, Take Saigon!

Victory to the Indochinese Revolution!

DRV/NLF troops enter Da Nang. AFP-Pictorial Parade

No Evacuation/Asylum! No Aid to Saigon! U.S. Out of Southeast Asia!

APRIL 21—The fall of the U.S. puppet regime in Cambodia to the Khmer Rouge insurgents is a great victory for the toilers of Indochina and the world proletariat! Class-conscious militants can hail the rout of the imperialist lackeys in Phnom Penh and must demand immediate recognition of the new Khmer Rouge regime by the United States.

Now more than ever the increasingly hopeless military situation of the Saigon generals must he exploited to the hilt. The victory which rightfully belongs to the long-suffering worker and peasant fighters of Vietnam must not be ripped from them or compromised at the hargaining table! We demand: Down with the "Peace" Accords—No Coalition Governments—Take Saigon! Victory for the Indochinese revolution must be secured.

As we go to press, radio reports announce the resignation of the South Vietnamese President Thieu. The surest way to defeat the Pentagon-backed generals and put a stop to the killing in the 30-year-old civil war is to deliver the coup de grace

continued on page 10

WV photo

Demonstrators in NYC last month protest U.S. "aid" to Saigon regime.

UNIONS MARCH ON WASHINGTON

see page 3

Fight Unemployment— Break with the Bosses' Parties!

Prisoners Framed Up, Guards/Troopers Go Free

Courts Cover Up Attica Massacre

A former leading member of the Attica special prosecution team, Malcolm Bell, has revealed in a resignation letter that "substantial evidence" points to a gross cover-up of crimes committed by law-enforcement officers during the 1971 Attica Prison massacre. Bell's resignation statement, originally submitted to New York state attorney general Louis Lefkowitz last December, was recently leaked to the bourgeois press.

Piously intoning in his resignation that "One Watergate in this decade is enough" (*New York Times*, 8 April), Bell echoes the liberal opinion that governmental cover-ups are in contradiction to "American democracy." Instead, these sleazy operations are very much "business as usual" and a vital part of maintaining capitalist rule. In the case of Attica, a plea of ignorance is particularly disingenuous—the New York State Special Commission's "Official Report" on the inmates' uprising and the bloody retaking of the prison by stormtrooper police action has been available for three full years.

The "Official Report" makes it clear that outrages and atrocities were committed by the racist cops who rampaged through the prison yard that September 13. State troopers—1,100 in number—assisted by prison guards, park police and assorted cops donated by local sheriffs' offices rushed the prison armed with .270 hunting rifles loaded with unjacketed ("man-stopping") ammunition, 12-gauge shotguns loaded with lethal 00 shot and .38 calibre revolvers. Thousands of rounds were poured into the prison, slaughtering 29 prisoners and 10 hostages and leaving more than 80 wounded.

Prison guards were, of course, held hostage by the prisoners, but the report details the care they were given: mat-

continued on page 9

Bantam

Attica inmates stripped and lined up to run gauntlet of club-swinging police following defeat of 1971 prison revolt.

Letter

SL Challenges Guardian to Indochina Debate

17 April 1975

To the *Guardian*:

Your article (*Guardian*, 16 April) on the Socialist Workers Party's withdrawal from a proposed debate with yourselves on the subject of Indochina tries to attribute the cowardice of the SWP to Trotskyism. Let's not kid ourselves. You and we both know that the SWP is not Trotskyist. Its antiwar program of uniting with "progressive" bourgeois politicians around a common program suppresses the independent program of the working class and has nothing to do with Trotskyism. On the contrary, this is precisely the class-collaborationist "strategy" of the Maoists and the Communist Party. In fact, the SWP has often appeared to be to the *right* of Stalinists who call for victory to the NLF. This may have been a factor prompting these reformists to back out of the debate. We, on the other hand, have no such fears and challenge the *Guardian* to the debate the SWP was afraid to have. A refusal to accept our challenge would expose your own cowardice as being no less than that of the SWP.

Moreover, in his article Irwin Silber is forced to recognize that the SWP is "a model of restraint" compared to the Trotskyist Spartacist League, which "makes no bones about its hatred for Ho Chi Minh and the Vietnamese communists." So why not confront the real thing?

You also note that:

> "While employing 108-point type to exhort the liberation forces to 'Take Saigon!', their newspaper, Workers Vanguard, comments: 'The Stalinists once again seem determined to sacrifice military victory in order to gain a political defeat. The incomparable military courage of the Vietnamese worker and peasant fighters has been matched only by the political treachery of their leadership.'"

What an opportunity this would be for you to attempt to explain why your program of implementing the Paris "peace" accords is not (as we hold) a formula for defeat. Of course, you would have to explain why this is the program not only of the Chinese and Vietnamese Stalinists but also of the Kremlin (which you consider to be "social-imperialist") and Henry Kissinger. No doubt you would tell us about the "two-line struggle" within a coalition government. We are eager to hear your arguments.

For our part, the Spartacist League believes it can demonstrate in debate that it is you, the Maoists, and not the Trotskyists who repeatedly "whip out the same formula which has proven a disaster everywhere they have tried it." The program of coalition government you offer today for Indochina is no different than the one offered by the Chinese CP for Indonesia in 1965 and by Stalin for Spain in 1936. Hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants have paid with their blood for those betrayals, the product of Stalinist class collaboration.

You write that "some honest anti-imperialist forces have been influenced and demoralized by this nonsense in the past," referring to attempts to "baselessly [lump] the Chinese communists and the Soviet revisionists together in a passion for 'detente'...." The SL would welcome an attempt by the *Guardian* to defend in open debate with us the Chinese policy of backing West European members of NATO against the USSR. Furthermore, if there is "a shortage of Trotskyists" in Vietnam, it is not, as you suggest, because revolutionary Marxism is a "white man's burden," but because the Vietnamese Stalinists, led by Ho Chi Minh, murdered the valiant Trotskyist fighters of Indochina and their following.

Because we believe that there may be many potential revolutionaries among those who have been misled by Maoism, we are prepared to make a major effort, calling on all our available resources, to publicize and build a debate between yourselves and the SL on Indochina and related topics. In view of the sharp defeats currently being suffered by the puppets of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam and Cambodia, and given the fundamental political issues involved, such a debate would doubtless awaken wide interest among socialists and labor militants.

You also claim to be committed to political struggle and the development of political clarity on the left. The debate we propose would certainly help define the differences between our respective tendencies, and thus contribute to the clarification you say you desire. The *Guardian* is of course well aware of the shameful record of Stalinism/Maoism which has obscured political understanding through slander and gangsterism, particularly against Trotskyists. This is usually carried out in the name of "not confusing the people." We say that it is easy to mouth the words of Lenin on the need for clarity, but Leninism must be judged in *practice*.

We propose, therefore, that a debate between the Spartacist League and the *Guardian* be held at your earliest convenience at some mutually agreeable location in New York City. Details concerning the organization of the event (speaking time, order of presentation, chairman, participation by members of the audience, etc.) can be easily arranged. We look forward to receiving your reply very soon in order that we can begin work to prepare for this exchange and ensure as great an audience for it as possible.

Fraternally,
Judith Morris
Spartacist League/U.S.
New York Local

Unions March on Washington

Fight Unemployment—Break with the Bosses' Parties!

On April 26 tens of thousands of unionists will march on Washington. Their demand: jobs. While President Ford and the Congress gear up for the "Who Lost Indochina?" debate and talk about plans to reinvade Vietnam under the guise of Terry-and-the-Pirates "evacuation" schemes, the capitalist economy has continued its slide into worldwide depression. And what does the officialdom of organized U.S. labor do about it? Having exhausted the credibility of their usual "write your congressman" ploys, and feeling the pressure from the angry ranks, they have decided to call the first major national union political demonstration in years... *in order to pressure the Democrats!*

The nickel-and-dime reforms being tossed around in Washington together with several phony "full employment" bills are completely inadequate to stem the economic crisis, which is rooted in the capitalist system itself. Only by preparing to eliminate the *cause* of mass layoffs can workers hope to stop depression. And that requires not only militant industrial action but also a *political* break with the big business parties and replacing their cronies in the labor bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership prepared to fight for victory instead of crumbs.

The Industrial Union Department of the AFL-CIO called the Washington demonstration in the wake of the February UAW demonstration in the capital. But even this mild action was too much for AFL-CIO head George Meany, who said, "We are not going to man the barricades yet." The program for the rally was left as vague as possible, not even demanding a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. (The AFL-CIO council has timidly suggested a shorter workweek, but without specifying "no loss in pay." This "safe" reform amounts to a massive *pay cut* for all workers!)

Worst Economic Slump Since The Great Depression

If the solutions proposed by top union leaders are meek, the economic crisis victimizing the ranks is ferocious. Government statistics report that the gross national product was declining at an annual rate of over 10 percent in the first quarter of 1975, the sharpest and deepest plunge since the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Moreover, even President Gerald Ford is predicting depression-level unemployment for the rest of the decade. Here is what the figures show:

• **Idle industrial plant** in the U.S. stands at nearly 40 percent. Manufacturing is running at only 65.5 percent of capacity, and the rate is expected to continue to decline this year (*Business Week*, 21 April). Thus while basic human needs for food, housing, medicine, transportation, education, etc. go unfulfilled, hundreds of billions of dollars' worth of productive capacity lies idle because the owners are unable to operate at a profit.

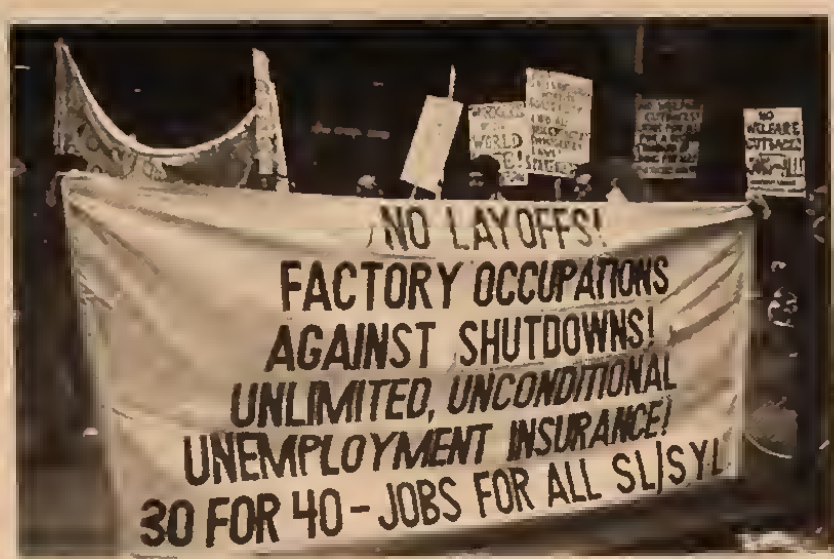
• **Unemployment** now stands officially at 8.7 percent, or 8 million out of work, an increase of 3 million over the last six months and the highest figure in 34 years. But government statistics grossly understate joblessness because workers who have given up looking for work are no longer counted as part of the workforce. Half a million "disappeared" from the workforce in February alone because of such dubious accounting. AFL-CIO estimates put the real figure at 13.7 percent, and even these figures underestimate the scope of the problem. In the major industrial centers such as Detroit and northeastern New Jersey more than 20 percent of the workers are pounding the pavement in search of jobs. Unemployment is universally expected to get worse, not better, in coming months.

• **Black, young and women workers** continue to suffer exorbitantly under the heavy load of special oppression. Vietnam war veterans are also particularly hard hit. Minority youth are experiencing unbearable unemployment rates—over 40 percent even in official figures. The Urban League estimates black unemployment at twice the official rate, or about 3 million out of work nationally. "Affirmative action" programs, like other reformist bandaids, are incapable of stemming the especially heavy unemployment among women and minorities. And now "preferential layoffs" schemes appear, no answer to special oppression but certainly an effective tool of the bosses and their government to divide workers and attack the union seniority principle.

• **Unemployment benefits**, though extended by Congress, are wholly inadequate to maintain a family and last only for a limited time, while the number of long-term unemployed is rising sharply. In especially ravaged industries such as auto hundreds of thousands will be driven onto welfare rolls when benefits run out, and the government already has a record 105 urban areas on its "hard-hit" list. (The UAW-negotiated Supplementary Unemployment Benefits are even more limited: already gone for Chrysler workers, they expire for 132,000 GM unemployed on April 30.)

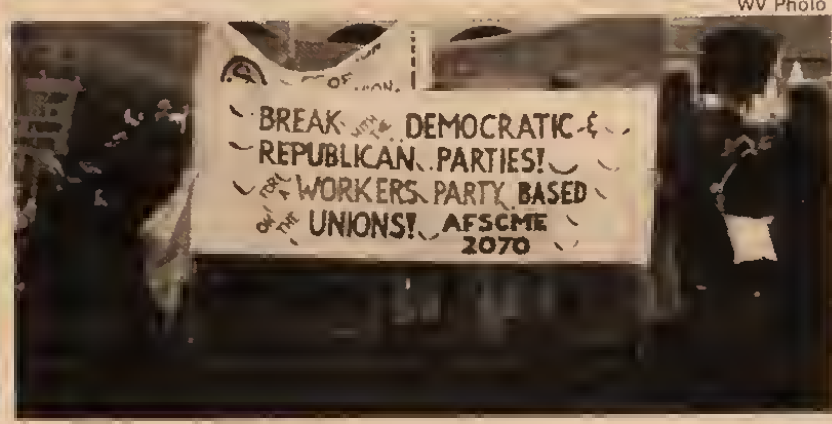
• **The crisis is international** in scope. Most European countries have had higher inflation rates than the U.S. for years, and unemployment is increasing. France experienced 6.1 percent unemployment in January, up from a 5.4 percent average in the last three months of 1974 (*AFL-CIO News*, 22 March) and Japan is experiencing large-scale layoffs for the first time in history. Foreign auto workers like their U.S. counterparts are also feeling the pinch. Volkswagen has announced a cutback of 25,000, including 10,000 dismissals. Schemes to "protect American jobs" with trade quotas and deportation of undocumented workers ("illegal aliens") from the U.S. are being pushed hardest by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. This despicable chauvinism can only set worker against worker and fuel national and race hatreds.

Dispatcher



WV Photo

WV Photo



WV Photo

Responses to mass layoffs: California AFL-CIO rally in Sacramento, March 8 (upper left). IAM march in San Diego in February (lower left). SL-initiated protest in NYC against deportations last month (upper right). AFSCME Local banner at Sacramento rally (lower right).

Roots of the Crisis

The standard predictions of an economic upturn in the second half of 1975 are based on superficial considerations at best. The $24 billion tax cut finally agreed to by President Ford and Congress is supposed to be a "stimulus" to the economy. This puny tax cut, equal to less than 2 percent of the gross national product, is just a political ploy to convince voters that Ford is "doing something." "People are suspicious of it," reported one congressman, "and take it as some kind of a trick." They are right, and it is a deception in which both the Republican Ford and the nearly "veto-proof" liberal Democratic congress, of which the labor bureaucrats are so proud, share equally.

The Democrats have even more tricks up their sleeve—a $5.9 billion "emergency" jobs bill, a $5 billion "public works" bill, etc.—all equally incapable of ending the crisis. Some of these, such as the Reuss/Hawkins/Humphrey bills to "guarantee" full employment and equal opportunity, complete with community-control "councils" to parcel out the jobs, are pure demagogy. (Worthless "full-employment" statutes have been written into federal law since the end of World War II.) They are sure to be used for an elaborate parliamentary charade, in which Ford threatens a veto. Democratic committee chairmen trim the bills to fit budget projections, etc., while unemployment runs rampant.

Democratic and Republican politicians alike are incapable of solving the crisis—or of significantly easing the plight of workers and the unemployed—because the bourgeoisie is incapable of it. The current slump is a cyclical crisis, caused by a decline in the profit rate, such as has occurred repeatedly throughout the history of capitalism, with greater or lesser intensity. As the owners of the means of production are unable to sell their commodities at a profit they curtail production and lay off workers. In this case massive international speculation and price gouging in primary commodities (such as oil and wheat) aggravated the situation.

Concentration and monopolization—the top 50 banks already control over half of bank assets and hold leverage control

continued on page 9

"Socialist" Labor Fakers Back Democrats SEE PAGE 6

ILWU Convention...

(continued from page 12)

bad that even the reformist Communist Party, which since 1934 has hailed Bridges as its favorite "progressive" bureaucrat, has lately been compelled to implicitly criticize him in its press.

Beneath the escalating bureaucratic maneuvering can be glimpsed the restiveness of the ILWU ranks. And indeed they have much to be disgruntled about. Demoralizing defeats have succeeded one another with frightening speed, as different sections of the same union have been ordered to scab on one another's strikes: for example, the fall 1974 Boron strike of ILWU Local 30 in Southern California, which lasted four months while other nearby ILWU locals handled scab borax, and whose defeat meant the loss of more than 400 jobs.

The most recent case was the strike of Canadian Area longshoremen, defeated after three weeks when the Area leadership meekly succumbed to a federal government strikebreaking order. This treachery was abetted by the International, which allowed diverted Canadian cargo to be shipped by ILWU Local 19 in Seattle, despite the fact (or more accurately because of the fact) that the Vancouver strike overlapped with sharp opposition to the proposed longshore contract in the U.S.

Union Militants Assaulted

Fortunately for the future of the ILWU, a union-wide opposition based on a program of class struggle is emerging in opposition to the muddle of power plays and posturing. Initiated by unionists in the two major ILWU Bay Area locals, the grouping is rapidly extending itself into other areas. It distributed a special joint newsletter at the convention, the *Longshore-Warehouse Militant*. This was put out by supporters of the Militant Caucus, based in Local 6 (Bay Area) of the Warehouse Division, and the *Longshore Militant*, based in Local 10 (San Francisco) of the Warehouse Division.

The founders of the Militant Caucus played a major role in defending the KNC strike last January, when their energetic intervention in solidarity with the workers at the small Union City glass factory was successful in mobilizing mass picketing and staving off a Boron-like union-busting defeat. *Longshore Militant* is published by two long-time ILWU oppositionists who have been active members of the union for 40 years between them, and who played a key role in exposing Bridges' attempted longshore contract sellout this year. They also campaigned to stop the handling of diverted cargo by ILWU dockers during the Canadian strike in March.

At the convention, the nakedly vulnerable International bureaucracy, goaded to frenzy by the bureaucratic maneuvering at the top, lashed out in a vicious witchhunting campaign of slander and violence against the militants distributing the *Longshore-Warehouse Militant*. On the very first morning of the convention, Bridges personally organized a somewhat reluctant goon squad which tried to forcibly remove a literature table at which the *L-WM* was being distributed. Participants in the goon squad included primarily high-ranking officials and International appointees. After a considerable argument and some scuffling, the goons called the hotel management, which in turn threatened to call the cops.

When the oppositionists refused to be intimidated, however, the bureaucrats withdrew, threatening to have the militants ejected by the convention. Backing down from this, the bureaucrats then moved to exclude non-delegates from attending committee hearings (traditionally open to any member in good standing). But even this was only partially successful.

The attempt to create a witchhunt atmosphere continued throughout the week. On Wednesday, the International house organ appeared, containing a centerfold on FBI infiltration of the labor movement. Its thrust was that "super militants" are often FBI agents (*Dispatcher*, 4 April). The next day, Local 34 president Hermann, a decades-long Bridges mouthpiece, made the insinuation explicit, stating that some militants "go so far left they start coming from the right" and equating dissidents within the union with the anti-communist McCarthyites who attacked all of organized labor in the 1950's. He concluded by demanding that "we expose those people and deny them the right to exploit our democratic processes."

Lou Goldblatt — Luis Carballar

Bridges forces were unable to convince the delegates that the *L-WM* distributors represented a threat to unionism, so on Friday the goon squad rematerialized but had to content itself with assaulting the sales teams of several radical publications. The *L-WM* militants came to the defense of the radicals, pointing out that all members of the left have the right to seek to disseminate their views. A scuffle ensued (the bureaucrats seemed particularly offended at having their pictures taken and threatened to kill a *WV* salesman) in which the vendors of *People's Tribune* (organ of the pro-Stalin Communist Labor Party) were roughed up.

Ironically, the CLP had contributed to the red-baiting atmosphere which led up to the attack by issuing a special supplement leaflet for the convention which in true sectarian fashion had singled out an alleged Trotskyist menace and declared that Trotsky's "special task" had always been "to throw sand in the eyes of the workers." In the ILWU, long influenced by CP-style Stalinism, militancy is often associated with Trotskyism.

Bridges' Program for Defeat

As part of the official program put forward at the convention to deal with the rapidly declining membership rolls, a shorter workweek and an organizing drive were proposed and adopted. The lunacy of struggling for a shorter workweek *at less pay* was noted by delegates from Hawaii who observed that hotel workers on the islands were already getting only 30 hours' work a week and were not finding this an agreeable situation!

The proposal for an organizing drive, mainly in southern California and the desert states where most container stuffing is done by unorganized labor, is clearly crucial for the survival of the union. But the Goldblatt exponents of the official proposal are thinking only in terms of expanding their dues base, not of escalating the class struggle.

To really organize the "right-to-work" desert-area states means a total commitment by the union and active solidarity from ILWU longshoremen in refusing to handle containers stuffed by non-union labor. This could quickly lead to open conflict with the government and would require the mobilization of the rest of the labor movement in the union's defense. The great CIO organizing drives of the 1930's were driven forward by just such militant tactics—sitdowns and general strikes. To launch an organizing drive with nothing but half-way militant tactics is like pointing an empty gun at an armed burglar.

The real fight of the convention broke out over the merger proposal presented by the Canadian Area. Bridges outlined the objective situation of defeat for which his policies were in fact responsible, then proposed to scuttle the union as the "solution." His message was: if we don't merge we may have to strike over the longshore contract. His main arguement was for longshore merger with the ILA, on the grounds that otherwise struck cargo could be diverted from Pacific to Gulf ports.

Bridges insisted that the motion authorizing merger talks was meant to apply to the entire union, not just to the Canadian Area as many delegates had thought. The convention wound up passing both the Local 6 motion opposing merger and the Canadian motion authorizing negotiations directed at merger. (This of course gives Bridges the opening to act on the pro-merger motion while ignoring the no-merger motion. The danger is that Bridges will try to organize a breakaway of Canada hoping for a stampede.)

Bridges' prestige had sunk so low that at this point in the proceedings delegate after delegate rose to attack him. The highlights of the discussion were attempts by local bureaucrats compromised by their locals' complicity in the backstabbing of the Boron and Canada strikes to unload all responsibility on the International's slimy shoulders. In addition, a motion was actually passed which attributed the Boron defeat to the allegedly outrageous demands of the rank and file!

The Challenger

Out of the muddled squabbling an electoral battle directed against Bridges emerged. L.A. area longshore Local 13 president Rubio was nominated to run against Bill Chester for vice president. This is generally regarded as a shadow fight with Bridges—as Chester is official "Assistant to the President" and lacks a power base independent of Bridges' own shattered base—in preparation for the next election.

(In 1977 an amendment to the union's constitution adopted at this convention will go into effect, specifying that no one over 65 can hold International office. International secretary-treasurer Goldblatt had initially attempted to force Bridges into retirement; the new amendment represents a behind-the-scenes compromise which makes both Bridges and Goldblatt lame ducks, though heading for pensions roughly four times that available to the average ILWU retiree.)

The pattern of nominating speeches made it clear that an alliance had been established between Rubio, Goldblatt and vice president (for Organization) George Martin. Thus the Rubio candidacy is nothing more than another "palace-coup opposition" in the tradition of "Jock" Yablonski in the Mine Workers Union (UMWA). What difference there is lies in the fact that the ILWU bureaucracy is being squeezed between an economic crisis and a militant membership which remembers the union's highly political history. The threat of dismemberment of the union could possibly propel layers of the union structure toward a distorted version of leftward motion.

Rubio's cheap shots at Bridges at the convention were an example of spilling the beans characteristic of a falling out among cynics. In seeking to paint a rosy picture of the merger schemes as fostering unity at the base (rather than simply amalgamation at the top), Bridges had claimed that only a merger could assure the ranks that the ILA would not handle diverted cargo in future strikes. Rubio rose to challenge him. How could Bridges make such an assertion when during the Boron and Canadian strikes one section of his own union had handled another ILWU section's struck cargo?

Yet the shoe fits Rubio equally well. He is president of one of the locals which handled the scab Borax! And the very thin veneer of militancy which he now seeks to don is dictated in part by another simple fact: it was Local 13 rejection of the sellout longshore contract which necessitated a second round of voting as the International struggled in locals up and down the coast to get the L.A. veto overridden (unsuccessfully, followed by a vain attempt to get it through at the convention). Yet Rubio himself had endorsed the contract! This kind of isolation in right field in one's own power base is enough to make a verbal "militant" out of any collaborationist hack.

The ranks of the ILWU must resolutely oppose this latest false opposition, whose only purpose is to channel militancy into a new round of demoralizing defeats. In a period of deepening capitalist crisis, the ruling class will seek more and more actively to control and break the unions. Only a leadership with an unequivocal commitment to class struggle and international workers' solidarity will be able to fight back. In the ILWU only the program advanced by the Militant Caucus and the *Longshore Militant* points the road forward.■

Spartacist League Local Directory

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6785,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA..... (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

SWP Says "Patronage for Everyone!"

Daley Routs Opposition in Chicago Election

CHICAGO, April 3—"Boss" Richard Daley was re-elected mayor here Tuesday with a resounding 78 percent of the vote, the highest ever in his six bids for the office (all successful). Already in February he had scored an easy primary victory over several Democratic Party challengers. Evidently the army of ward heelers and patronage peddlers who are the cogs of the best-oiled political machine in the country can still deliver the goods.

The Republican candidate, John Hoellen, already conceded defeat after the primary when he lost his seat as alderman in a ward he had held for 28 years (he was the lone Republican on the last city council). Charging that the Daley steamroller tried to "buy the ward with rivers of beer and fountains of whisky," Hoellen said, "They could put a gorilla against me and the gorilla would be elected by the machine" (*Chicago Daily News*, 26 February). The ex-alderman tried to bow out but was induced by Republican leaders to stay in the race only so that the party would not lose its ballot status.

The Chicago Democratic machine has dominated local political life for most of the twentieth century. Typically, whenever the corruption, nepotism and graveyard voting became too unsavory for public consumption, the machine would simply run its own reform candidate. However, in the early 1950's a bumbling "reform" mayor, Martin Kennelly, instituted some civil service reforms that disrupted the party's patronage system. Kennelly nailed his coffin shut by angering black ward boss William Dawson, trying to clean up vice and gambling on the latter's turf. Daley was chosen to run against Kennelly and his margin of victory in the 1955 primary came from the black wards.

For 20 years Daley's power has been uncontested in Chicago (1975 was the first time he faced primary opposition since being elected), with ward bosses, labor bureaucrats, the Mafia and even the Republican Party all selling their influence in return for lucrative handouts from city hall. Daley was careful to spice this up with a few razzle-dazzle construction projects, a drop of federal housing in an ocean of some of the worst slums in the country, and a certain number of city jobs going to blacks and other ethnic groups in addition to the politically dominant Irish.

Chicago Mayor Richard Daley

However, despite careful management of the pork barrel spoils, Chicago remains one of the most sharply segregated and openly racist large cities in the U.S., a point that was underscored by Daley's famous "shoot-to-kill" order during the 1968 ghetto riots. And even bought judges have been unable to cover up the stench of corruption as the mayor's son, his former floor leader in the city council and his former press agent have all been implicated in graft deals. Daley himself and his wife were recently exposed as secret stockholders in a local real estate firm.

Daley's bourgeois opponents have been reduced to limply raising their (somewhat soiled) banners of clean government and trying to beat the mayor at the "law and order" game. The Democratic primary also-rans this year included "Fast Eddie" Hanrahan, who achieved national infamy as the state's attorney who led the police death squad that killed two Black Panther leaders in 1969. The liberals' darling, Bill Singer, managed to get the endorsement of recently elected Steelworkers district director Ed Sadlowski (which gives an idea of the politics of that purported "labor radical"), but this did not stop Singer from attacking the "excessive" wages and personnel of the garbage collection department (in a panel discussion at the University of Chicago on January 20).

A new contender for the mayoralty this year was the Socialist Workers Party, in the person of its candidate Willie Mae Reid. Reid managed to get on the ballot in spite of blatantly anti-democratic election laws which require "independent" candidates to present more than 40,000 signatures in order to qualify while the major bourgeois parties only have to submit about 3,000. Having gathered the necessary signatures, the SWP promised "the biggest, most audacious campaign the Socialist Workers Party has ever run in Illinois" (*Militant*, 27 December).

The SWP program in the Chicago elections, however, was nothing but reformist pablum. While these ex-Trotskyists are building their national presidential drive on the twin themes of an updated "Spirit of '76" and socialism through constitutional amendment (a "Bill of Rights for Working People"), Reid's local campaign has been a model of municipal "sewer socialism" in the style of Victor Berger, long-time social-democratic mayor of Milwaukee. Her keynote is "make Chicago work for us" and the equally meaningless "Chicago can become *our* kind of town" (*Militant*, 14 March).

The demands raised by the SWP candidate are for closing tax loopholes, taxing the profits of the large corporations and federal financing of school, medical and day-care facilities (*ibid.*). Such demands are perfectly indistinguishable from those of the liberal Democrats! In contrast, Trotskyists call for the *expropriation without compensation* of industry and finance, for revolutionary action by the working class instead of small-change parliamentary reformism.

It is little wonder that the *Chicago Tribune* (28 February) commented about one of Reid's speeches that it contained "Nothing one could relate to the image of bomb-throwing revolutionaries who want to overthrow the government." The SWP chose to battle Daley above all on his home ground of ethnic politics. In fact, Reid reportedly went so far as to promise not to end the patronage system but "just extend it so everybody would be covered" (*Chicago Sun-Times*, 22 February). Later the candidate claimed to a *WV* reporter that she had been misquoted. "We are opposed to patronage," she said, "but it should be extended to each and every person"!

At a February forum, Andrew Pulley of the SWP asked one of the Democratic primary hopefuls, black state senator John Newhouse, whether he would support Reid if Daley won the primary, since Reid would then be the only black candidate on the ballot. Although Newhouse avoided the question, he could easily have turned the tables. Would the SWP support Newhouse if he were the "only black running"?

One of Reid's themes in the Chicago campaign has been calling for an "independent black candidate" and an "independent black party." What she means by this, however, is merely independence from the Democrats and Republicans. In its pamphlet, "The Case for an Independent Black Party," the SWP states:

> "The character of an independent black party will, of course, be determined by its founders and members....
> "How radical it will actually be, and what kind of radicalism it will actually express, will depend on the composition and outlook of the leaders and forces who launch the party and their evolution as they operate in the political arena."

What these reformists are saying is that if a party were formed by black liberals of the Newhouse stripe, so long as it is separate from the Democrats and Republicans, the SWP would support it. The "independent" black party they call for could very well be a *bourgeois* party, led by disgruntled poverty bureaucrats, ministers and "black capitalist" elements such as Jesse Jackson.

In the election, Reid received about 16,000 votes or slightly under 2.5 percent of the total. Although some of these voters may have desired to support a truly revolutionary socialist party and cast their ballot for the SWP as a "lesser evil," to give electoral support to this social-democratic electioneering could only serve to create illusions in reformism where they did not exist before. The program of the Trotskyists when intervening in bourgeois elections (or anywhere else) is not the SWP's parliamentary tinkering but the Transitional Program of socialist revolution.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES—*Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00—6:00 p.m.
330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.
538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

"Maybe we need more of that socialistic thinking."

—George Meany, 19 December 1974

UPI

Left Talk in Hard Times

"Socialist" Labor Fakers Back Democrats

George Meany a socialist? Never! But the current depression-scale capitalist economic crisis is punishing all workers and demands an answer from the trade unions. Predictably the response from the bureaucracy has been a lot of empty talk, futile pleading and class betrayal. Tens of thousands are organized by the union misleaders for a march on Washington *to put pressure on the Democratic Party*. But not one unionist will be organized by Meany/Woodcock & Co. for the necessary struggle to put an end to the human misery and suffering caused by the wasteful, destructive boom-bust cycle of capitalism.

Nevertheless, the word "socialism"—but not the genuine socialist program for planned production for use, not profit, and the abolition of class society—has become more "popular" these days as the labor fakers attempt to gain credence in order to safely channel the deepening anger of the ranks. Such fake socialists may label their political views "democratic socialism" or claim to be part of the "democratic left," but whatever they call themselves and wherever they exist in the capitalist world the social-democratic program is the same: labor reformism, national chauvinism and virulent anti-communism, disguised as classless "democratic" criticism of the bureaucratically deformed workers states.

In the U.S. the labor bureaucracy is already feeling the pressure from enraged ranks for policies that can be carried out only through a militant mobilization of the working class. But there should be no illusions. Mr. Meany's talk of a need for "more socialistic thinking" does not mean the labor fakers are about to break with the capitalist parties and form a labor party. As the *New York Times* (16 March) recently commented about AFL-CIO leaders' criticisms of the Democrats:

> "...the one point of genuine unanimity on political policy is that American labor wants no Labor party on the British model. At the mid-winter meeting of the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Executive Council in Florida last month Mr. Meany reiterated his abhorrence of the Labor party idea at the very same time that he was proclaiming the readiness of the federation to tell both major parties to 'go to hell' whenever it disagreed with their candidates or programs."

When Meany did "break" with the Democrats in 1972 it was only to give backhanded support to the anti-labor criminal Richard Nixon!

Now during the worst crisis for the U.S. economy since the onset of the great depression—the highest unemployment,

Socialist Reporter

Michael Harrington

the sharpest drop in gross national product, bankruptcies and plant closures—workers urgently need independent class-struggle policies and leadership. But this leadership can only be built through unceasing struggle against the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy—even when it begins to mouth "socialist" phrases.

After the days of Eugene Debs, U.S. social democracy as a distinct political tendency became and remained a small, stagnant cesspool near the stream of labor reformism. It has always been patronized by a number of top union leaders. Moreover, today differences within the labor bureaucracy between Meanyite conservatives and so-called "progressive" bureaucrats like the UAW tops or AFSCME's Jerry Wurf are mirrored in the two wings of official social democracy.

Two years ago the moribund U.S. Socialist Party split over the question of whom to support for U.S. president—the

New America

Bayard Rustin

most liberal Democrat...or the most reactionary Democrat. Those who favored Henry Jackson, the war-mongering "Senator from Boeing," broke to form the Social Democrats USA (SDUSA) under Bayard Rustin. Michael Harrington led those who supported the nomination of liberal George McGovern to set up the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC).

SDUSA: Right Wing of the Democratic Party

Bayard Rustin's SDUSA echoes George Meany straight down the line. The pages of its journal, *New America*, rail against importing foreign-made products and denounce the "designs of the North Vietnamese" to destroy the South Vietnamese trade-union movement while massacring masses of Vietnamese before the firing squads (*New America*, 31 January 1975).

Although Meany himself is not directly connected with the Social Democrats USA, many Meanyite AFL-CIO officials are. SDUSA supporters and friends include Meany assistant Tom Kahn; William Marshall, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO; Mary Ellen Riordan, vice president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT); Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers; Dave Chaney, vice president of the American Clothing Workers of America and a number of other top-level bureaucrats.

Another category favored by these ultra-right-wing social democrats is that of "labor statesmen." On March 13 a testimonial dinner was held in honor of I.W. Abel, president of the United Steelworkers of America, at which he was awarded the SDUSA's Eugene V. Debs award for his "contributions to the cause of economic and political democracy"! His "contributions" in giving up the steelworkers' right to strike no doubt received "honorable" mention along with a "blue ribbon" for vicious red-baiting against opposition militants.

No wonder, then, that the SDUSA's program to fight the economic crisis is merely a carbon copy of the AFL-CIO's, a string of reformist demands aimed at securing a slightly better deal for workers under capitalism through pressuring Democratic politicians: public job programs, "doubling" the youth summer job program, federal investment in public works projects, tax cuts, health care insurance for the unemployed, etc.

The Liberal DSOC

Claiming to be a left opposition to the SDUSA, Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee is only a slightly more liberal version of right-wing social democracy. Both groups pledge their allegiance to the U.S. State Department. Pretending to be morally outraged by "Communist Totalitarianism" they form a common bloc with imperialism as a consequence of their aspirations to be the political representatives of the U.S. labor aristocracy. Both support U.S. military aid for Zionist expansion in the Near East. Each organization bemoans "a threatened loss of Portugal's nascent democracy." And of course both groups swear their fealty to the Democratic Party.

DSOC patted itself on the back for having five of its members elected as delegates to the Democrats' "miniconvention" last December. DSOC National Secretary Jack Clark crowed: "Our Kansas City operation shows that we are a serious current in the left wing of the Democratic Party." Although DSOC announces its intentions to establish a "socialist presence in America," according to its journal, Harrington "will not urge the Democratic Party to embrace democratic socialism in 1976. That proposal is premature given current political realities and the views of most Americans" (*Newsletter of the Democratic Left*, December 1974).

The "action" program of the DSOC is limited to tax reform, "socially useful undertakings"(?), and other small-change reform schemes. Its "maximum" program-for-later is even worse, calling for such "socialist" measures as putting employees on the boards of directors of major corporations and establishing an "Office of the Future" as part of the U.S. presidency.

With its program of liberal reforms and meaningless references to democratic decision-making in the far-off future, it is not surprising that a host of "progressive" bureaucrats can be found in and around DSOC. On DSOC's National Board are Leslie Nulty from the United Auto Workers (UAW) research staff and David Selden, former president of the AFT. Among the "vice-chairpersons" elected at DSOC's recent convention are Victor Reuther, former international affairs director of the UAW; Chicago-area UAW leader Carl Sheir; and Ralph Helstein, president emeritus of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen.

Greetings were sent to the social democrats' conference by a number of liberal labor fakers including William Dobbs, political action director of the UAW; Murray Finley, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Moe Fraser, executive secretary of District 1199, National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; Douglas Fraser, international vice president of the UAW; Patrick Gorman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meatcutters and Butcher Workmen; Victor Gotbaum, executive director of District Council 37 of AFSCME; Jerry Wurf, president of AFSCME; Edward Sadlowski, director of District 31 of the United Steelworkers; and Dolores Huerta, vice president of the United Farm Workers.

While these "progressives" may be willing to bolster their image by lending a little support to the Harrington outfit, they remain firm supporters of the Democrats and treacherous betrayers who repeatedly sell out the workers' struggles. The Woodcock clique, so heavily represented in the DSOC leadership, is notorious for its complete lack of action during recent massive layoffs in the auto industry. Instead of organizing militant actions—such as sitdown strikes against plant closings—the UAW officials trooped to Washington to beg capitalist politicians for more unemployment benefits, while publicly lamenting the drop in auto companies' profits. Another of these "progressives", Victor Gotbaum of DC 37, after caving in to the several thousand layoffs of New York City workers, announced he was joining DSOC to "work to make good men like [Democratic city council president] Paul O'Dwyer understand the human suffering the crisis is causing."

For Socialist Revolution—Not Social-Democratic Betrayal!

Although in the U.S. it has been largely submerged in recent decades, social democracy is a real and dangerous current within the labor movement, throwing up a particularly poisonous

continued on page 11

No Choice for Workers

Mock Elections in Portugal

A Voz do Trabalhador

Maoist leaders of the Chemical Workers Union being arrested by troops of the Armed Forces Movement last month. Military officials are now running the union.

APRIL 16—Ever since the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) toppled rightist dictator Marcello Caetano last April, ending 45 years of corporatist rule in Portugal, it has acted as a bonapartist arbiter, seeking to balance between competing class forces in order to prevent the "excesses" of either revolution or counterrevolution. When workers sought to take advantage of their newly won liberties, the MFA broke a May-June strike wave by threatening to use troops against postal workers. Yet shortly afterwards it turned around and prevented conservative elements from freezing the Communist Party (CP) out of the first provisional government.

Similarly in September leftist officers first expelled sitdown strikers from installations of the national airlines, then frustrated an attempt by President General António de Spinola to mobilize a right-wing "silent majority" for a coup d'état from above. Most recently, following an unsoccessful putsch by Spinolist officers on March 11, the MFA simultaneously nationalized banks and insurance companies, formed a "Supreme Council of the Revolution" and cracked down on "undisciplined" radicals.

Like the CP, the Armed Forces Movement calls for a "democratic revolution." Its program centers on classic bourgeois-democratic demands such as "freedom of expression," "freedom of association," "right of assembly," "trade-union liberty," "the abolition of censorship," "immediate amnesty for all political prisoners" and elections for a National Assembly within 12 months. But in order to carry out its bonapartist role, in practice the MFA has proceeded to severely curtail democratic rights, particularly for socialists and the labor movement.

Thus trade unions led by leftist opponents of the military regime are subjected to "intervention" (receivership) by the government and their leaders arrested. Strikes are almost totally outlawed. Censorship was reinstituted as early as last June and socialist newspapers have been banned for weeks at a time. Leftist demonstrations are often declared illegal, Maoist parties have been outlawed and their supporters thrown in jail.

As a sop to domestic conservatives and imperialist pressure, elections for a constituent assembly are to be held on schedule, April 25, but under carefully controlled conditions. Two Maoist groups, the Movement for the Reorganizing of the Proletarian Party (MRPP) and the Worker-Peasant Alliance (AOC), have been dropped from the ballot and a third, the Communist Electoral Front Marxist-Leninist (FEC-ML), was temporarily suspended for insulting the Armed Forces Movement. Voters who do not support any party are being officially encouraged to cast blank ballots as an indication of support for the MFA.

"Institutionalizing" the Armed Forces Movement

Wary of the possibility of a hostile center-right victory in even these tightly circumscribed elections, MFA leaders moved earlier this month to "institutionalize" their role as supreme arbiter of Portuguese politics. The instrument was a pact handed to the legally recognized parties on April 4 "for discussion"; the recipients were given exactly 48 hours to respond. All the major parties signed the thinly disguised ultimatum, although several smaller leftist groups refused.

According to the terms of this de facto constitution, all key powers will be in the hands of the president and the Supreme Council of the Revolution. The president is simultaneously chief of state, chairman of the revolutionary council and supreme commander of the armed forces. He can name the head of government, dissolve parliament and order new elections with the approval of the council. The Supreme Council, in turn, can impose a state of emergency, decide controversies over the constitutionality of laws, and issue laws itself.

During the "transition period," which will last "three to five years," all laws passed by the parliament must be approved by the revolutionary council in order to be implemented. In any case the political parties will have no control over military affairs and the council must approve the ministers of interior, economic planning and defense.

At the ceremony accompanying the signing of the "institutionalization" pact, President General Francisco da Costa Gomes summed up the thinking behind this move, denouncing "minorities who have become drunk with liberty and abuse it in demonstrations of anarchy, impotence and verbal opportunism" (*Diario de Noticias*, 12 April). The purpose of the pact, he suggested, was to

continued on next page

Avante!

Communist Party election propaganda in Lisbon.

Portugal Socialista

Ceremony installing the fourth provisional government in Portugal last month.

Portuguese Elections...

(continued from page 7)

prevent such groups from disturbing the revolutionary process, which must develop in "peace," "tranquility" and "serenity."

"Officers and Gentlemen"

Just as in Chile, the Stalinist CP tries to fool the masses into believing socialism can be brought about by following a "peaceful road" based on alliance with the "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie, in the Portuguese case the Armed Forces Movement. The "alliance of the MFA with the people" has been the cornerstone of Communist Party policy since April 25. The same is true, although with more reluctance, for the Socialist Party (SP) and two "left" satellites of the MFA-CP-SP bloc, the Socialist Left Movement (MES) and Popular Socialist Front (FSP). Yet the bourgeois officer caste, in the guise of the MFA or more rightist generals, has repeatedly suppressed the struggles of the working class and will utterly destroy the organized labor movement if necessary in order to maintain capitalist rule!

Following the bloody end of the "Chilean road to socialism" in the September 1973 coup, the Kremlin concluded that the solution was a more solid alliance with "progressive officers." The MFA is presented by Moscow-line Stalinists as the "answer" to Chile, a bulwark against "fascism." In turn, members of the Supreme Council of the Revolution, such as the "red admiral" Antonio Coutinho, announce that "we are going to socialism in the next three to five years" (*New York Times*, 15 April).

Nevertheless, MFA leaders have been unable to prevent the repeated appearance of reactionary conspiracies among their fellow officers. Counterrevolutionary elements in the bourgeois armed forces cannot be eliminated simply by the arrest of a few dozen plotters or even a wide-ranging *saneamento* (purge). The military is the mailed fist of the ruling class and the officer caste, and as Lenin remarked, is tied to the exploiters "by a thousand threads." What is necessary in order to crush reaction is to *destroy* the capitalist army and replace it with a workers militia.

As for the "socialism" and "anti-monopoly" policies of the MFA, we need only consider the words of President Costa Gomes, who explained at the inauguration of the fourth "provisional government" that, "We will create a climate of confidence and tranquility which will permit those businessmen who are prepared to distribute the wealth produced with social justice to invest with an acceptable risk in the sectors reserved for private initiative" (*Diario de Noticias*, 27 March).

Capitalists and Reformists

The Stalinist and social-democratic leaders are not confused about the role of the military, but rather are themselves committed to the maintenance of capitalist rule. Thus the SP talks of socialist revolution "now," but insists on the presence of the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD) in the government coalition. The CP, lacking a compatible bourgeois coalition partner, has sought to create its own captive "non-socialist" party, the Portuguese Democratic Movement (MDP), in order to attract middle-class votes.

But the CP and SP, in spite of their leaders' pro-capitalist policies, are part of the workers movement and subject to pressures from their base. While the pro-Moscow Stalinists engaged in open strikebreaking last year, they are obviously under pressure from the left at present.

It is not surprising that the Communist Party engineered the "suspension" of Maoist groups from the elections. However, it also backed the elimination of right-wing Christian Democrats from the ballot and called for the ouster of the PPD from the fourth provisional government. This action, while it evidently met with Kremlin approval, brought sharp criticism from the Italian and Spanish CP's.

Moreover, in recent days Communist Party head Alvaro Cunhal has declared several times that "in the Portuguese conditions, a democratic regime is incompatible with the power of the monopolies and the latifundists and...therefore in Portugal 'there will not be bourgeois democracy'"(*Avante!*, 3 April). Lest anyone get the misleading impression that the CP might be thinking of socialist revolution, however, the Stalinists were careful to eliminate any mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat from their program at a special congress last October.

Break with the MFA!

From the time of the *Communist Manifesto* on, Marxists have fought for the political independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie. This program was upheld by Lenin and Trotsky against the reformists who sought to tie the proletariat to its exploiters through "popular fronts," coalition governments and other forms of class collaboration. Trotsky wrote in the "Transitional Program" (1938) that, "The chief accusation which the Fourth International advances against the traditional organizations of the proletariat is the fact that they do not wish to tear themselves away from the corpse of the bourgeoisie."

The Portuguese workers need above all a Trotskyist party, struggling for the Marxist program of proletarian independence, in order to open the road to socialist revolution. However, the only ostensible Trotskyist tendency on the ballot, the Liga Comunista Internacionalista (LCI—Internationalist Communist League, a sympathizing section of the so-called "United Secretariat" of Ernest Mandel & Co.), capitulates to the "socialist" pretensions of the MFA.

For example, the LCI election manifesto published in January does not mention the Armed Forces Movement *once* in the space of six pages! There are many correct demands raised in this program, including a number of transitional demands (sliding scale of wages and hours; workers control of production; expropriation of large industry, commerce and agriculture; workers militias). It even calls for the replacement "of the present government of class collaboration with the bourgeoisie...." But it does *not* call for a break with the MFA, which is the burning issue in Portugal today. This is no oversight, but a conscious policy.

In the LCI's opinion, the MFA is not a bourgeois force. In a statement on "The Present Political Situation and the Intervention of the LCI in the Elections for the Constituent Assembly" (*Luta Proletária*, 14 January; translated in *Inprecor*, 7 February), it writes that:

> "...the centers of political power have been removed from the direct control of the bourgeoisie or, rather, from that of any of its parties. A military caste appears to have raised itself above the two fundamental social classes in struggle...."

This statement refers to a "petty-bourgeois reformist military caste." Another example of its failure to recognize the bourgeois class character of the MFA was its response to the "institutionalization" pact. While refusing to sign it, like the Maoists the LCI reportedly explained its refusal by the fact that capitalist parties were also asked to sign, and demanded that "the capitalist ministers leave the government" (*Diario de Noticias*, 10 April). But even without capitalist ministers in the phantom "provisional government" the regime will remain bourgeois because power is in the hands of the military! Without a call for breaking with the MFA, occasional condemnations of class collaboration are meaningless and the LCI is, in fact, just as some of the Maoists have observed, a "left" tail of the bonapartist military dictatorship.

A Bourgeois Workers Government?

The crowning jewel in the LCI's diadem of capitulation is its transformation of the Bolshevik slogan of a workers government into a call for a left social-democratic government *of the bourgeois state*. The January election manifesto referred to a "*revolutionary government of the workers*...constituted by all the workers and revolutionary organizations." However, references to "revolutionary" have since been dropped, reportedly after internal discussion. In a document published under the title "Programmatic Bases of the Liga Comunista Internacionalista" (*Diario de Noticias*, 12 April), the LCI states that:

> "That is why the imposition of a workers government within the framework of a capitalist state—within the framework of the maintenance of capitalist economic and social relations and the maintenance of a political apparatus intended to perpetuate it—is only a first step on the road of proletarian revolution and socialism."

Comrades of the LCI, ever since the experience of the Paris Commune revolutionary Marxists have understood that the proletariat could come to power only by smashing the bourgeois state apparatus! Marx and Engels wrote, in the 1872 introduction to the *Communist Manifesto*, that "One thing especially was proved by the Commune, *viz.*, that 'the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery, and wield it for its own purposes.'"

Within the Marxist movement there has been a certain amount of confusion about the slogan of a "workers government" or "workers and peasants government." Trotsky wrote in 1922 that the slogan is "an algebraic formula" whose advantage is that "it reaches even those workers who have not yet raised themselves to the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat." "Its disadvantages," he added, "...consist in that it can be given a purely parliamentary sense..." ("The Workers Government"). This is precisely what the LCI has done.

The origins of this betrayal of Marxist principles and the interests of the proletariat are to be found in the writings of the Pabloist revisionists, who broke with Trotskyism in the early 1950's by denying the need for an independent revolutionary Marxist party and endowing the Stalinist betrayers with the ability to carry out a proletarian revolution. Writing on the Transitional Program, one of the leaders of the United Secretariat to which the LCI belongs, Pierre Frank, commented that the USec had "revived and enriched" the teachings of the Communist International by using the slogan of a workers government as "a transitional governmental formula corresponding to the organizational conditions and consciousness of the masses at a given moment, *and not as a synonym for the dictatorship of the proletariat*" (*International Socialist Review*, May-June 1967, our emphasis).

Trotsky explicitly rejected this reformist conception. In the Transitional Program he wrote that the Stalinists "gave to the formula of the 'workers' and peasants' government' a completely different, purely 'democratic,' i.e., bourgeois content, *counterposing* it to the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Bolshevik-Leninists resolutely rejected the slogan of the 'workers' and peasants' government' in the bourgeois-democratic version." Shortly afterward he stated that the workers and peasants government "is nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat" ("Conversations on the Slogan 'Workers and Farmers Government'," *Writings 1938-39*).

For a Trotskyist Party in Portugal

Today in Portugal, the CP and SP shackle the combative workers by allying with the bourgeois officer caste in the form of the Armed Forces Movement. If the Maoists do not openly support the MFA, they are unable to clearly break from it because of their Stalinist policies. Although tens of thousands of socialist militants stand to the left of the reformist Communist Party, and have participated in concrete struggles which bring them into conflict with the MFA, they have no revolutionary Marxist party to lead them.

We have on occasion given critical electoral support to other workers parties when a vote for their candidates, despite fundamental errors and ambiguities in their programs, could represent a class vote against the bourgeoisie. In the case of small tendencies which do not have a mass base, we have given such critical support when they have actively fought against class collaboration. Thus in the 1973 French parliamentary elections the Spartacist League called for votes to candidates of the OCI and Lutte Ouvrière organizations, which campaigned against the popular-front Union of the Left, while sharply criticizing their call for votes to the CP and SP (the workers parties of the popular front).

But in Portugal, the LCI not only calls for votes to the CP (as well as the FSP and MES) in those districts in which the LCI itself is not running candidates, but it utterly fails to present a class pole of opposition to the MFA. It falsely interprets the MFA's attempt to play a bonapartist role as placing the "progressive officers" outside of the bourgeois camp. An LCI communiqué of 15 February even declares that "The workers movement...must offer to these 'progressive officers' the effective possibilities to...accelerate their joining the combat of the working class" (*Combate Operário*, March 1975).

By explicitly calling for a "workers government" of the bourgeois state and *not* demanding a break with the MFA, the LCI in effect adopts a "two-stage" conception of revolution not fundamentally different from that of the Stalinists. It is significant that the Communist Party for several weeks took up the demand for the expulsion of the PPD from the provisional government (which would leave no bourgeois party in the "government"). This did not for a minute affect its alliance with the bourgeois MFA, the cornerstone of current CP policy in Portugal.

Therefore, the Spartacist League gives no electoral support to the LCI, while calling on LCI militants (and those of other ostensibly revolutionary organiza- to struggle for the Marxist policy of working-class political independence. The building of an authentic Trotskyist party in Portugal in the course of a fight to reforge the Fourth International is the necessary precondition for successful proletarian revolution and the creation of a true workers government, a regime based on the democratic rule of workers soviets.■

Demonstrate Against Imperialist Chief Gerald Ford!

—Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all U.S. troops and aid from Southeast Asia!

—Military Victory to the NLF and Cambodian FALN!

—All Indochina Must Go Communist!

NEW HAVEN
Law School—Yale University
Friday, 25 April
6:30 p.m.

For further information:
New Haven SYL: (203)432-1170
New York SYL: (212)925-5665

...Attica

(continued from page 2)

tresses for sleeping when the inmates had none, food when the inmates were starving. The inmates realized that the hostages were their only real capital at Rockefeller's bargaining table and they protected their meager collateral. Outside the prison walls, however, the cops were fabricating tales of prisoner atrocities—disembowelments, throat cuttings, castrations and sexual violations—which were passed on to the press for public consumption. The cops cynically dubbed the prisoners holding hostages "executioners"!

After the massive barrage of firepower the cops, "outraged" by their own fanciful stories, proceeded to amuse themselves inside the prison for endless hours. Inmates were threatened, repeatedly clubbed, stripped and made to run a gauntlet of 30 night-stick swinging savages, forced to crawl on their bellies. One prisoner was sodomized several times with a Phillips screwdriver. Medics allowed into the prison to assist the wounded and carry out the dead were met with a grisly sight:

> "The third dead 'executioner' [inmate with a hostage] suffered multiple wounds, apparently from two separate sidearms, fired at close range, both in front of and behind him. The autopsy report revealed 18 separate puncture wounds and the ballistics laboratory analyzed 13 separate bullet fragments from his body."
>
> *Attica* (The Official Report of the New York State Special Commission on Attica)

Four others, besides those shot in the police assault, were found dead in the prison—one guard, William Quinn, who was a hostage and was evidently unintentionally killed during the first minutes of the revolt, and three inmates apparently murdered by other inmates during the time they held prison yard D. These three are believed to have been police informers. (For more detailed reportage and analysis, see "Massacre at Attica," *WV* No. 1, October 1971.)

Whitewash and Frame-Up

The subsequent court action has been a total whitewash of the state and its professional killers, and a frame-up of the leaders of the prisoners' uprising. The death total at Attica was 43—39 of these by gunshot wounds from Rockefeller's cops. To date one Attica prisoner, John Hill, has been convicted of first-degree murder; another, Charles Pernasilice, of second-degree assault. Both were charged in connection with the death of Quinn. Of 62 inmates in 42 indictments for crimes stemming from the revolt, five will soon be tried for murdering the stool pigeons. In contrast, *not one cop has been indicted by either of the two grand juries investigating Attica!* No clearer testimony to the class nature of bourgeois "justice" could be made.

There has been a significant increase recently in the number of more or less openly political trials. While the liberals and Gerald Ford talk of Watergate as a relic of the long-gone "Nixon era," prosecutors, law-enforcement agencies and grand juries are still railroading innocent victims and resorting to police-state tactics. Evidence is suppressed, proof manufactured, witnesses threatened and bribed, secret indictments and hearings are used to fix later convictions, defense efforts are sabotaged by police infiltrators and, if necessary, "justice" officials help prepare the crimes and then "direct" convictions.

The State of New York, eager to justify its savagery at Attica, has employed several such tactics. One prison guard has already admitted falsely identifying an inmate defendant in order to obtain a desirable transfer; a former prisoner and state witness testified that he was tortured by troopers and guards after the rebellion in order to elicit his future cooperation; other former inmate prosecution "witnesses" have obtained speedy release from jail. Nonetheless, on the basis of the most circumstantial evidence and conflicting testimony from unreliable witnesses, Hill was convicted of first-degree murder and Pernasilice of a felony.

The prosecution's case against Pernasilice was so flimsy that presiding judge Gilbert King virtually had to direct the verdict. One of the jurors acknowledged as much after the trial. "I think basically we would have liked to acquit him but felt we had to abide by the charge given to us by the judge" (*New York Post*, 7 April). During the trial Judge King systematically blocked all references to prison conditions and the massacre itself.

Police Set Up George Jackson?

Among the several political frame-up trials currently in progress is that of the San Quentin Six, inmates charged with killing guards at the California prison on 21 August 1971. There has always been widespread speculation about cop provocation in that incident, during which Black Panther George Jackson was killed by guards. Recently Marin County chief deputy public defender Frank Cox, lawyer for one of the six, filed an affidavit contending the U.S. and state police agencies had foreknowledge of the escape attempt and had set Jackson up by providing him with phony explosives and an inoperative gun.

The affidavit was filed along with a motion for defense access to police agency files pertaining to the case. Judge Henry Broderick, however, denied the motion on the incredible basis that "what happened before wasn't pertinent to the case" and because compelling "police agencies to yield their information would delay the trial..." (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 March). The trial has been pending for three and one half years!

These are by no means the only recent victims of bourgeois class justice in the U.S. Ruchell Magee, one-time co-defendant with Angela Davis before the Communist Party luminary's lawyers severed her case, was given a life term in January on a charge of aggravated kidnapping growing out of a 1972 incident at Marin County courthouse. In North Carolina a black woman, Joan Little, is being tried on a charge of murdering a jailer who was attempting to rape her while she was imprisoned. In New York and New Jersey, Martin Sostre, Rubin Carter and John Artis continue to languish in prison although the "witnesses" whose testimony convicted them have since admitted to lying under oath in order to get favored treatment from the police. Meanwhile dozens of convicted Watergate conspirators receive minimal and suspended sentences and Nixon himself goes free.

Time and again it is demonstrated that the bourgeois courts are agencies of class oppression of working people and racial minorities. To pose a strategy of endless series of court suits as the answer to Watergate, as does the reformist Socialist Workers Party, is to criminally build illusions that the capitalist state can provide justice to its victims.

But at the same time, communists are the most ardent fighters for the democratic rights of the oppressed and do not commit the suicidal ultra-left error of refusing to make use of ruling-class courts. The recent victory of the Houston 12, who succeeded in forcing absurd charges of attempted murder to be dropped, should be greeted by all socialist and labor militants (despite the sectarian stance taken by their defense committee). However, the limited character of such victories is indicated by the fact that the defendants are still open to conviction on lesser charges.

All charges against Joan Little and the Attica and San Quentin defendants must be dropped. Victims of frame-ups and militants subjected to political incarceration such as Hill, Pernasilice, Magee, Sostre, Carter and Artis must be immediately freed. The butchers of George Jackson and of the prisoners at Attica should be imprisoned in their stead! For a united, non-sectarian defense of class-war prisoners!■

Fight Unemployment

(continued from page 3)

stock in 5,200 corporations—have increased, making it all the more obvious that a major reorganization of the economy and the instituting of centralized planning are necessary to make production for social use rather than private profit possible. This can only be accomplished through working-class power and the expropriation of the bourgeoisie as a class. The capitalists may eventually ride out the immediate crisis through cut-throat trade war and ruthless international competition to monopolize the most lucrative sources of investment, which will lead to hardship for the workers. But it will not stop there. Unless world proletarian revolution intercedes, a new inter-imperialist war is inevitable.

Bureaucrats and Reformists

While the Democrats and Republicans are the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie, the labor bureaucracy plays a contradictory role. Based on the trade unions and subjected to pressure from the workers, it is also the bourgeoisie's agent within the labor movement and the chief obstacle to the development of a class-struggle leadership in the unions. The bureaucracy performs a valuable role by holding back workers' struggles, keeping labor tied to the Democratic Party and building racial and national-chauvinist antagonisms within the working class.

The AFL-CIO program for the economic crisis has been developed in lock-step coordination with Democratic Party tactics in the shell-game competition with Ford. Thus Meany first demanded a $20 billion tax cut, then upped it to $30 billion when the Democrats raised their sights in order to pressure Ford. The AFL-CIO tops even fail to demand full trade-union wages and rights in their proposals for public works programs.

On some questions the AFL-CIO program is in line with that of the most reactionary sectors of the bourgeoisie, as with its protectionist demands and vicious campaign to deport undocumented foreign workers. Such virulently chauvinist economic nationalism can only worsen the situation of the workers by interrupting trade, driving up prices, causing scarcities of key commodities and inflaming race hatred. And just like the reactionary Meany, the "liberal" Woodcock also calls for protectionist quotas on auto imports. A precondition to putting an end to the capitalist cycle of depressions and preventing renewed imperialist war is to replace the present treacherous misleaders of the workers movement with a revolutionary leadership, committed to taking the class struggle forward to victory for the international proletariat.

Two ostensibly revolutionary groups guaranteed *not* to take labor in this direction are the Communist Party (CP) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Both are uncritically building the April 26 rally, encouraging nearly the same illusions as the AFL-CIO leaders. The CP sees its role as keeping the workers tied to the liberal wing of the union bureaucracy and to the Democratic Party. It backs Woodcock against Meany and worthless hoaxes such as the Reuss/Hawkins/Humphrey bills. A flyer put out in New York City by Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), a union group supported by the CP, says "We...want to help make the Washington rally the kind of success which will help turn the Administration around." No serious working-class militant should give a moment's confidence to such a blatant attempt to build false hopes in reformist "pressure" on the system.

Though it adopts a slightly more militant posture (mainly because it has nothing in the unions, and therefore nothing to risk) the SWP builds the same illusions in the "objective" pressure that a mass turnout, regardless of the program, can supposedly produce. Regarding the union march on Washington, the SWP is mainly concerned to demonstrate the compatibility of labor reformism with its own craven call for federal troops to solve the Boston busing crisis, by trying to identify the April 26 demonstration with the May 17 NAACP march on Boston.

A Class-Struggle Program

A massive turnout in Washington will be as much a message to the quisling labor bureaucrats as to the ruling class, and should be encouraged. However, it must be recognized that the rally has virtually no program, which means it is intended simply to pressure the Democrats and can therefore achieve nothing. The April 26 rally would have a vastly greater impact, even if it were much smaller, if it raised a real program for class struggle, including the following demands:

- Launch an immediate struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay: 30 for 40, and keep on sliding the hours down and wages up to meet inflation point for point!
- Workers: occupy plants and strike to halt mass layoffs and plant closings!
- Unlimited, unconditional unemployment benefits, incorporating welfare, at full union-scale wage levels—Guarantee SUB payments!
- Mass organization of the unemployed under the leadership of the trade unions! For unlimited recall rights and union membership rights at nominal dues for laid-off workers!
- No protectionism or deportations! For international working-class solidarity—immediate citizenship rights for foreign-born workers.
- Fight discrimination—Jobs for all, no preferences! For labor/black defense against racist attacks!
- Stop all schemes to evacuate Vietnamese or American war criminals—Not one dime for the Saigon regime—U.S. out of Southeast Asia—Immediate recognition of the NLF/PRG and FUNK/GRUNK governments in Vietnam and Cambodia!
- For massive public works with full trade-union rights and wages! Make basic social services (medicine, mass transit, etc.) free! Operate idled plants to capacity under workers management—Nationalize all major industry without compensation—For central planning of the economy.
- Workers: Dump the Democrats and Republicans and their bureaucratic "friends" in the labor movement! For a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government!

Class-conscious militants in the unions know that there is no wing of the present union leadership willing to carry through the fight for these demands. Caucuses must be built in the unions to fight for a class-struggle program and replace the bureaucrats with revolutionary leadership. The Spartacist League fights for such a program and builds such caucuses: join the Spartacist League, nucleus of the vanguard workers party.■

BESTELLT

SPARTACIST

Deutsche Ausgabe
Nr. 3 — März 1975

- Ursprünge des Pabloismus
- Gewerkschaftstaktik und Übergangsprogramm
- Geschichte der Ligue Communiste

U.S. $2 — 4 Nummern

zu beziehen über:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, New York 10001

Labor/Black Defense...

(continued from page 12)

new attacks as the teams of union volunteers have been guarding the house daily. Members vow the guards will remain "as long as necessary" to ensure that the family is safely moved into the house.

The attacks on black families have mounted during an organizing offensive by fascist and racist groupings in Chicago. Besides the attacks on four black families on the Southwest Side, there were earlier attacks on other families in Broadview. The Nazi Party ran candidates for alderman in five wards in the last elections, and the Ku Klux Klan has also been actively organizing lately.

These scum thrive on the despair generated by heavy inflation and unemployment in the working class, and their efforts to divide the workers along race lines can only benefit the employers. Resolute action such as that undertaken by Local 6 could, if followed through and adopted by the rest of the labor movement, prevent future attacks and quickly lay the tiny but deadly dangerous fascist movement in the grave where it belongs.

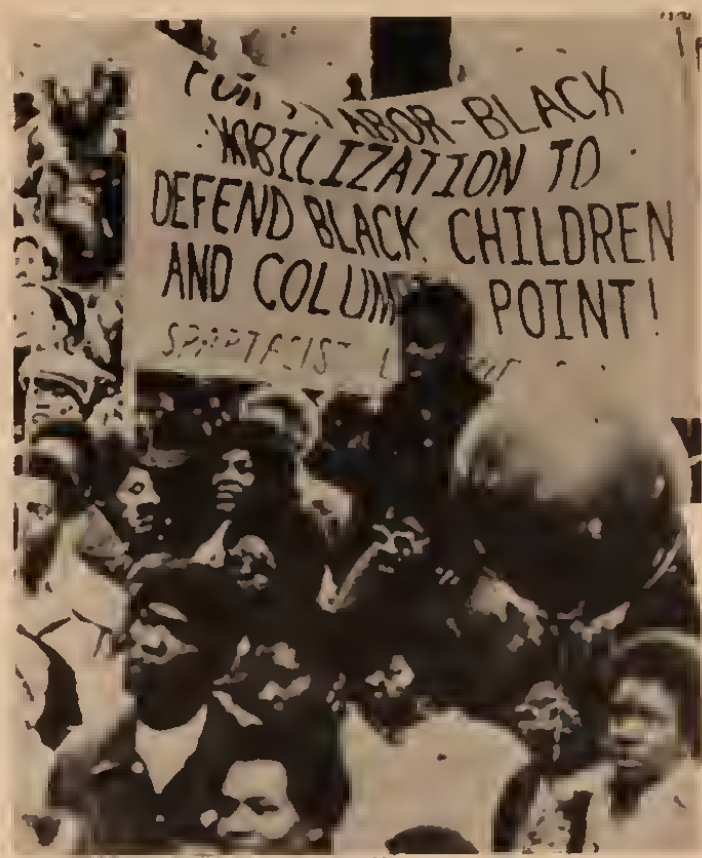
The third attack on the Dennis house, which occurred two days prior to the union meeting, particularly incensed many members of the Local. The motion to set up the volunteer union defense guards was made by a member of the Labor Struggle Caucus, which had distributed a newsletter in the plant before the meeting calling for a militant response to the wave of racist terror. The Labor Struggle Caucus is a grouping in Local 6 with a class-struggle program which has recently been active in successful struggles against a company leafletting ban in the plant and against a move to extend terms for local union officers to three years. Its resolution at the Sunday meeting supported the "struggle for integration of blacks in housing, education, and jobs," as "vital interests of the entire working class," and denounced reliance on the police, who "serve the employers and cannot be depended upon to defend the rights of blacks or of the trade unions." The motion also called for defense activities to be extended to the black families on the Southwest Side, as well as Broadview.

Following the meeting, the Local issued a special number of its newsletter. Although this was reportedly not very well distributed, a special meeting held Tuesday night for volunteers was attended by 25 members from all political groupings in the Local, as well as by a television crew, which filmed the entire proceedings. President Roth chaired and took a lot of criticism for the inefficient distribution of the special Local newsletter which, it was said, kept the meeting from being larger.

He also relented under pressure on his earlier objection to the formation of a special committee to organize the defense guards. A steering committee was then set up under the chairmanship of the by-laws committee chairman. It includes two members of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a member of the syndicalist Workers Voice group, and other Local members. Members of the steering committee immediately began signing up volunteers in the plant.

Support for the defense activity was forthcoming, at least verbally, from the UAW officialdom in the area, including regional director Robert Johnston. The special Local newsletter asserted, "These efforts are in accord with our UAW principles and policies."

On the other hand, the UAW officials seemed primarily concerned to get government officials to intervene, thereby relieving the union of its responsibility. At the Dennis house on Sunday night, Roth told *WV* of his intention "to exert every political pressure possible to try to get the authorities to do something." He further claimed that "In some instances, the police have given some protection."



The Spartacist League's call for integrated working-class defense of endangered blacks in Boston received wide national and international media coverage last fall. Recent action by Chicago-area UAW Local 6 to defend the home of a black member against firebombing night riders dramatically demonstrates the power of a class-struggle answer to racist attacks.

AP

Roth, who is a prominent supporter of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy, the trade-union group backed by the reformist Communist Party, not surprisingly places confidence in the bosses' state. Yet neither courts, cops, troops nor National Guard will protect blacks against racist victimization. This can be clearly seen in the Boston situation, where the courts are conciliating the racists and have taken a giant step backward on the busing plan.

In Boston there have been two sharply counterposed lines on how to defend the endangered blacks from racist attack. On the one hand there are the liberals, joined by the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party, who have called for federal troops. Against this dead-end reliance on the armed forces of the capitalist state, the Spartacist League has called for integrated working-class defense. Both in Chicago and Boston or elsewhere, labor/black defense guards could quickly eliminate racist terrorists, neutralize wavering elements in the white population and eventually defuse racist mobilizations.

The Local 6 action could be the start of a general initiation of militant, class-struggle response to racist terror in the Chicago area, but only if the whole Local, leadership included, works to undertake it seriously and spread the idea to other locals. If the Local 6 leadership instead spreads illusions in the state, the way will be left open for a worsening racial polarization. The guard must not be ended prematurely, on the advice or promise of the cops or city officials that defense will be provided by the state.

The recent action of the Local 6 members stands as an inspiring example for all trade unionists and black militants: black and white workers *can* unite and organize to fend off racist terror. It will take an all-sided fight for class-struggle policies and leadership throughout the labor movement to turn this example into the rule. But an important beginning has been made.■

WV photo

Chicago UAW member's house after firebombing.

CHICAGO FORUM

Broadview, Not Boston!

Workers Fight Racist Terror

Guest speaker:
Labor Struggle Caucus member
UAW Local 6

Featured speaker:
Gerald Smith
Spartacist League
Ex-member, Black Panther Party

Sunday, 4 May—4 p.m.
Location to be announced
Call: 427-0003
Auspices: Spartacist League

...Indochinese Revolution

(continued from page 1)

now against the tottering Saigon regime!

We have repeatedly warned of the treachery of the Stalinist leaderships in Indochina. The sellout of southern Vietnamese, Cambodian and Laotian fighters at Geneva in 1954 and the negotiation of a robbers' peace at Paris in 1973 were the result of the defeatist policies of the bureaucracies in Moscow, Peking and Hanoi who sought above all to achieve peaceful coexistence with imperialism. Likewise, the programs of the Stalinist-led insurgent movements in Indochina (as elsewhere) call not for socialist revolution but for "democratic"

However, there are elastic constraints on the Stalinists' ability to betray. They are not about to commit direct collective suicide, although Moscow and Peking are only too willing to sacrifice someone else's revolution. And there must be someone to whom they can capitulate. As we wrote last month about Cambodia, "While the strategy of the Stalinists is to form a popular-front government and maintain capitalist rule" the forces of the Phnom Penh regime "are so enfeebled and hopelessly corrupt that they represent no social base at all. A Laos-type 'settlement' is evidently non-viable" (WV No.64, 14 March).

The Cambodian Stalinists continued to call for a coalition government until the end, and the insurgents' royal government in exile (GRUNK) was already a popular-frontist formation with a program of class collaboration. Nevertheless, what has emerged in Cambodia with the taking of state power by the Khmer Rouge is a *deformed workers state*, qualitatively equivalent to the degenerated Russian workers state under Stalin and his successors and the states which emerged under Stalinist bureaucratic domination in China, Cuba, North Vietnam, North Korea, etc. Imperialism and its local bourgeois allies no longer rule in Cambodia.

Although news from Cambodia is extremely sketchy it is evident that no coalition with substantial bourgeois forces was formed before the Stalinist-led insurgents militarily took Phnom Penh. The real power is being consolidated in the hands of the Khmer Rouge; the coming to power of a bourgeois regime would require a violent counterrevolution.

The most important bourgeois component of the GRUNK is Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the former ruler of Cambodia before an American-engineered 1970 coup, now formally designated as chief of state. Sihanouk has a long reputation as an anti-communist opportunist, turning a blind eye when U.S. and Saigon planes bombed NLF "sanctuaries" inside Cambodia in the late 1960's. Last week he said in a broadcast interview that he planned

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name_____
Address_____
City/State/Zip_____

67

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues
☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY,NY 10001

to retire after the Khmer Rouge victory. "I am not a Khmer Rouge," he is quoted as saying. "I am not a Communist and I do not understand communism...," he added.

> "They have made me president of the Cambodian popular resistance, but that does not mean that I can see any role for myself after victory.
> "Even if one thinks of a sharing of power, there will be a clash. I am a very independent man."
> "After victory, I will be chief of state and there will be an entirely Communist government and administration. So either I am a puppet of the Khmer Rouge or I remain independent and there will be trouble."

According to the news report, "the Prince has acknowledged that there were few 'Sihanoukists' in the rebel movement" (*New York Times*, 15 April).

As we wrote in *WV* No. 25, 3 August 1973:

> "If, however, the GRUNK takes power through the defeat of the Lon Nol regime by Khmer Rouge forces and the U.S. government is too paralyzed by domestic crisis to intervene, the Stalinist component of this unstable popular front could very well shed its monarchic shell, leading to a deformed workers state."

This is what is taking place at present.

Vietnam is far more critical to U.S. imperialism, and the social and political conditions there are not identical to those of Cambodia. However, the military situation of the Saigon puppet regime is by all accounts untenable and rapidly deteriorating. The NLF continues to call for a coalition government, but the chances of actually forming such an unstable regime are dim.

At the present time, the Ford government in Washington is already accusing the Democrats of responsibility for the "loss of Indochina from the Free World." The theme of the "stab in the back" has been a fruitful propaganda theme for reactionaries from Hitler to Joseph McCarthy and communists must vigorously combat the coming wave of chauvinism and mutual anti-communist recriminations by the capitalist politicians.

Ford's kidnapping of several thousand Vietnamese babies and announced plans to "rescue" 170,000 Vietnamese from the "Red Menace" are in large part intended to whip up reactionary sentiment at home. Nevertheless, the possibility of a new imperialist adventure cannot be absolutely ruled out. All working-class militants must vigorously oppose any attempts to re-invade Indochina under the guise of evacuating Americans or "saving" the sadistic torturers and butchers who are the Vietnamese collaborators of U.S. imperialism. We demand an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces, military and "civilian," from Southeast Asia; no "aid" to the tottering Saigon regime; recognition of the NLF/PRG as the government of South Vietnam; no asylum for the collaborators of imperialism and no evacuation of war criminals. To the NLF/DRV armed forces we say: Down with the Robbers' Peace—Take Saigon! Don't Stop Short. Smash the Bureaucrats—Complete the Socialist Revolution Through Political Revolution! All Indochina Must Go Communist!

The events in Cambodia raise certain questions concerning the Marxist analysis of Stalinist-ruled countries. Is it possible to call Cambodia a deformed workers state if its representatives proclaim that the new government is not "communist" but "democratic," and there are non-Stalinists in the GRUNK? It is, and a parallel situation can be seen in China when the People's Republic came to power in 1949. The government which took office in Peking included members of a "third force" democratic opposition to Chiang Kai-shek, and Mao spoke of a period of "new democracy." Large-scale nationalizations of industry and business were not undertaken until the Korean War, three years later. Yet power was firmly in the hands of the People's Liberation Army, which in order to consolidate its power against the imperialist attack was eventually forced to formally expropriate the already devastated bourgeoisie.

And what of the Trotskyist accusation that the Stalinists are enemies of proletarian revolution and do not wish to take power in their own name? Can this be reconciled with the emergence of a deformed workers state in Cambodia? Again, the answer is yes. There is no doubt that for years the Stalinist-led insurgents have sought to form a coalition bourgeois government; the taking of power by the Khmer Rouge is in direct contradiction to the program of the GRUNK and Stalinist strategies of a "bloc of four classes," "two-stage revolution," etc., and occurs only under exceptional circumstances of disorganization among the bourgeoisie and the absence of a working class struggling in its own class interests.

What a Stalinist-led guerrilla movement cannot do, however, is create an

AP

"OPERATION BABYLIFT": Phony humanitarianism and anti-communist demagogy.

internationalist and revolutionary workers state based on democratic soviet rule. As we wrote in the "Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League" (1966):

> "Movements of this sort can under certain conditions, i.e., the extreme disorganization of the capitalist class in the colonial country and the absence of the working class contending in its own right for social power, smash capitalist property relations; however, they cannot bring the working class to *political* power. Rather, they create bureaucratic anti-working class regimes which suppress any further development of these revolutions towards socialism. Experience since the Second World War has completely validated the Trotskyist theory of the Permanent Revolution which declares that in the modern world the bourgeois-democratic revolution can be completed only by a proletarian dictatorship supported by the peasantry."

These words are being confirmed once again in Indochina today. We hail the military victory of the Khmer Rouge. We unconditionally defend the Cambodian deformed workers state, as well as the NLF and North Vietnamese (DRV) forces, against imperialist attack. But we have not forgotten the fate of the Vietnamese Trotskyists, murdered by the Stalinists in 1945-47 for their uncompromising struggle against imperialism, and we do not ignore the absence of real workers democracy in North Vietnam or the other deformed workers states. As Marxists we tell the truth to the workers, namely that only with a Trotskyist party at the head of a working-class revolution can true proletarian democracy be established and the way opened to the international extension of the revolution and the abolition of class society.■

Militants Demonstrate Against Zionist Butchers

WV photo

PARTICIPANTS IN SL-INITIATED PICKET OF DAYAN—On April 16 radicals and union militants demonstrated against the appearance of Zionist butcher Moshe Dayan at a Cleveland college. An ad hoc coalition including the Revolutionary Union, Socialist Workers Party and representatives of several Arab groupings had originally called for such a demonstration, but when the Spartacist League attempted to join in the planning and organization the RU-dominated "coalition" made it clear that they intended to physically prevent the carrying of "unauthorized" slogans.

The SL was not deterred by this blatant sectarianism and, recognizing the importance of presenting a strong opposition to Dayan, issued a call for a separate non-exclusionist demonstration to coincide with that called by the "coalition." The SL was successful in mobilizing about 65 people, including local unionists and members of the Revolutionary Socialist League. The RU's childish efforts to provoke the SL-led protesters were firmly resisted and, despite the RU's "best" efforts, the parallel demonstrations constituted an impressive showing by about 150 militants of opposition to the architect of the Zionist war machine.

"Socialist" Labor Fakers...

(continued from page 6)

variety of pro-capitalist reformism as an obstacle to revolutionary working-class struggle. Whipping up a witchhunt hysteria, social democrats aid and intensify the division of the working class along national lines; in the name of "democracy" they line up workers behind imperialism against the "red dictatorships."

These agents of the capitalist class within the unions masquerading as socialists have absolutely nothing in common with socialism or international working class interests. The anti-communism of U.S. social democrats has led them to support such CIA-backed operations as the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD). The AIFLD is a cabal of AFL-CIO bureaucrats and top corporation executives and is used to funnel U.S. government funds in the service of breaking authentic trade-union movements in Latin America.

And what do these "democratic socialists" do "at home" in "their" unions? For all their talk about the "threat of totalitarianism" the patrons, friends and supporters of the social democrats in the unions are bureaucrats notorious for their suppression of union oppositionists (often using physical intimidation), railroading union meetings, and ramming through sellout contracts.

Unlike the social democrats, revolutionary Marxists understand that what is wrong with Stalinism cannot be "cured" by capitalism. For Trotskyists, the gains of the revolutions in countries where capitalism has been overthrown but political power is presently in the hands of a self-serving bureaucratic caste (Russia, China, Cuba, etc.) must be militarily defended against imperialist attack. In much the same manner, revolutionaries would defend a bureaucratically controlled trade union against the bosses. While defending the gains of the revolutions, it is necessary to wage a struggle to establish the forms of democratic soviet rule by overthrowing the Stalinist bureaucracy through a working-class *political* revolution led by a Leninist vanguard party. Those who oppose Stalinism from the left, basing themselves on the revolutionary class interests of the international working class, the Trotskyists, have nothing in common with the social democrats who, openly or covertly, work for the restoration of capitalism in the deformed workers states.

By cloaking their reformist garbage in socialist-sounding rhetoric, the social democrats may lend a left cover to the trade-union bureaucrats, reactionary as well as "progressive." But no amount of reformist gimmickry can solve the capitalist economic crisis. A class-struggle leadership must be forged in the unions to oust the bureaucratic parasites. Fighting for the political independence of the proletariat, it must put forward a program to lead the working class forward to the revolutionary expropriation of capitalism as the only means of securing real and lasting gains. Break with the Democratic Party! For a workers party based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government!■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Black Family Firebombed in Chicago

UAW Local Sets Up Labor/Black Defense Guard

CHICAGO, April 18—C. B. Dennis, black UAW union member, has been trying to move into the white neighborhood of Broadview. His house was firebombed and stoned repeatedly. But tonight, like every night for the past week, the Dennis family home is being protected by an integrated defense guard of his union brothers. Local 6 of the United Auto Workers, International Harvester, voted unanimously at the membership meeting Sunday to set up the defense guard.

WV Photo

UAW member C. B. Dennis commenting on the union action to defend his house from racist attack last week: "It's a wonderful idea. If we give this up, it'll be harder for another black family to move in next time.... This is the best thing we could do. I was really proud of the union today."

At a time when there is a dramatic increase in racist terror against blacks all across the country, the UAW local's action is a powerful example of what can be done to stop the nightriders. And it is the best possible answer to those who preach reliance on the bourgeois cops by hiding behind the despairing lament, "workers won't defend blacks against racist attacks--there's no solution except to call on the troops"!

The attacks, which have caused thousands of dollars' worth of damage to the house and prevented the family from moving in, are part of a pattern of terror against blacks in white areas here, where right-wingers have been trying to stir up race hatred. In another neighborhood on the Southwest Side, four black families have been forced to live under a virtual state of siege, with the National Socialist White People's Party (Nazis) all but taking direct credit for the firebombings (see article in this issue).

The first volunteers from Local 6, including Local president Norman Roth, were at posts outside the damaged house within hours of the union meeting. C. B. Dennis, who is a repairman at the Melrose Park IH plant and has been working there for 15 years, was interviewed at the house by *Workers Vanguard*. He said he had been unable to get adequate police protection.

"They said they would come by 20 minutes out of the hour. But that's no protection at all," Dennis told *WV*, observing that patrols had been by only once in two hours that night. "This is the best thing we could do," he said, referring to the volunteer guards, "I was really proud of the union today. I think it's a good thing." An older black worker who was listening agreed, saying he could recall no similar action by the Local in its history. He likened it to the defense activities of the anti-eviction campaigns in which he had participated in the 1930's.

WV Photo

Union defense guard from UAW Local 6 protects home of black member against racist violence.

The UAW Local's defense action received considerable attention in Chicago. Articles appeared in both daily papers on Monday, and Dennis and Local 6 officers were interviewed on two television stations Monday evening. At least three radio reports were also made.

On the second night, the union guards were heckled by passers-by in the area, and a neighbor two doors down shouted at them to "get the hell out" of there. Another white resident, however, had earlier come over to talk to Dennis for 20 minutes, expressing sympathy and pointing out that some of the rocks had hit his house as well.

It is clear that the racial polarization runs deep but the entire neighborhood has not been terrorized. Local 6 defense volunteers speak in terms of the need to prevent another Boston-type racist mobilization in Chicago. There have been no

continued on page 10

ILWU Convention:

Bridges on the Ropes

VANCOUVER, April 17—The 21st biennial international convention of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has concluded after a week of bitter intra-bureaucratic clique fighting and frenzied red-baiting. It constituted an overwhelming vote of no-confidence in ILWU International president Harry Bridges, long-time left-posturing sellout artist, as the International bureaucracy was unable to force through the convention either acceptance of the unpopular U.S. mainland Longshore Division contract or endorsement of Bridges' pet scheme for a merger with the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) and/or the Teamsters.

The proposed longshore contract—continuing in the tradition of the "Mechanization and Modernization" pacts and "steady men" clause which have eroded hard-won gains of ILWU dockers and cut the Local 10 membership in half since 1961—would include such provisions as dumping protection against layoffs through eliminating the pay guarantee in "unusual circumstances" (such as a depression?) and intensified attacks on the rights of the B-men, the Longshore Division's "second-class citizens."

The merger proposals—which even include, in the name of "unity," the splitting up of the ILWU by having its Longshore Division merge with the ILA while Warehouse becomes part of the Teamsters—were unpalatable for several reasons. The delegates, coming from a multi-racial union with a history of militancy and (relative) union democracy, were unable to swallow the prospect of absorption into the arch-reactionary and racist ILA or Teamster bureaucracies. This holds particularly for the Hawaiian section of the ILWU, which had nearly a third of the delegates at the convention.

Bureaucratic Backstabbing

On the surface, the convention was little more than a week-long spectacle of squabbling as long-time Bridges partners-in-crime and cronies (e.g., ILWU International secretary-treasurer Lou Goldblatt and S.F. clerks Local 34 president James Hermann) jockeyed for position on the sinking ship. But the maneuvering at the top is only the tip of the iceberg.

The leaderships of key ILWU locals, reflecting the seething discontent of the rank and file, have been compelled to seek to put distance between themselves and the increasingly isolated and exposed Bridges regime: the historic backbone of the union, San Francisco Local 10 (longshore), is headed by an anti-Bridges bureaucrat, Larry Wing; and the main challenger to Bridges at the convention was Rudy Rubio, president of San Pedro (Port of Los Angeles) Local 13, the largest mainland local. Rubio is a protégé of Goldblatt. In fact, things have gotten so

continued on page 4

Verbal leftism in the pursuit of scandalous treachery has always been a gambit at which ILWU president Harry Bridges excels. As usual at the recent International convention in Vancouver the early proceedings were dominated by such events as greetings from the USSR longshore delegation and ringing declarations of support for the Chilean masses. The convention unanimously passed a motion (authored by prominent "progressive" Archie Brown) calling for a boycott of shipping to Chile. During the break that followed, however, Bridges brazenly admitted to a *WV* reporter that the union had no intention of stopping a single ship bound for Chile because such action would cause the men to lose their pay guarantee!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 68 — 9 May 1975

Take Vientiane— For Political Revolution in Hanoi, Saigon, Phnom Penh— All Indochina Must Go Communist!

Marines guard evacuation of Americans from U.S. embassy in Cambodia. L Express

Capitalist Class Rule Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!

MAY 4 On April 30 the armed forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) rode triumphantly into Saigon as leaders of the defeated puppet regime and the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie fled the country by every available means. The military victory of the DRV/NLF marks the end of 30 years of civil war against colonialism and imperialism and their local allies. It means the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam, a historic conquest for the working people of the entire world and one which must be unconditionally defended by class-conscious workers against imperialist attack.

We hail this stunning defeat of U.S. imperialism, the first in a major war during this century, and greet the victory of our class brothers and sisters in Indochina with internationalist proletarian solidarity. The struggle against the imperialists' Vietnam war has also been a major task of socialists in the imperialist centers, dominating the political experience of a whole generation of young aspiring revolutionaries. And it is as fellow combatants in the international class struggle that we warn the Indochinese masses that they must place no confidence in their Stalinist leaders.

The victory in Vietnam, like that in Cambodia two weeks earlier when the Khmer Rouge took Phnom Penh, belongs to the heroic worker and peasant fighters in Indochina who have struggled resourcefully and tenaciously for

continued on page 8

WV Photo

Angry Ranks Stop Humphrey Speech

Bureaucrats Lose Control of Washington Jobs Rally....6

Militants protesting Humphrey speech during April 27 jobs rally. For related story see also "SWP/CP Bureaucrats Denounce Disrupters" on page 7.

SWP Gangster Attack on Union Militants

SAN FRANCISCO, May 3—SWP goons assaulted three trade-union militants and ejected them from last night's public Militant Labor Forum on Chile. The attack came as one of the unionists, members of the Militant Caucus of the ILWU, attempted to speak against the exclusion of the Spartacist League.

A week earlier, at a public talk by Fred Halstead, the SWP had announced that there were five allegedly "disruptive" SLers who would not be permitted to attend SWP forums. The SL responded by setting up a picket line outside last night's meeting, with about 20 people chanting slogans such as "Smash Stalinist Exclusionism" and "What Is the SWP Afraid Of—Trotskyism?"

At last night's forum on Chile, one of the ILWU militants raised the question of the picket line outside, pointing out that the SL had been active in organizing a boycott last year to stop the handling of Chilean cargo on San Francisco docks. The chairman responded that first a prepared statement would be read and questions would be permitted only at the end of the forum.

As soon as the chairman finished the statement, the ILWU militant got up to protest. The SWP announced that any questions at that time would be considered a "disruption" and the unionist was immediately seized by a goon squad. When two of his union brothers came to the militant's defense, one of the thugs began choking him with a hammerlock. Then all three were assaulted and shoved toward the stairs. The SWP goons succeeded in disrupting their own meeting, but not in doing much damage to the unionists.

When SL pickets outside the building heard the fighting at the top of the stairs and moved to defend the ILWUers, a violent scuffle broke out with another SWP goon squad stationed at the door. Within minutes four S.F. police cars arrived and the fighting broke up.

The SWP's outrageous statement charged not only that the SL "disrupted" forums given around the country by Juan Carlos Coral, a leader of the Argentine PST, but that we had actually set him up for an assassination! The SWP asserted that the "aggressiveness" of the SL "would have given any assassin a chance to do his work" and that "the intent of the SL [was] to do that"!

This statement is an incredible pack of lies and slanders. In Chicago, when gusano thugs attempted to rush the podium during a forum by Coral, some 20 SL supporters rushed to the speaker's defense. One of our comrades was hurt and another had his glasses smashed in the fighting. And at talks by Coral around the country following this incident, the SL participated in defense squads to protect him—including (e.g., Los Angeles, New York) at the direct initiation of the SWP itself.

What the SWP objects to is not any "disruption" of its forums by SL supporters, but our vigorous political attacks on Coral's stated support for bourgeois law and order. At his final talk in New York the PST leader announced he was not interested in the "intellectual masturbation" of "ideological debates" and walked off the podium rather than face the revolutionary criticism of the SL.

Though goon attacks and "cop"-baiting are a hallmark of Stalinism, they are by no means restricted to apologists for the Moscow and Peking bureaucracies. Moods of paranoia and the use of violence against left-wing opponents have been sweeping through much of the ostensible left, not only the SWP but such diverse groups as the Labor Committee, the Revolutionary Union and the Workers League, among others. While this is doubtless an objective phenomenon growing out of frustration, to the extent that the bourgeois political police are involved they are surely encouraging these antics just as strongly as the SL opposes them.

To those actively engaged in the class struggle, proletarian democracy is a vital weapon in the fight to oust the sellout bureaucracy within the unions. The ILWU militants are to be congratulated for their vigorous defense of their rights and the rights of revolutionary socialists. These unionists—who came to a public meeting of an avowedly "socialist" "workers" organization only to find that all workers are not equal in the eyes of the SWP—have taken a stand in the interests of all the working people. Their courageous defense of proletarian democracy poses squarely before the workers movement the question: are the bureaucratic goons—SWP, Stalinists, etc.—the people you want to lead you?

The SWP's vicious assault against unionists, and the cowardly exclusion of the SL, are part of a new escalation of the SWP's movement into the camp of the nakedly anti-communist social democracy. As the reformists grow more frenzied in their suppression of left criticism, we affirm in principle that any public meeting of the workers and socialist movements must abide by the even-handed practices of workers democracy. We will work toward this end, in the firm belief that the dictatorship of the proletariat can be realized only by the securing of such proletarian democratic practices, linked with the infusion throughout the masses of the revolutionary Marxist program.

SWP in the Camp of Social Democracy

Over the years we have chronicled the sharp rightward motion of the Socialist Workers Party from Trotskyism to reformism. Breaking with revolutionary Marxism in the early 1960's by supporting Castroism guerrillaism, the SWP endorsed outright class collaboration in the antiwar movement as early as 1965. Its labled "mass movement" was built on the program of liberal antiwar Democrats and faded away as soon as withdrawals of U.S. troops began. At meetings of its antiwar (NPAC) and pro-abortion (WONAAC) "coalitions," communists of the Spartacist League were excluded in order to make the representatives of the bourgeoisie (Sen. Vance Hartke, Rep. Bella Abzug) comfortable.

At the same time, these "best organizers" of incipient popular frontism have mounted continuous reformist electoral campaigns, complete with two-tier program ("legalize abortion" for the posters, "free abortion" in the fine print). Seeking always to project an image of bourgeois respectability, SWP campaigns have included support for open union-busting (in the 1968 New York City teachers' strike) and appeals for the intervention of the capitalist army (during the current Boston busing controversy).

Commenting on the evolution of this party which was once the strongest section of the Fourth International, we wrote four years ago that, "In the long run, the SWP's competitors are not the other erstwhile Trotskyists, nor the Maoist and semi-Maoist confrontationists, but the ghost of American social-democracy" (*Spartacist*, April-May 1971). This has been the perspective of the SWP leadership for some time, although it has naturally sought to avoid explicitly repudiating the SWP's revolutionary past and still finds bogus orthodox verbiage useful on occasion.

Recently, however, the SWP has geared up its electoral machinery for a "bigger than ever" 1976 campaign, in the process resorting to ever more explicitly social-democratic rhetoric and program. Its appetites to become the mass reformist party in America were underlined in December when it explicitly renounced in court all violence and illegal action (in order to convince a sympathetic judge that FBI surveillance was not necessary). Two weeks later the SWP unveiled a "Bill of Rights for Working People," a classic reformist gimmick pretending to bring about socialism by constitutional amendment. Simultaneously it has undertaken an orientation toward the mainstream social democrats, particularly Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC). (For further details see "SWP Renounces Revolution in Court," *WV* No. 59, 3 January 1975; "Socialism through Constitutional Amendment?" *WV* No. 61, 31 January; and "'Socialist' Labor Fakers Back Democrats," *WV* No. 67, 25 April.)

In explaining his party's up-to-date bill of rights (dealing with "new" problems of "present-day" capitalist society which the founding fathers evidently did not foresee), SWP presidential candidate Peter Camejo put forward a concept of a "workers government" which bears more resemblance to Fabian "sewer socialism" than to anything Lenin or Trotsky ever called for. Not only would this creature be the government of a *capitalist state*, but the SWP brand of workers government would behave quite moderately even within the confines of bourgeois parliamentarianism.

Take, for instance, the question of capitalist profits. Unlike the "ultra-left" Trotsky who called for the expropriation of the monopolies without compensation, the "sensible" Camejo demands that profits be reduced!

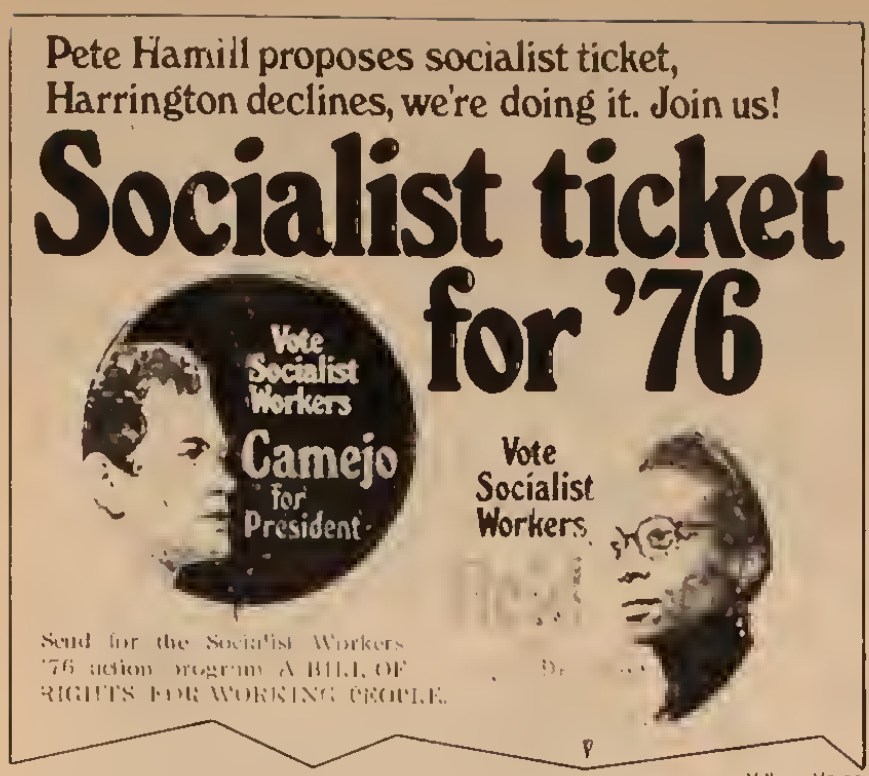
> "Of course the owners of industry and big stockholders would have their profits reduced because they would be paying out more in wages."
>
> *Militant*, 7 February 1975

VILLAGE VOICE "unsells" socialism.

And what about mass layoffs and plant closures—does Camejo advocate workers control of production as proposed in the Transitional Program? No need to be so ultimatistic: the SWP workers government would run the plants "by a board of directors elected by the workers instead of appointed by the biggest stockholders and bankers."

Far from conceiving of a workers government as profit-reducing "labor capitalism," Trotsky insisted a workers government means "nothing but the dictatorship of the proletariat" ("Conversation on the Slogan 'Workers and Farmers Government'," *Writings 1938-39*). The demand is raised in a correct revolutionary manner in the SWP's 1938 Constitution, which states that the party's purpose "shall be to educate and organize the working class for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of a Workers Government to achieve socialism." But today the aspiring social democrats who lead the SWP call for taking over the capitalist state machinery.

Next came the SWP's "appeal" to the readership of New York City's artsy *Village Voice*. Pete Hamill, an occasional *Voice* contributor, stirred controversy in respectable avantgarde circles by an article raising a pale pink flag of "socialism" (*Village Voice*, 13 January). Hamill's "Manifesto," written in response to the suggestion of an ad agency that the image of socialism needs "a major *unselling*," calls for "a single bank, run like the nationalized Bank of England under the Federal Reserve system" which would become "a great symbol of trust" for depositors. And such a socialist



SWP says it is carrying out Pete Hamill's call for a social-democratic ticket (left). These ex-Trotskyists seek to turn Lenin's call for use of parliament as arena for revolutionary struggle into recipe for reformist electoral cretinism (right).

America could institute real "protective tariffs" against Arab oil.

Mr. Hamill, a socialist "due to a misunderstanding" (Trotsky's apt description of Norman Thomas), proposed that DSOC's Michael Harrington and the liberal economist John Kenneth Galbraith should launch a third-party, democratic socialist presidential campaign for '76. After all, he remarks, Harrington has "good looks" and Galbraith has "wit." With that kind of packaging, even socialism should be marketable.

Harrington, of course, demurred, explaining to the rash Hamill that the road to a socialist alternative runs through the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. With both the liberal DSOC and the more rabidly witchhunting Social Democrats USA (SDUSA) firmly wedded to the Democrats, as was their predecessor, the Socialist Party, the social-democratic electoral niche has been empty for some years. Sensing an upsurge in "socialist" sentiment in the petty-bourgeois intelligentsia of late and hoping to fill this void, the SWP responded with an ad in the *Voice* perfly announcing: "Pete Hamill proposes socialist ticket, Harrington declines, we're doing it. Join us!" A subsequent television interview of Hamill and the SWP's 1972 presidential candidate, Linda Jenness, revealed no notable differences between the two hucksters (*Militant*, 28 February).

The latest of the SWP's efforts to present itself as the social-democratic party of responsible reformers was an interview of Camejo by the *New York Times* (21 April). The SWP presidential candidate is quoted as summarizing his program as follows:

> "First, cutting the war budget and getting an emergency public works program to put people back to work.
> "Second, favoring a cost-of-living escalator clause in labor contracts to fight inflation.
> "Third, ending illegal activity of C.I.A. and F.B.I. harassment.
> "Fourth, enforcement of laws which protect minority groups and women. I'm for school busing in Boston.
> "Fifth, opposition to the present foreign policy which we characterize as imperialist."

This statement has not been corrected, either by a published letter to the *Times* or a notice in the *Militant* (which quoted approvingly from the same article), so we must presume that it represents SWP policy or at least that version of its program which it wishes to be read by many tens of thousands more people than see the party's own press.

This sanitized "minimum program" naturally does not even hint at revolution. It does not breathe a word about a labor party, expropriation of major industry, central planning, a workers government, factory occupations and strikes against mass layoffs, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, unlimited unconditional unemployment benefits at full union-scale wage levels, or opposition to deportations and protectionism. In short, it is not a *transitional program* pointing to the need for the working class to seize state power and overthrow bourgeois rule, but rather a reform program which could have been raised by a number of left-liberal Democratic congressmen.

The demands raised are clearly intended to be minor modifications within the framework of the capitalist system. Camejo speaks of "cutting" the military budget instead of total opposition to the government's economic program of war expenditures and social service cutbacks. In calling for an emergency public works program (even George Meany and Sen. Henry Jackson support that), he fails to demand union-scale wages and trade-union control. Although mentioning a cost-of-living escalator (already contained in many union contracts), Camejo neglects to specify that a sliding scale of wages must provide *full* compensation for losses due to inflation.

Likewise, while advocating an end to "illegal" CIA and FBI harassment, the SWP spokesman did not mention their *legal* activities (which include assassinations). In contrast, revolutionaries demand the *abolition* of these secret police agencies. As for the reference to an "imperialist foreign policy," this is a classic Stalinist formulation unambiguously stating that the enemy is not the imperialist system, which must be overthrown by the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the present war-mongering administration which must simply be replaced by rational, peace-loving statesmen. This is not only a fundamental rejection of the Leninist theory of imperialism but the most dangerous of illusions in the reformability of the present system. It is precisely this view that was propagated by the SWP's popular-frontist antiwar coalitions which, not surprisingly, largely liquidated into the campaigns of Democratic Party "peace" candidates every election year (Eugene McCarthy in 1968, George McGovern in 1972).

The SWP uses the excuse that it runs independently of the bourgeois parties (unlike the DSOC, SDUSA and CP, all of whom support one or another wing of the Democratic Party) to excuse its openly reformist program, whose aim is to tie the masses to the capitalist system. We cannot object if these renegades from Marxism state ever more clearly their social-democratic appetites. But it is a slander to try to pass this off as Trotskyism.■

SWP 20 Years Ago:

"No Confidence in the Bosses' Parties! Confidence in a Workers Defense Committee!"

The response of the Socialist Workers Party to the recent wave of fascist-inspired attacks on black families in Chicago has been to support a call on the Aurora city council to curb the Ku Klux Klan, pointing to days past when a liberal sheriff ejected some Nazis from Cook County during an open housing campaign. In Boston, the SWP called for federal troops to protect black people threatened by reactionary anti-busing mobilizations during this past school year. The same demand was raised by the Communist Party, black Democrats and Boston mayor Kevin White.

The SWP has not always supported reformist policies of relying on the bosses' state, however. When it was still a Trotskyist party, the SWP put forward quite a different answer on how to fight reactionary lynch mobs and night riders. In 1954 it replied to racist attacks on black families in Chicago by forthrightly denouncing those who spread illusions about getting protection from the government of the landlords and capitalists, calling instead for the formation of a *workers defense committee*.

The story of this incident was put forward in a pamphlet, "Racial Terror at Trumbull Park, Chicago," published by the SWP in 1954. The events centered on a previously all-white housing project into which a handful of blacks had recently moved. They were met with a vicious campaign of mob violence instigated by a neighborhood "improvement association" and Klan-like white supremacy groups.

After pointing out that Chicago mayor Martin Kennelly and his cops had done nothing to stop the violence, but had instead arrested its victims, the pamphlet asks what should be done to fight Jim Crow segregation. The CP, it reported, relied on the mayor and "friends" in Washington. "Instead of action by the people, the Illinois Worker called for federal intervention. The Communist Party, looking for an alliance with the Democrats, top trade union brass and NAACP officials, talks against Jim Crow but does not support a program of mass action to stop the violence at Trumbull Park." This was no answer at all.

The SWP, in contrast, called for independent working-class mobilization:

> "The Socialist Workers Party knows the fascist attack can be stopped at Trumbull Park. Not by depending on the bosses' representatives in City Hall but by depending on the workers....
> "The time has come for the unions and the NAACP to organize a mass protest demonstration....
> "Every local union, every tenants' group, every NAACP branch should elect delegates to a city-wide Congress of Labor, called by the NAACP and the unions. And this Congress of Labor could constitute a permanent defense committee....
> "And the Congress of Labor could set up an anti-Jim Crow flying squadron of 1,000. This flying squadron will be on call at all times to go to Trumbull Park, or any other place, to see that peace is maintained. What Big Business Kennelly's cops can't do, a workers' anti-Jim Crow flying squadron will do."

The SWP also pointed out that, "It is not enough to fight a Trumbull Park here and there.... Capitalism, the breeder of Jim Crow, must go if Jim Crow is to end." It called therefore for a break with the Democrats and Republicans and the formation of a labor party. The pamphlet concluded:

> "No confidence in the bosses! No confidence in the bosses' parties! Confidence in a workers' demonstration! Confidence in a workers defense committee!"

Today, the SWP and CP both demand federal troops to Boston, and it is left to the Spartacist League to call for labor black defense. But the reformists' confidence in the bourgeoisie cannot stop the class struggle. The recent action by UAW Local 6 in Chicago in forming a volunteer defense guard to protect the house of a black union member from attacks by night riders is an inspiring example of the power of united working-class action and a concrete step in the direction of a class-struggle program to fight racial oppression.■

Fascists Fight Integration in Midwest

Late American Nazi leader George Lincoln Rockwell and other fascist filth are jeered in San Francisco in 1966 as he promised to "solve the city's Negro problem."

Night Riders and Swastikas in Chicago, Milwaukee

CHICAGO A number of incidents involving fascist-style terror and intimidation against ethnic minorities have occurred across the country in recent months. In Milwaukee, Jewish residences and synagogues have been vandalized while racist Nazi literature is being distributed at integrated high schools. In Chicago, black families that have moved into the overwhelmingly white West Englewood section on the city's southwest side have been subjected to fire bombing, with their windows smashed by rocks and swastikas and racist epithets scrawled on their homes.

Although the National Socialist White People's Party, the largest U.S. Nazi organization, has not taken direct credit for the Chicago incidents, it is openly publicizing them. The "White Power Hotline" (a telephone message recorded by the Nazis) of March 24 complains that the token police patrol "guarding" the houses is an attempt at "preventing us National Socialists from resuming our attacks on the occupied houses."

Coupled with this racist violence is a drive by the fascists to win recruits in the largely East European Marquette Park district. The Nazis recently ran four candidates for aldermen in this area, one of whom picked up 16 percent (1,800 votes) of the total in one ward. Their election propaganda consisted of vitriolic race hate diatribes. One brochure is entitled "Stop the Black Invasion" and states, "The n----rs do not want 'equality'. They want POLITICAL POWER to rule! They want YOUR home, YOUR neighborhood, YOUR woman, and YOUR life!"

The Ku Klux Klan has also begun a membership drive in Illinois and was linked in the press with two fires set at the home of Robert Wesby, a spokesman for Jesse Jackson's PUSH (People United to Save Humanity), an organization which promotes preferential hiring and "black capitalism." At a March 18 rally in Aurora, Illinois, projected site of the Klan's state headquarters, PUSH called on the local city council to take measures to stop the KKK, a demand that was uncritically endorsed by the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP).

For Labor/Black Defense

In contrast to such liberal/reformist pressure politics, a leaflet distributed at the rally by the Spartacist League (SL) called for labor/black defense, stating:

> "Increasingly, the racist filth these Klan and Nazi scum spit out will be used to divide black and white working people in their struggle against the common capitalistic enemy. When the capitalists feel their interests sufficiently threatened, they will allow a mass fascist movement free rein to smash the organized workers' movement entirely. They must be stopped!"

The SL leaflet warned that to seek to cajole the bourgeois state, which stands on the same side of the class line as the Klan and the Nazis, into fighting fascism shows a dangerous delusion. The capitalist governments *cannot* eliminate fascist and other right-wing paramilitary organizations for they represent a necessary weapon of their class, to be unleashed when bourgeois democracy is no longer sufficient to control the workers.

(Even when liberal bourgeois governments pretend to deal with the fascists, the resulting laws against "anti-democratic organizations" are invariably used against the left. Thus the Smith Act, passed in 1940, was ostensibly directed "equally" against the communist left and fascist right. But although the German-American Bund and other U.S. fascist-inspired groups were then at their height, this law was used *only* against the left, in the first instance against the leaders of the then-revolutionary SWP.)

Although the ex-Trotskyist SWP now calls on the armed forces of the capitalist state (federal troops) to protect black people from racist attacks in Boston, and joins Jesse Jackson in calling on the Aurora city council to curb the Ku Klux Klan, even these renegades from Marxism have so far been reluctant to call on Chicago's Mayor Daley to do anything more than "arrest those responsible" for the attacks. And no wonder! Daley's cops killed Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in December 1969, and a month earlier a burglary of the SWP's local offices was carried out by a so-called "Legion of Justice" acting with (at least) active connivance by the police "red squad."

More recently, the *Chicago Defender* (18 February) reported that the Afro-American Patrolmen's League has turned up a "Klan-like cell" operating a racist death squad within the police department. Thus even to liberals and reformists it appears ludicrous to call on Daley and his cronies to protect the black families. However, this does not prevent the SWP from reminiscing about the good old days of 1966 when, during an open housing campaign led by Martin Luther King, Cook County Sheriff Richard Ogilvie "escorted [the Nazis] out of the county," threatening that "the Nazis would be arrested if they returned" (*Militant*, 21 March 1975).

This "strategy" of reliance on the ruling class will reap its bloody harvest if and when troops/cops are called in to preserve "law and order." Far from protecting embattled blacks from racist attacks, the state will smash any attempt at organized self defense. In fact, even the *Militant* notes that police surveillance of West Englewood was non-existent until a black self-defense group, the Deacons of Defense and Justice, began to patrol the neighborhood. To date, token police "protection" of the black families has not led to a single arrest.

Nazis in Milwaukee

In Milwaukee the Nazis have been increasingly active over the last year. When the fascists first started to appear in storm trooper uniforms at a local high school last fall while passing out anti-black literature, a county judge ordered them to stop. However, this decision was quickly reversed due to the efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union, which intervened to defend the Nazis' "right" of free speech (*Milwaukee Sentinal*, 25, 30 and 31 October 1974). As opposed to this pathetic liberal "even-handedness," Marxists understand that it is necessary to *crush* the Nazi poison. As the SL leaflet at the Aurora anti-Klan rally stated:

> "Such racist, fascistic scum must be smashed wherever they creep out of the dirt. There is nothing to discuss with them. They have no rights. They represent nothing but the terrorization of blacks and other minorities and, ultimately, the destruction of the rights of all working people."

The most visible opponent of the Nazis in Milwaukee has been Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), whose offices were ransacked last Memorial Day weekend and the walls painted with swastikas. YAWF had clashed with the fascists earlier in May when the latter held a demonstration in support of Rudolph Hess, the World War II German Nazi war criminal. Two YAWF supporters were charged in the incident but none of the Nazis.

Again this fall YAWF held counter-demonstrations which ended in brawls with the Nazis. The Spartacist League stands in solidarity with YAWF against the fascist scum, but we do not support a policy of endless inconclusive skirmishes. What the Nazi vermin must be shown is *overwhelming power* which will make them fearful to raise their heads publicly. Small-scale confrontations do not accomplish this. Instead it is necessary to organize large united-front demonstrations against fascist provocations (avoiding, to the extent possible, giving them free publicity), even preventing the paramilitary ultrarightists from holding meetings and marching in uniform when the relationship of forces enables us to accomplish this. In particular we must focus on the need for organized labor to throw its power into the struggle.

In at least some cases the YAWF actions in Milwaukee were definitely characterized by adventurism (not uncommon for this group), as in an October 26 incident in front of police headquarters where the Nazis were demonstrating in honor of cops who had been killed and carried a banner reading "Support White Police." A group of YAWF counterdemonstrators reportedly chanted "Nazis and cops work hand in hand" (*Workers World*, 8 November 1974). Given the likelihood that the police would support the Nazis, or their "right to free speech," such actions can easily lead to a rout of the leftists which would give great encouragement to the fascists.

Some Good Advice

In 1934 Leon Trotsky wrote to the Fourth Internationalists in France pointing out the dangers of precisely the kind of adventurist confrontationism engaged in today by YAWF and the Mandelite wing of the United Secretariat (particularly the LCR in France and the IMG in Britain). When the fascists are weak, he wrote, it may be possible and desirable to

> "grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks."

He added, though, that when the bourgeois state is not yet firmly committed to the fascists' policies of open terror, and the working class remains by and large uninvolved, it is "totally idiotic to want to provoke an armed conflict with the police" since "...the objective, not just for the moment but for the entire coming period...is to get the workers to take up the struggle against the fascists before these elements have become the dominant force in the state...."

Repeated confrontations between police and militant leftists can result only in the isolation of the latter. "After such an experience, a hundred, a thousand workers who would have been ready to teach the young bourgeois bullies a few lessons will say, 'No thanks, I don't want to get my head broken for nothing'" (reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 2 December 1974).

Although in the U.S. today the fascists are a tiny number and do not represent the same immediate threat to the existence of the labor movement as they did in Europe in the 1930's, socialists and labor militants must not be complacent when it comes to dealing with these murderous scum. However, suppressing the paramilitary ultrarightists, like any revolutionary action, requires a correct strategy and tactics. Those attracted to YAWF's adventurist confrontationism would do well to study Trotsky's letter quoted above.

In the case of SWP supporters (or supporters of other groups, such as the Communist Party, which have the same policy of pressuring the bourgeois liberals) who aspire to be revolutionaries, they could not do better than consulting another article, "War and the Fourth International" (1934), where Trotsky writes: "To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will." Whether in France in 1934, Boston in 1974 or Aurora and Chicago today, the working masses can rely only on their own forces to defend against the attacks of the class enemy. Any socialist who pretends otherwise is either a fool or a charlatan. ■

CP Haunted by Spectre of Trotskyism in the Trade Unions

Stalinists Cop-Bait Class-Struggle Militants

For the first time in over a decade the reformist Communist Parties of North America are confronted with class-struggle militants who have become a recognized force in several important unions, and CP editorial offices have suddenly become obsessed with the need to "expose" (i.e., cop-bait) these "ultra-lefts." Diatribes echoing the foulest Stalinist lies of the 1930's have recently appeared in the *Pacific Tribune*, West Coast organ of the Communist Party of Canada, and the *Daily World*, East Coast organ of the CPUSA.

The *Daily World* (April 29) published a "Draft Resolution" on its trade-union work for the upcoming Communist Party convention. (The Stalinists can publish the "draft" document *before* the convention because it is not meant to be changed through democratic discussion by the membership.) The resolution reveals a nervous concern about vulnerability to attacks on its left flank in the trade unions and warns particularly against the "Trotskyites" of *Workers Vanguard*. (It is noteworthy that the Socialist Workers Party is not even mentioned in the resolution, an indication that the CP has correctly gauged the SWP's weight in the unions.) Dusting off a paragraph from the "good old days" of the Moscow Trials, the resolution cautions CP supporters that "rank and file movements must firmly disassociate themselves" and not "form alliances" with such forces in the labor movement:

> "Rank and file unionism has nothing in common with the horde of petty-bourgeois radical groups that infest the perimeter of the working class movement. Revolutionary Union, Workers Vanguard, Trotskyite or Maoist phony 'Leftists' and the CIA-FBI agents in their ranks...are basically the 'Left' flank of monopoly attack on honest trade unionism."

Aspiring to recreate the alliance with liberal union bureaucrats which held sway during the early CIO years and consequently apologizing for or covering up the betrayals of the Woodcocks, Bridges, Chavez and Millers, the CP can only defend itself against class-struggle militants by resorting to the most pernicious slander, lumping Trotskyists with Maoists and calling them all police agents and the "left" hand of the bosses.

In Canada the Communist Party aimed its slander at the rapidly growing Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency (CCIST) in the April 4 issue of *Pacific Tribune*, which attacked the "Trotskyite sect" as "splitters and disrupters." The CCIST's crime, it seems, is that its leaflet for a March 21 rally of government employees in Vancouver attacked the leaders of the government workers' union as "sellout artists" and called for a province-wide general strike should Trudeau's Liberal cabinet in Ottawa decide to use strike-breaking legislation against any one of several major strikes then going on in British Columbia.

"Whatever the Greater Vancouver Joint Negotiating Committee decides," the CP writer goes on, "it will do so on the basis of a sober evaluation of the situation...." However, warns the CP, the counsels of the "ultra-left" must be ignored "because they exaggerate the strength of the workers and advance adventuristic policies which more often than not end in defeat." As it turns out, after a presumably "sober" evaluation, the local government workers unions' leaders decided to do *nothing*! The disputes continue to drag on, with occasional desultory job actions and no plan whatever for securing satisfaction of the members' contract demands.

As to the strength of the workers, more than 13,000 unionists on strike in mid-March may not have impressed the CP but they did worry the bourgeoisie a lot. The *Vancouver Sun* (15 March) said "private and public services in the province" had been "severely crippled," and Trudeau ordered the ILWU dockers back to work under the old contract by threatening jail terms for the recalcitrant. While the CCIST leaflet had called for a B.C. general strike in this event, the ILWU Canadian Area bureaucrats ordered the longshoremen to abandon the strike, a policy fully endorsed by CP supporters in the union leadership. Whose policy, then, led to defeat?

On April 18 the *Pacific Tribune* returned to this theme, attempting to provide a "penetrating analysis" of Trotskyism in the trade unions which was meant to expose supporters of the *Longshore-Warehouse Militant*, a newsletter put out by ILWU oppositionists for the union's recent convention in Vancouver. The *Pacific Tribune* article was entitled, "Ultra Left Disruption Helps Labor's Enemies" but the Stalinists were unable to demonstrate a single instance of disruption by the class-struggle militants grouped around the *L-WM*. Instead, the article was a wind-bag apology for the real disrupters, the ILWU leadership which numerous times during the convention attempted to deprive opposition members of their right to distribute literature, and which tried to brand them as FBI agents, saying that they were "so far to the left they start coming from the right."

The CP paper was particularly angered by the *L-WM* article on Indochina entitled, "No Coalitions with the Bosses—For a Workers and Peasants Government." Hoping to deflect the *L-WM*'s biting criticism, the author felt obliged to defend the entire rotten tradition of Stalinist popular front betrayals: "This is the line which in Chile led the ultra-left into becoming a counter-revolutionary force," and which "facilitated the military coup inspired by the CIA."

Those "ultra lefts" who oppose coalitions with the bourgeoisie, we are told, would have had the same "ultra left line" in Spain in 1936-37 and in Chile under Allende. Yes they would! In both cases, the working class was smashed after the Stalinist and social-democratic misleaders of the labor movement managed to abort an upsurge of militant class struggle which, under revolutionary leadership, could have led the proletariat to take power. Instead the workers were led into a class-collaborationist coalition with the bourgeoisie in order to prevent a revolutionary struggle which would overthrow capitalist rule and thereby crush the reactionary plotters.

Incredibly, the *Pacific Tribune* tries to blame the "ultra left" for the Stalinist debacle in Chile! But the sad fact is that no party in Chile carried that so-called "ultra left line" of no coalitions with the bourgeoisie and of resolute political opposition to Allende's popular front. Who, once again, is to bear the political responsibility for the bloody military coup in Chile? Those who, like the Spartacist League, warned the workers to place no confidence in the popular front? Or those who, like the Communist Party, counseled faith in the "constitutionalist officers"?

Just as the article refused to recognize the reasons for the tragic working-class defeat in Chile, it also tries to cover up Stalinist responsibility for bureaucratic betrayals in the unions. With phony "wisdom" the article claims that the "ultras" want "revolution or nothing" rather than the more "sensible" and "flexible" policy of "compromise." So the *Pacific Tribune* "explains" that the defeat of Bridges' sellout longshore contract has put the U.S. section of the union into a "tight box" and that Canadian dockers were ordered back to work by the government. It objects to references to the "Bridges machine" and implies that nothing could be done to fight Trudeau's scab legislation.

Bridges' contract in the United States further endangers the Pay Guarantee Plan and was voted down by a membership fed up with the massive loss of jobs in earlier "Modernization and Mechanization" pacts. The CP now half-heartedly opposes the latest sellout, but supported or did not criticize the earlier deals in line with its policy of being the left-wing apologists for the "progressive" Bridges' collaboration with maritime employers. And CP supporters in the Canadian Area ILWU not only opposed a struggle against the federal strikebreaking law. They also failed to call on their union brothers in the U.S. to "hot-cargo" (boycott) cargo being diverted from Vancouver during the B.C. strike, and they supported the rotten settlement which was voted down by 55 percent of the Canadian Area membership. In view of the CP's isolation from the angry ranks, it is no wonder the *Pacific Tribune* finds it necessary to red-bait militant trade unionists.

The article studiously ignores the critical question of working-class leadership, and with good reason, since the North American working class would be much further down the road to revolution if it had not been for the false leadership of the CP in tying militant unionists to the Democratic Party in the U.S. and to strike-breaking support for the inter-imperialist slaughter of World War II. In the trade unions false leadership from the labor bureaucracy creates disorienting illusions in capitalism at every turn and encourages defeatism in the ranks by its seemingly endless string of sellouts, continually turning potential victories into abject defeats.

This leadership does not, of course, respond very well to the "constructive criticism" urged by the *Pacific Tribune* since the bureaucrats are not a random group of individuals but rather a petty-bourgeois layer, the agents of the class enemy within the labor movement. The same is true of the Stalinists, and there is a simple reason that both CP and bureaucrats resort to the same kind of cop-baiting and red-baiting to slander militants who oppose their betrayals: it is the only way (along with open gangster attacks) to "defend" the indefensible!

"It is all too easy to brand the leaders of the Longshoremens union as traitors to the working class," remarks the *Pacific Tribune* sagely, "but if the revolutionary process in North America were that simple, there would have been a socialist revolution a long time ago." The question is, of course, posed backwards: militants must ask if there can be a socialist revolution *without* branding the present misleaders of the labor movement for what they are. Revolutions don't just fail simply because of "circumstances beyond our control." Chile didn't just happen because the CIA exists. Like victories and revolutions, defeats are *organized*. The Stalinist and social-democratic betrayers must be replaced with a class-struggle leadership, forged in the struggle to create the international vanguard party of socialist revolution, if the class struggle is not to end in defeat, as on so many occasions in the past, but to go forward to total victory. ■

ILWU Contract Sellout Rejected Again

The International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Coast Caucus recently rejected Harry Bridges' proposed sellout contract, bringing the tally of rejections to four. Though the two-year contract covering 12,000 West Coast dockers was negotiated many months in advance of the June 30 expiration date in order to eliminate the threat of a strike and thus undermine the bargaining position of the longshoremen, Bridges has faced unprecedented opposition in his attempts to ram through the sellout.

Following previous rejections Bridges tried to force the Coast Longshore Caucus to amend the union bylaws so that a simple majority, as opposed to two thirds, could ratify a contract. This slimy maneuver was vetoed by the Caucus meeting.

While reformists are urging additional bargaining to "sweeten" the package, the most resolute opponents of Bridges' sellouts, supporters of *Longshore Militant*, call for an entirely new set of demands, including a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, no "steady men" (all jobs to be dispatched through the union hiring hall), full "A" status for all "B" men (the ILWU's second-class citizens), full right to strike on union issues and common expiration dates for all ILWU contracts. *LM* calls for elections for a new negotiating committee and a strike vote, correctly insisting that now is the time for "the first coastwide cross division strike in history."

BESTELLT

SPARTACIST

Deutsche Ausgabe

Nr. 3 — März 1975

- Ursprünge des Pabloismus
- Gewerkschaftstaktik und Übergangsprogramm
- Geschichte der Ligue Communiste

U.S. $2 — 4 Nummern

zu beziehen über:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, New York 10001

Angry Ranks Stop Humphrey Speech

Bureaucrats Lose Control of Washington Jobs Rally

WASHINGTON, D.C. The April 26 jobs rally, the largest labor march on the nation's capital since the 1930's, dramatically demonstrated the widening gap between a hidebound sellout labor "leadership" and the restive rank and file of the trade unions. Early in the rally hundreds of demonstrators from among the giant crowd of unionists swarmed onto the field at Kennedy Stadium and overwhelmed official guards and monitors.

The spontaneous protest was conspicuously aimed against the official leadership and, particularly, the capitalist politician speakers on the podium. Demonstrators succeeded in stopping Sen. Hubert Humphrey's speech, defeating Democrat Bella Abzug's weak attempt to get them to return to the stands, and causing the rally to end with most of a long list of scheduled speeches by trade-union bureaucrats left mercifully unpresented. However, there was no authoritative class-struggle opposition able to focus and give political leadership to the anger in the ranks, directing it against the capitalist system instead of into reformist dead ends.

Despite unenthusiastic organizing by its main sponsors, the Industrial Union Department (IUD) of the AFL-CIO, and outright hostility from other sections of labor officialdom, the rally drew 40,000 to 50,000 workers and unemployed to Washington, demonstrating that labor can be mobilized. The largest delegations came from New York-area unions such as District Council 37 of the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), the Hospital Workers (1199) and garment workers unions. The rally was preceded by a march from the capitol sponsored by some of the New York unions, the IUE and several radical groups and rank-and-file caucuses. With over 8 million officially listed as unemployed (it's actually much higher) and nearly 40 percent of industrial capacity in the U.S. lying idle, effective organizing could have easily doubled the attendance.

Disunity at the Top

Disunity was injected into the action from the beginning by the labor tops. AFL-CIO head George Meany refused to endorse the march or rally, saying "We are not going to man the barricades yet." The IUD refused to endorse the march, sending most delegations straight to the stadium. Meany supporter Albert Shanker of the AFT managed to keep attendance by teachers to a bare minimum and Steelworkers president I.W. Abel, though he is head of the IUD and was the scheduled lead speaker at the rally, suppressed mass attendance by steel workers. USWA locals in Gary, Indiana, and a few other places sent busloads, however.

Also noted by their absence or poor turnout were the Mine Workers and the Auto Workers unions. Despite his promise at a February rally in Washington to return with a quarter of a million, UAW president Leonard Woodcock chose to sit this one out. The UAW held a desultory regional unemployment conference in Detroit on April 26 instead.

This organizational wrangling at the top was not matched by any major political or programmatic disputes, however, as all sections of the labor bureaucracy are firmly wedded to a program of class collaboration. The rally was intended by its organizers simply as a form of mass pressure on the Democratic Congress, to provide a few jobs and relief measures in order to mask the system's inability to solve the economic crisis.

Their demands included "massive" public works, like the starvation-wage WPA during the Great Depression of the 1930's; "genuine" tax reform; mass transit and rail improvement; and reduction of interest rates. Standing out in the official program was a call for restrictions hans on imports of foreign goods, i.e., blaming foreign workers for unemployment in the U.S. Not spelled out at the rally, but actively being pushed by AFL-CIO leaders, is the campaign to round up and deport foreign-born undocumented workers ("illegal aliens"), who are also blamed as the cause of unemployment.

Oppositionists Present

The march preceding the rally was the first indication of widespread support for at least some demands well to the left of the AFL-CIO leadership's program. Opposition to the deportation of illegal aliens was everywhere: one worker carried a sign saying, "GM took my job, not 'illegal aliens'." Demands for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and for a labor party were also raised by some groups on the march.

For the most part, however, this opposition was partial and flawed. There was little opposition to the many signs (especially in the garment workers union contingents) for restrictions on imports. The reformist Communist Party urged participation in the march and rally on the basis of demands aimed at pressuring the Democrats and which barely went beyond the official program; support for the Reuss Hawkins Humphrey jobs bills, cutting (but not eliminating!) the military budget, and significantly failing to defend the undocumented workers the AFL-CIO wants to deport.

The left social-democratic International Socialists (IS) supported a "Rank and File Coalition" of caucuses, including the United National Caucus (UNC) in the UAW, Rank and File Team (RAFT) in the Steelworkers, and others. The coalition called for "30 for 40," a labor party and a one-day "work holiday," but failed to include opposition to protectionism. This was not surprising, since the UNC, a clique of careerists which the IS tails after, supports restrictions on the export of capital –a form of protectionism. Contingents backed by Maoist groups, particularly the Revolutionary Union and October League, protested deportations but their key slogan on numerous banners, "Fight Don't Starve," was meaningless play-acting incapable of providing a class-struggle alternative to the sellouts of the union brass.

Despite the limited character of most of the oppositional programs on the march, the official leadership was keenly aware of the opposition. As the IS-backed Rank and File Coalition contingent approached the stadium entrance, official monitors tried to keep it out. They were quickly overwhelmed as marchers pressed forward. This weak and ineffectual attempt to bureaucratically exclude leftists from the rally was typical of official handling of the entire affair.

WV Photo

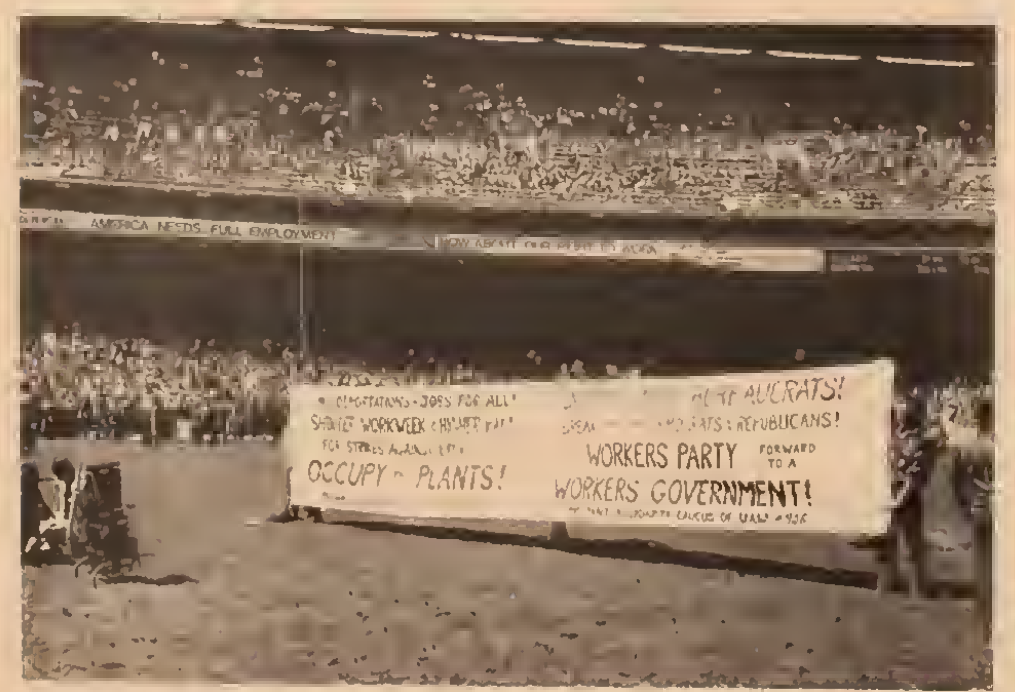
Unionists march from capital demanding jobs.

"50,000 Paul Reveres"

The leadership should have expected trouble when the first speaker, Steelworkers' secretary-treasurer Walter Burke (who was reading Abel's speech since the latter was reportedly kept away by a death in the family), droned on for 30 minutes with such banalities as,

> "Two hundred years ago, Paul Revere rode to warn the patriots of New England of imminent danger. Today, we have more than 50,000 Paul Reveres right here in this stadium. You have come here to warn this nation of the dangers of a sick economy...."

Burke had the audacity to denounce as "reactionary" the same employers with which the USWA top leadership preaches "partnership" and signed the ENA no-



WV Photo

UAW Militant Solidarity Caucus (Local 906) called for a break with the bosses' parties.

WV Photo

Protectionist "Buy American" slogans were pushed by union bureaucrats.

strike deal (which went unmentioned in his speech).

Needless to say, no one was paying any attention to this drivel. As Burke was defending the dead and unmourned oil import quota bill and calling for a federal waste metals reclamation project, somebody ran out onto the field with a sign and was chased by a stadium guard. A roar of approval went up from the crowd. More individuals did the same, until there was a running Keystone Cops comedy absorbing everyone's attention and rendering Burke inaudible.

When official denunciations ("this is not a playground") failed to clear the field, Sen. Humphrey came on. Opposition banners and many individuals with union signs had by this time poured onto the field, and now they approached the podium. While official slogans draped around the top tier of the stadium called for federal programs and denounced imports, banners on the field demanded organizing of the unorganized, defense of undocumented foreign workers, a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and a labor party.

"We have an opportunity to get a message over to the White House. Mr. President, are you listening?" began Humphrey. Few in the stadium were listening. Humphrey was soon forced to stop speaking and direct his remarks to the protesters in front of him, who were chanting "Jobs Now!" Hardly "representing radical groups rather than labor unions," as charged by an unnamed AFL-CIO official quoted in the *New York Times* (27 April), the front ranks consisted primarily of many workers from AFSCME DC 37.

Humphrey soon surrendered the microphone. He was followed by desperate appeals for quiet, and then Bella Abzug. Her request that the demonstrators return to the stands in order to "join with us in the Congress" in a struggle for reforms fell on deaf ears. The rally organizers had lost all control. There were a few barely intelligible speakers at the microphone before the rally was officially dispersed. One of them, a woman who identified herself as "a rank and file worker...from the Progressive Labor Party," yelled some vague appeals to "fight racism" and a few sharp

WV Photo

Senator Humphrey attempts unsuccessfully to address rally.

denunciations of the officials, but made no attempt to clearly present a class-struggle program.

Thus 50,000 workers left the rally essentially leaderless. The protest had demonstrated a generalized lack of confidence in the program and leadership of the pro-capitalist bureaucracy, but it did not have a systematic program to oust that bureaucracy and put the workers movement on the road of class struggle.

One large banner on the field stood out in contrast, however. On one side it read: "No Deportations. Jobs for All! Shorter Workweek and Higher Pay! For Strikes Against Layoffs, Occupy the Plants!" The other side contained the demands "Dump the Labor Bureaucrats! Break with the Democrats and Republicans! For a Workers Party. Forward to a Workers Government!" This banner was signed by the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 (Mahwah, New Jersey), one of the few Auto Workers locals that turned out in some strength for the rally. After the rally had been officially ended, the banner was attacked by two IBEW officials, who temporarily tore it down. Immediately 20 to 30 people rushed to defend the militants and the officials withdrew.

A leaflet by the Militant Solidarity Caucus at the rally called for a full class-struggle program, including a workers government, which alone can eliminate depressions through expropriating the capitalists and reorganizing and planning the economy to produce for social needs not private profit. Only caucuses which organize the workers for such a program can escape the trap of apolitical "rank-and-fileism," which in reality is merely a means of pressuring the existing bureaucracy. Only by building a class-struggle leadership in the unions and a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class can the road be opened to proletarian revolution and a real solution of the economic crises which are endemic to capitalism.■

Spartacist League Local Directory

BALTIMORE/WASHINGTON, D.C.
P.O. Box 4398,
Arlington, VA 22204

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 852, Main P.O.,
Berkeley, CA 94701

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA ..... (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

SWP, CP, Bureaucrats Denounce "Disrupters"

When more than 1,000 angry workers drowned out Sen. Humphrey by chanting "Jobs Now!" at the April 26 jobs rally in Washington, an AFL/CIO official tried to blame it on "outside radicals." The New York Times (28 April) added that the "disruption" proved that "the whole idea [of the demonstration] was a mistake." Naturally it surprises no one that Meanyite bureaucrats and the leading capitalist newspaper should oppose mass labor demonstrations and condemn the shouting down of a leading bourgeois poltician.

But they are not the only ones who recoil in horror at the anger of the ranks. The Socialist Workers Party published a full-page article in the Militant (9 May) denouncing the "disrupters...[who tried] to drown out Hubert Humphrey...[and] took it upon themselves to decide for [the] majority who would be allowed to speak"!

The entire article is an appeal to the union bureaucracy to utilize the experienced SWP in controlling such "disrupters." "Anyone with the slightest experience organizing mass demonstrations," writes Cindy Jaquith, knows that putting thousands in a stadium with nothing to do is "an obvious invitation for trouble." Want to know how to deal with militants who are fed up listening to vacuous inanities from representatives of the bosses? Just keep reading.

> "The rally organizers...hadn't organized a marshaling system of trade unionists that had authority with the thousands of demonstrators. Nor did they address themselves to the masses in the stands, using the pressure of the majority to allow the rally to proceed."

Elsewhere the article comments that the PA system was no good.

Get the picture? If George Meany needs some professional crowd controllers, don't rely on rent-a-cop agencies. Go to the SWP. It's called pimping for the labor czars. (In the case anyone didn't catch on right away, Jacquith proceeds to finger the "sectarians" involved. The CP's Daily World (29 April) denounces the disturbance, she notes, but "the Coney Island Young Workers Liberation League was also among the disrupters.")

The Communist Party did, of course, denounce "disrupters," adding its own special touch with the suggestion that a "Watergate 'dirty trick'" was being pulled. Asked later how he felt about being called a cop, one of the Communist Party supporters who was on the field at the time replied lamely, "Sometimes the Party makes mistakes." Not this time, though. Both SWP and CP are doing just what's called for to prove their reliability to the bosses and their agents in the labor movement.

The Crisis in the United Secretariat and the Struggle for Revolutionary Trotskyism

Speaker: Murray Smith

- Founding member and ex-central committee member, Revolutionary Marxist Group of Canada
- Former member League for Socialist Action
- Founding member of Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, RMG

CHICAGO
University of Illinois
Circle Center
Room to be posted

Thursday, May 8
7:30 p.m.
For information: 427-0003

...Vietnam

(continued from page 1)

decades in order to break the grip of imperialist domination and capitalist exploitation on the peninsula. But while a victorious social revolution has occurred, the struggle to establish revolutionary and internationalist workers states in the region is far from over. A phantom coalition with venal rightist generals and a playboy "neutralist" continues to "rule" in Vientiane, although it is clear to all that it could be quickly eliminated by a resolute offensive of the Pathet Lao.

Meanwhile, in Cambodia and Vietnam (both North and South) political power is not in the hands of the working masses, expressed by democratic rule through soviets (workers councils) as was achieved by the Russian Revolution of 1917. Nor is there in Indochina today a Bolshevik party which could lead the revolutionary struggle forward by extending it internationally to the centers of world capitalism. The new Stalinist rulers in Phnom Penh and Saigon are as committed to the treacherous policy of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism as those in Moscow and Peking, or Hanoi and Havana.

Instead, what has been created in South Vietnam and Cambodia are *deformed workers states*, qualitatively equivalent to the degenerated workers state which emerged in Russia with the consolidation of the Stalin-led bureaucracy. The ruling bureaucracies of the deformed workers states are narrowly nationalist in outlook, attempting to balance precariously between imperialism and the working class. Based on the property forms of a workers state, they occasionally put up a limited and distorted defense of the social conquests achieved by the overthrow of capitalism in order to preserve their own privileged position.

But because their rule is based on the political expropriation of the working class, these petty-bourgeois bureaucratic castes are incapable of mobilizing the proletarian masses for an international revolutionary assault on the bastions of world capitalism, since it would simultaneously mean their own demise. The Stalinist rulers in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh must be overthrown by a workers' political revolution led by a Trotskyist party in order to establish the organs of proletarian democracy and open the road to socialism. All Indochina Must Go Communist!

Military Victory and Social Revolution

The cost of these momentous victories in terms of human suffering by the toilers of Vietnam has been tremendous. The barbarous policies of the cynical mass murderers of U.S. imperialism and French colonialism—the "free fire zones" subjected to saturation bombing by B-52's, the "pacification programs" consisting of the assassination of all political opponents of the puppet regimes, the "strategic hamlets" which sought to eliminate the insurgents' popular support by locking up peasants in concentration camps—have produced millions of dead and maimed.

But still the Indochinese workers and peasants fought on, driven by a burning desire not only to be rid of the pimps and butchers who sat in air-conditioned offices in Saigon, but also to remove the daily oppression inexorably caused by capitalist exploitation. At a tremendous disadvantage in terms of firepower and sophisticated weaponry—the result of the refusal of the USSR and China to deliver adequate military supplies—they were able to militarily defeat the cream of the French army, the largest U.S. expeditionary forces since World War II (over 500,000 American military personnel in Vietnam at one point), and the most mechanized army in Asia.

However, the program of the bureaucracies in Hanoi, Peking and Moscow who led, controlled and supplied the insurgents was not to carry out a social revolution through defeating the bourgeoisie. Justifying their appetites for class collaboration by the Stalinist schema of "two-stage revolution," they sought to achieve "democratic" (i.e., bourgeois) governments of national reconciliation of all classes save the imperialists and their most direct lackeys. This was expressed in programs (such as those of the South Vietnamese NLF and Cambodian FUNK) which called for popular-front coalition governments with the bourgeoisie, omitting demands for agrarian revolution and guaranteeing the "right" of capitalists to continue to exploit their wage slaves; and in repeated sellouts at the bargaining table (especially 1945 and 1954).

But while the Stalinist leaders remained committed to a strategy of betrayal and class collaboration, they were also confronted with fundamental historical and social realities. The extreme weakness of the Vietnamese bourgeoisie which prevented it from rebelling against French colonial and U.S. imperialist domination made that coterie of drug traffickers, rice merchants, rack-renting landlords, corrupt military mercenaries, textile sweatshop bosses, rubber plantation managers and Honda salesmen doubly afraid of any mobilization of the exploited masses. Although the NLF and FUNK continued to call for the formation of coalition governments until scant hours before they marched into their respective capitals, the fabled anti-imperialist national bourgeoisie never materialized. To the lasting benefit of the Indochinese laboring masses, the Paris "peace" accords were never implemented.

Though DRV/NLF military forces fought well and defeated the puppet troops in the only two real battles of the last six weeks (Ban Me Thuot and Xuan Loc), the fall of Saigon came not as a result of a successful insurgent offensive, properly speaking, but because of the complete collapse of the Thieu regime and army. A single defeat in the Central Highlands produced a panicked retreat

No Asylum for Indochinese Reactionaries!

Send the Anti-Communist Butchers to Saigon!

Open the Borders to Chilean Refugees!

Seven years ago Americans sat horrified before their TV sets as they watched a Saigon police chief, General Nguyen Ngo Loan, laugh as he shot at close range a young Vietnamese prisoner as a "suspected Vietcong sympathizer." Today all the General Loans are gathering at U.S. military bases in preparation for their government-sponsored entry into U.S. civilian life.

Who are "our allies" recently delivered by helicopter, ship, and airplane to their asylum in the U.S.? Of course, among the 100,000 thus far evacuated are some wives and dependents of U.S. soldiers. Also, some of those fleeing have special training, like the seven doctors and six nurses who arrived at Fort Chaffee (they should have remained in Vietnam, and the SL would defend the right of the new government to hold them there where their skills are urgently needed.) But in the main "our allies" are the despicable bourgeois collaborators with British, French and particularly American imperialism. They are the military officer corps and secret police which have for years "saved" the pay of foot soldiers in their own personal Swiss bank accounts for just this eventuality; the native capitalists, large landowners, drug traffickers and war profiteers who have, according to the Swiss government, created a glut of gold bars in that country.

To justify President Ford's demagogic "Operation Baby-Lift"—the kidnapping of several thousand Vietnamese orphans (and some who aren't) in order to whip up anti-communist sentiment in the U.S.—full-page newspaper ads talked of "ferrying the children to freedom." The media in the U.S. cannot pretend that "our allies" are poor peasants running from the "red menace" to the "land of the free": they arrive at the quonset huts with their matched patent leather luggage, wearing silk suits and dresses and gold bracelets from wrist to elbow. Among the Vietnamese heading for U.S. shores are such notorious imperialist war criminals as Air Marshal Nguyen Cao Ky, well remembered in the U.S. for his "outspoken" praise of Hitler; he is also well remembered in the villages of Vietnam for the murderous bombing missions he flew, first for the French and then for the U.S.

These vicious professional anti-communist killers should not be allowed to escape punishment for their heinous crimes against the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cambodia. The criminals must be tried and punished! The NLF and FALN have set back the defense of the Indochinese Revolution by allowing them to flee. Indochinese collaborators in high places no more deserve asylum than did the Nazi High Command after World War II. Rather than flying out that murderous crowd around Thieu and Lon Nol, they should be flown back—together with the U.S. war criminals from Calley to Nixon, Ford and Kissinger—to Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh so their victims could try them for their barbarous acts. Justice would demand that the defoliators would be brought before the hungry, that the napalmers be confronted by the burned and maimed, that the terror bombers be judged by the survivors of their mass savagery, and that the architects of tiger cages now come face to face with the tigers!

UPI

Saigon police chief General Nguyen Ngo Loan shoots "suspected Vietcong sympathizer." Now the General Loans will reside in the U.S.

Bourgeois Hypocrites Save Their Friends

It seems that the last terrible hypocrisy of an imperialist intervention which "destroyed" villages in order to save them must be Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger posing "moral" and "humanitarian" questions. The most rabid national chauvinists who scream for the scalps of the "illegal aliens" now rush to make votive offerings to the Statue of Liberty. Ford's press secretary, Ron Nessen, tells the media not to worry about the "legal niceties" of the illegal evacuation; the President, he promises, is acting out of moral commitment. And Gerald Ford lectures the Congress, which has offered only tepid opposition to his evacuation program, it "is not worthy of a nation of immigrants."

The pious responsibility felt by the bourgeoisie for "our allies" is not moral, but political. They simply want to preserve their core of anti-communist friends for future use. There is a modern tradition for the evacuation of defeated class enemies after a social revolution. The U.S. brought Chiang Kai-shek and his nationalists to Taiwan where they have maintained an island of anti-communism ever since. Cuban gusanos have remained as a source of anti-communist terror against Cubans (the Bay of Pigs) and other CIA "enemies" (including leftists and unionists in the U.S.).

The staggering hypocrisy of all the moralizing about "commitments" (secret or otherwise) and the "humanitarian" need to bring Indochinese "refugees" to the U.S. is demonstrated by the revealing fact that the U.S. government has refused to admit even *one* persecuted Chilean after the bloody military coup of 1973. Legislative bills which would admit the persecuted Chileans to the U.S. lie inactive before the U.S. Congress which is providing millions in so-called "humanitarian aid" to the Indochinese counter-revolutionaries. The "humanity" of the U.S. Congress, however, is extended only to those who should be sitting now in jails in Vietnam and Cambodia.

The Spartacist League does not base its hostility to these war criminals on the fear of communicable disease, increased competition for jobs in the U.S., or on the racism against Asians that has unfortunately characterized so much of the sizeable opposition to opening U.S. borders to the evacuees. But we solidarize with the disgust expressed by millions of Americans at the idea of living with U.S. imperialism's cowardly professional torturers. Our compassion is also class-determined: aid the victims of right-wing repression, not the butchers who are the perpetrators of that repression!

From Bangkok to Paris to New York, wherever this fleeing pack of poisonous rats goes, they will become a center of the most dangerous and vicious anti-communist activity. Worse than the gusanos who left Cuba, "our allies" will be used by the CIA for the dirtiest of tricks against communists, labor and blacks. Socialists and the labor movement must demand: No Asylum for Indochinese War Criminals!■

that put DRV NLF forces within 50 miles of the capital in two weeks, practically without firing a shot.

The scenes of this jumbled collapse dominated the news from Vietnam during the last days of the puppet government. The wild looting and chaotic terror unleashed in Da Nang by drunken hands of ARVN soldiers was succeeded by the desperate clawing of Saigon merchants and collaborators to get into the U.S. embassy and join the select circle of those who would get a ticket to America from President Ford. While Thieu and Lon Nol sent off a final shipment of $16 million in gold bullion to Switzerland, well-connected prostitutes and wives of military officers began arriving in Guam by the plane-load. The predominance of air force families among the early passengers was explained by a threat from Saigon fighter pilots to shoot down the C-130's if their relatives were not included.

Subsequent news reports are extremely sketchy. Some reports quoted official broadcasts from Saigon as "announcing the nationalization of banks and virtually all other business and industrial enterprises" (*New York Times*, 2 May); administrative authority was reportedly being exercised by the Saigon-Gia Dinh Military Management Committee. In any case, it is clear that the ignominious collapse of the U.S.' puppet government was accompanied by the flight of the bulk

WV Photo

of the devastated bourgeoisie. The fall of Saigon was the fall of Vietnamese capitalism as a political force.

45 Years of Struggle Against Imperialism

The struggle of the Indochinese masses against colonial oppression and the yoke of capitalist exploitation goes back well past the end of World War II. The Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) was formed in 1930 and led an important peasant revolt in central Vietnam during the same year. During the late 1930's, however, the Stalinist ICP faced considerable competition from two Trotskyist groups, particularly in southern Vietnam. One, the International Communist League(ICL) led by Ho Huu Tuong, was founded in 1931, while the second, larger, group around Ta Thu Thau was in a common front with the southern Stalinists from 1933 to 1937. As the ICP was obliged by Kremlin dictates and its program of class collaboration to give support to French colonialism during the period of the popular-front government in Paris, the Trotskyists were able to greatly expand their influence. In 1939 Thau's group swamped the Stalinists in colonial elections, winning 80 percent of the votes, as the masses decisively rejected Ho Chi Minh's support for "progressive" colonialism.

In August 1945 the Stalinists (now known as the Viet Minh) moved together with bourgeois nationalists to take over the French-Japanese colonial government apparatus as the Japanese surrender was announced. However, when British troops entered Saigon they were greeted by the Viet Minh, in line with Stalin's policy of alliance with the Western "democratic" imperialists during World War II. In contrast, the Trotskyist ICL called for opposition to the imperialists, agrarian revolution, expropriation of the bourgeoisie and a workers and peasants government.

The ICL's call did not remain simply on paper, but found a mass response as scores of "people's committees" were formed in the Saigon area, the dominant influence in them being that of the Trotskyists. Although the Stalinist police succeeded in arresting and shooting most of the leaders, a working-class uprising broke out a few days later in response to British-French moves to take power from the popular-front "government." While the Viet Minh negotiated, to no avail, the Trotskyist-led resistance went down fighting.

The Trotskyists had also been active in the north, but there the domination of the Viet Minh was unchallenged. As Ho was preparing to sign an agreement permitting the reintroduction of French troops in early 1946, the witchhunt against Trotskyists was intensified. Ta Thu Thau was murdered on orders from Stalinist leaders at that time, as were virtually all remaining Trotskyist cadre. Thus, if since 1946 the Stalinist leaders have been dominant in Vietnam, it is not because of a revolutionary line but rather because of the efficiency of their assassination squads.

After the reintroduction of colonial troops (with the assent of Ho Chi Minh), the Stalinists were forced to abandon the cities and retreat into guerrilla warfare. However, by 1954 they had been able to inflict a military defeat on the French army, not only in the north but throughout Indochina. While Russian and Chinese pressure was instrumental in inducing the Viet Minh negotiators at Geneva to abandon everything below the 17th parallel (as well as Laos and Cambodia), decisive victory was within reach. Thus Ho's agreement to the Geneva deal was another sharp blow against the struggle of the Indochinese masses.

With the change in the imperialist paymasters from Paris to more affluent Washington the regime of Ngo Dinh Diem was able to partially stabilize South Vietnam for a couple of years through the use of ruthless terror. Peasants were driven off their land, suspected Communists were "tried" by special tribunals and murdered by the hundreds. Sporadic resistance sprang up, often led by underground former Viet Minh cadre who had stayed behind. But not until 1960 when the National Liberation Front was formed did Hanoi give any appreciable aid to the southern rebels. Ho's concern was above all to scrupulously respect the terms of the Geneva sellout, vainly hoping that the butcher Diem would allow "free elections"!

The subsequent intervention of large numbers of U.S. troops represented a major setback for the NLF and DRV. But with the massacre of several hundred thousand workers and peasants in Indonesia, accomplishing an important objective of imperialism in the area, and given the absence of any prospect of victory for the Saigon regime, and the active hostility to U.S. intervention among large sections of American youth and increasingly in the working class, the basis was laid for the development of widespread bourgeois defeatism. This was not confined to peace demonstrations or McCarthy/McGovern left liberals, but became the dominant position of decisive sections of the ruling class. As economic problems multiplied and the U.S.' inability to continue playing the role of hegemonic world policeman became clearer, the Nixon regime moved toward negotiations finally resulting in the so-called Paris "peace" accords of 1973.

These accords did not lead to peace in Vietnam, and represented the extortion of concessions by the imperialists in return for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. While declaring "No Support to the Robbers' Peace!" the Spartacist League also recognized an important difference from the 1954 sellout, the "ceasefire in-place," i.e., the continued presence of large numbers of DRV/NLF troops in the south. We judged that the ceasefire "could well eventually lead to a Viet Cong victory in the South," but pointed out that this was a gamble and did not represent a change in the Stalinists' strategy of betrayal. When the NLF victory finally came, two years later, it was because of the military collapse of the puppet regime. Finding no substantial force with which to make a coalition government, the Stalinists finally were forced to take Saigon on their own.

Where Are the Two Stages?

Thus the history of the struggle in Vietnam, far from demonstrating the

continued on next page

Letters

Oakland, California
28 March 1975

To the Editor:

There was a minor factual error in your article, "Boston CLUW Slams Door on Unorganized Workers," [*WV* No. 64, 14 March]. At the Houston CLUW [Coalition of Labor Union Women] meeting last June where nurses fired from Jefferson Davis Hospital for organizing a "sick-out" to protest the abysmal conditions at the hospital presented their case, requesting help from CLUW in their struggle to be rehired, the chairman was not former SWP [Socialist Workers Party] gubernatorial candidate Sherri Smith, as stated, but Peggy Swann, a Paperworkers Union bureaucrat.

Not only was discussion of the proposal to defend the nurses by undertaking an organizing drive among hospital workers blocked by CLUW hacks—on the grounds that Houston CLUW was not yet officially chartered and therefore could not take positions on anything—but the meeting became a forum for AFSCME staffers Liz Kimmel and Wilma Oliver to viciously attack the nurses for undertaking an "illegal" action and failing to "go through channels."

SWPer Sherri Smith made her contribution to the sabotage of the nurses' struggle primarily as chairman of a separate do-nothing "defense committee," which, partly in reaction to Smith's organizational maneuvering, wound up devoting its energies to ousting radicals from the group.

Smith's colleague Debbie Leonard, a former SWP mayoral candidate who now heads the Houston CLUW chapter, gained legitimacy in the eyes of national CLUW by currying the favor of local trade-union bureaucrats like Peggy Swann and Liz Kimmel. In exchange for Leonard's demonstrated willingness to sell out the hospital workers' struggle Kimmel agreed to run for office in local CLUW. The election of Leonard and Kimmel to CLUW leadership was followed by the exodus of virtually all of the militant young black nurses who had originally approached CLUW for support.

In solidarity,
Ruth Ryan
Committee for a Militant UAW
UAW Local 1364

Toronto

Dear Comrades:

The Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency was most happy to see your excellent article "Canadian RMG Expels Trotskyists" (*WV* No. 66, 11 April 1975) regarding our expulsion. However, there are a few factual errors that we would like to draw to your attention:

1.) At the time of our expulsion, the B-LT had five (rather than the reported six) members. However, at the convention one sympathizer of the B-LT (a former RCTer [Revolutionary Communist Tendency] and a founding member of the RMG) declared his solidarity with the B-LT's reports to the convention, and was subsequently expelled with us.

2.) Of the three founding members of the B-LT, two (and not the reported three) had been members of the RCT and founding members of the RMG. The other founding member of the B-LT was recruited to the RMG after its inception. One of the two people who later joined the tendency had also been a member of the RCT and a founding member of the RMG.

Fraternally,
Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency

Editor's note: In the article we also neglected to mention that a B-LTer was one of three candidates presented by the RMG in the 1974 Canadian federal parliamentary elections.

CORRECTIONS

Two technical errors in the last issue of *Workers Vanguard* (No. 67) have been brought to our attention. In the article "Victory to the Indochinese Revolution!" a line on page 10 was dropped. The concluding sentence of the first paragraph on that page should read: "Likewise, the programs of the Stalinist-led insurgent movements in Indochina (as elsewhere) call not for socialist revolution but for 'democratic' coalition governments uniting all classes." Secondly the article on Nazi terrorism in Chicago—referred to as "in this issue" in the back-page article "UAW Local Sets Up Labor Black Defense Guard" appears in this issue. See "Fascists Fight Integration in Midwest," page 4.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

...Vietnam

(continued from page 9)

validity of Stalinist conceptions and "strategy" in fact reveals a series of attempts to sell out gains won on the battlefield in return for a compromise with imperialism. The recent events in Indochina fully confirm the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, which holds that in the backward countries even the democratic tasks of national emancipation and agrarian revolution can only be solved by the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the peasantry. The weak bourgeoisies of these areas, closely linked to domestic feudal reaction and imperialism, are incapable of carrying out a bourgeois revolution.

The Stalinists claim that their calls for coalition governments, popular fronts, a "bloc of four classes" and so on correspond to the first stage of "national-democratic," "popular-democratic," or "new democratic" revolution. Now they claim the victories in Vietnam and Cambodia as validation for their line. This is a fraud.

The NLF, for its part, was quite clear what it stood for. Wilfred Burchett, writing in the 2 April issue of the Maoist *Guardian*, reported an interview with PRG representatives in Paris: "Asked why the PRG did not aim at taking over completely in the South, in view of the wholesale collapse of Thieu's armed forces, Dinh Ba Thi said, 'We are for the strict implementation of the Paris Agreements which call for national reconciliation and coalition government'." He added only that Thieu must go.

Thieu went, "Big Minh" was brought to the presidential palace, but there was no coalition government. And official announcements by the PRG no longer mention the Paris peace agreement. Where, then, are the two stages?

One group which believes there is some truth in the "two-stage" theory is the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party. In a front-page National Committee statement in the *Militant* (9 May), the SWP hails "the victory of the Vietnamese rebels" and announces that "The objective conditions also exist for a social revolution to abolish the entire system of exploitation for private profit."

This last sentence evidently means the SWP believes that a capitalist state still exists in South Vietnam. Not only does this ignore the powerful social revolution which has taken place, and the fact that capitalist rule can only be restored by a violent counterrevolution, but it fundamentally revises the Leninist theory of the state. Presumably if it decides next week or next month that nationalizations reportedly carried out by the PRG include the key sectors of the economy, then the SWP will declare South Vietnam to be some kind of a workers state. (It holds that China did not become a deformed workers state until the major nationalizations were carried out at the time of the Korean war.) But this amounts to a "peaceful transition" to a workers state!

The expropriation of the decisive sectors of the economy is indeed a key element of a workers state. But the state is at bottom an armed body of men committed to defending certain property forms. Thus Russia became a workers state in 1917, when the Bolsheviks took power and established soviet rule. The nationalizations came later.

The situation is different when the leaders of the revolution are not a proletarian Marxist party but a Stalinist bureaucracy based on a peasant guerrilla army. Neither the peasantry as a class nor the Stalinists as a political force are committed to establishing a workers state. The NLF has stated as much, on many occasions, and given ample proof of its intentions. But having taken power alone, without an alliance with significant bourgeois forces, and faced with the massive exit of the South Vietnamese bourgeoisie, the Stalinists are forced to establish the property forms of a workers state in order to revive production and above all to defend their rule against imperialist attack.

Toward a Communist Indochina

The victory of the Cambodian and Vietnamese Stalinists and the overthrow of capitalist rule in those two countries have occurred under exceptional circumstances: extreme disorganization of the native bourgeoisie, economic and political difficulties of the imperialists which have prevented renewed U.S. intervention, and above all the absence of the working class organized to fight in its own interests.

The regime which they establish does not, and cannot, base itself on organs of proletarian democracy, but rather on the fiat of a bonapartist bureaucracy. The task of Marxists in Vietnam and Cambodia today is to take forward the revolutionary struggle by fighting for a workers' political revolution to overthrow the bureaucracy, demanding the creation of democratic workers councils as the basis for the new state apparatus, and freedom for all parties which defend the revolution against counterrevolutionary attack. Above all, the struggle to go forward to final victory over capitalism requires the construction of Trotskyist parties, in Indochina and throughout the world, as part of a reborn Fourth International.

- Immediate Recognition of the Khmer Rouge and NLF PRG Governments in Cambodia and Vietnam!
- Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Forces from Southeast Asia!
- Extend the Soviet Nuclear Shield to Cover Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh!
- Take Vientiane! For Political Revolution in Cambodia and Vietnam (North and South)! All Indochina Must Go Communist!
- For Trotskyist Parties in Indochina! Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES– *Revolutionary Literature*

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00–6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

In New Haven, Los Angeles

SYL Demonstrations Call for Communist Indochina

WV Photo

WV Photo

Among recent Spartacus Youth League-sponsored demonstrations expressing solidarity with the workers and peasants of Vietnam and Cambodia were those pictured above. The top photo depicts an April 25 demonstration against President Gerald Ford at Yale University Law School called around the slogans, "Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of All U.S. Troops and Aid from Southeast Asia!"; "Military Victory to the NLF and Cambodian FALN!"; and "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" Despite rainy weather 200-300 protesters demonstrated outside as Ford blubbered inanities about the "disregard for law" to assembled dignitaries.

Though contingents of Ukrainian and Greek students held adjacent separate demonstrations and the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League aided a separate "media event"—a Salvation Army-style soup kitchen to dramatize the economic crisis—the lure of militant slogans, as opposed to apolitical antics, attracted the majority of protesters to the SYL picket line. The small Revolutionary Communist League (Internationalist) endorsed and attended the demonstration.

The Los Angeles rally, below, took place at L.A. City College April 17 and was attended by about 75 students. Though the Revolutionary Union-supported Revolutionary Student Brigade formally agreed with the slogans around which the demonstration was built, "U.S. Imperialism, Hands Off Indochina!" and "Take Saigon!", it refused to endorse the rally, in keeping with its self-defeating sectarian policy of refusing joint action with Trotskyists. The RSB explained that despite equal speaking time for all participating groups, Trotskyist politics would dominate—a rationale amounting to a confession of political weakness.

After the first SYL speaker the microphone was opened to questions, comments and statements from the crowd. An RSBer spoke to denounce the SYL as "counterrevolutionary swine" and defend the Maoists' call for a coalition government in Vietnam. But had the Paris "peace" accords been implemented, as demanded by the RSB, Ford and Kissinger, the workers and peasants of Vietnam would continue to face miserable bloody defeat at the hands of the imperialists and their lackeys. As feared by the RSB, Trotskyist politics predominated, and the rally ended with an enthusiastic call for a communist Indochina.

...Boston Busing

(continued from page 12)

organizations in order to launch a real attack on racial discrimination.

Liberals Sound the Retreat

Phase II will consist of Judge Garrity's revisions of a proposal submitted in late March by four court-appointed "Masters." The so-called Masters' Plan signifies a gross capitulation to the racist sentiment whipped up by leading white bourgeois politicians through the busing protests last fall. While Garrity may temper some of the more blatantly unconstitutional aspects of the plan, the retreat on busing by virtually every prominent bourgeois liberal ensures that the final program will fall far short of complete city-wide desegregation.

The Masters' Plan attempts to comply with the provisions of the Massachusetts 1965 Racial Imbalance Act by reducing the overwhelming concentration of black students in ghetto schools without fully desegregating white schools. This is to be accomplished by closing 21 predominantly black schools, thereby ensuring that the great majority of students bused will be black. Not surprisingly, the plan was endorsed by the attorney of the racist Boston Home and School Association, who commented: "Within the court's guidelines, they have minimized busing as much as they could."

While Garrity expressed dissatisfaction with the proposed racial composition of the school districts, he has already indicated willingness to exclude East Boston elementary schools from the plan and has not challenged the key element the closing of predominantly black schools. Nor has he objected to the fact that the Masters propose no new construction and the purchase of only one building for the city's already overcrowded schools. Such an approach only aids the racists' attempts to counterpose "quality education" to integration.

Meanwhile liberal Democrats have mounted a campaign to pressure Garrity into accepting the Masters' Plan. The new governor Michael Dukakis, who conspicuously avoided taking a position on busing during his campaign last fall, is using Paul Parks, a prominent black politician, to push for acceptance. And the *Boston Globe*, mouthpiece for the liberal wing of the local bourgeoisie, issued an editorial "Plea for Compassion" with the same message. One of the plan's authors, former state attorney general Edward McCormack, has uttered comments which speak volumes about the nature of the scheme cooked up by the liberals. "If you accept the NAACP's stand on the mixing of races," he says, "then this plan does not conform with respect to a numbers game."

Liberals and Reformists

The step-by-step retreat by the liberal bourgeoisie has both encouraged the anti-busing forces in their campaign of violent obstructionism and increasingly isolated black liberals such as the Black Political Caucus and the NAACP. It is a measure of this isolation that the staid and respectable NAACP has opted to build the May 17 demonstration together with the SWP-dominated National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR).

If anyone should think that the Boston busing crisis has shaken the traditional NAACP tactics of court suits and pressure politics, however, this illusion was quickly dispelled by Boston NAACP president Tom Atkins (a former aide of mayor Kevin White) who said, speaking at an NSCAR rally in February: "We know how important it is to show elected officials that racism is not the guiding force in this country.... We will be forming a coalition here of those who wish to work with us to plan for the May 17 rally in support of school desegregation and the Constitution.... this is the way to begin the national drive to protect the Constitution (*Student Mobilizer*, March 1975).

The NAACP is not only a black organization; it is also deeply tied to the capitalist order. It is historically rooted in the frustrated ambitions of black professionals for equal social status with their white counterparts, ambitions which have simultaneously defined the organizational strength of the NAACP and its political impotence. Having no perspective of independently mobilizing the black masses in alliance with a class-conscious labor movement, its only answer to racist violence is the time-worn appeal for federal intervention, as if the racist butchers of Detroit and Vietnam could become the protectors of black people in Boston! And in the face of a court setback, the NAACP now calls a token protest rally to support the Constitution, a document written by slaveholders, codifying the property rights of the capitalist class and legitimizing the structure of bourgeois political dictatorship.

A telling indication of how far the SWP has retreated from revolutionary Trotskyism into a smug reformism is the treacherous role it has played in the Boston busing crisis. Looking desperately for a new angle to mount yet another of its class-collaborationist "mass movements," it poured scores of activists into Boston during the fall and winter. But this effort was directed solely toward tailing after the black liberals and preaching confidence in the capitalist state. "We completely support the demands made by leaders of the Black community that federal troops be sent to Boston," declared SWP candidates for Massachusetts state offices on October 9. This demand was also raised by the Communist Party and Mayor White.

Now the SWP is eagerly doing the organizational donkey work to build student support for the NAACP's May 17 march to support the Constitution. For the NAACP, supporting the bourgeois state order is only the logical consequence of its liberal belief that racism can be eliminated under capitalism. For the ostensibly socialist SWP, this support for the dictatorship of the class enemy is treason to the working class. But given its past practice of building popular-frontist blocs with antiwar liberals (Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee, NPAC) and bourgeois feminists (WONAAC), the ease with which it forms a class-collaborationist coalition with a black liberal pressure group should not be surprising.

Boston Globe/Tom Landers

Police occupation of Columbia Point last fall did not protect black school children and residents from racist marauders.

A Class-Struggle Program

The SWP has not been able to propagate its reformist illusions with impunity, however. Not only has the Spartacist League's call for labor black defense and no confidence in the bosses' government received world-wide publicity, but the SWP has had to contend with the support these slogans have received from among non-affiliated activists committed to fighting for school desegregation in Boston. The SWP YSA had to precipitously withdraw from the student-based Ad Hoc Committee for Human Rights last November after they were forced to share a platform with the SL, which received broad support from black militants for its opposition to federal troops. After splitting the committee, which they had largely initiated, YSA members slandered it as an SL front group.

Again at the February 14 NSCAR conference, the Spartacist League and its youth group, the Spartacus Youth League, represented the clear left pole among the participants. SL/SYL calls for no reliance on capitalist politicians or the U.S. army, and for a class-struggle defense of black people, received support from a significant number of independent black radicals. But by trading on the endorsements by prominent black Democrats, the SWP YSA was able to effectively squelch opposition and put through a motion to build the NAACP march.

The SL/SYL will not permit the impotent liberalism of the NAACP and reformist treachery of the SWP to prevent us from fighting for our program of independent, integrated working-class action on May 17. We will be marching under banners calling for: Labor Black Defense Against Racist Anti-Busing Vigilanteism; For Complete City-Wide Desegregation and Extend Busing to the Suburbs; and For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government. We invite class-conscious militants to join our contingent.

This program for class struggle is no utopian "pie in the sky," as the SWP claims. While the reformists and liberals preach pressure politics and reliance on the armed forces of the capitalists, the members of UAW Local 6 in Chicago have actually organized a Civil Rights Defense Committee to protect the house of a black member against attacks by racist marauders. This defense guard was set up after a membership meeting unanimously passed a motion introduced by the Labor Struggle Caucus, a militant grouping in the Local which opposes the Woodcock bureaucracy with a class-struggle program.

The reformists and liberals seek to seduce people into believing that racism can be fought without attacking the capitalist system which spawns it. The task of the Trotskyists is to fight these illusions by telling the truth to the masses. This means struggling against reliance on the class enemy and for independent working-class action; linking the struggle for the democratic rights of black people and other minorities to the fight against the capitalist economic system and its crisis (strikes/factory occupations against mass layoffs; shorter workweek with no loss in pay; unlimited, unconditional unemployment insurance; full cost-of-living escalator; expropriate industry and finance; workers control); and fighting for a political alternative to the bosses parties calling for a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government. Not white against black, but class against class!■

SUBSCRIBE TO **Young Spartacus**

Monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

$2 11 ISSUES

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

68

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825, Canal St. P.O., N.Y., N.Y. 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

68

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Australasian Spartacist

Published by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)
U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 20001 Australia

WORKERS VANGUARD

Boston NAACP March

No Retreat! Extend the Busing!

BOSTON The reactionary mobilization here by opponents of school integration was front-page news throughout the world last fall. Pictures of a black worker being assaulted by a lynch mob and stories of racist gangs roaming the streets of South Boston, stoning black children in school buses, drove home the message that an end to formal Jim Crow segregation has not eliminated the deep-seated oppression and persecution of racial minorities in the U.S.

While the tense situation cried out for working-class action in defense of the endangered black population of Boston, liberals and reformist "socialists" instead relied on pressuring the bosses' government and called on the racist Ford to send in federal troops. A mass march on December 14, called by black Democrat Bill Owens and supported by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF), was nothing but an impotent liberal protest rally (which narrowly missed being turned into a massacre by the grandstanding adventurism of YAWF and Owens).

Now this tragic scenario is about to be repeated as the second phase of a city-wide court-ordered desegregation plan is being readied by Judge Arthur Garrity. Another liberal march, called and politically dominated by the NAACP, is being built around the demand "Support Quality Desegregation and the Constitution." But the main lesson of the Boston events of the last year is precisely the futility of placing any confidence in the bourgeois state. Militants must demand independent action by a class-conscious labor movement in alliance with black

continued on page 11

WV Photo

SL called for black/labor defense squads to protect endangered school children in Boston.

Build the UAW Labor/Black Defense Guard in Chicago!

CHICAGO, May 2 A squad from the Civil Rights Defense Committee of UAW Local 6 continues to stand guard nightly at the house of black union member C.B. Dennis. The Dennis home had been firebombed and repeatedly stoned by night-riding racists trying to prevent the family from moving into the all-white suburb of Broadview. But ever since the union guards began patrolling three weeks ago, there have been no further attacks on the house.

The defense committee was set up by unanimous vote at the monthly meeting of Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park) on April 13. Since then a steering committee has been actively signing up volunteers for the defense squad and contacting other union locals and black organizations, including the NAACP and PUSH. Already, individuals from UAW Local 59 (Stanadyne), Local 688 (Broadview Parts Depot) and Local 719 (GM Electromotive) have taken part in the guard.

In addition, an official of Amalgamated Meatcutters Local 500 has offered the active support of his local and several members of the West Side Coalition, a black community organization in Chicago, have been involved in the defense. According to steering committee member Marc Freedman, the guards will remain at the Dennis home as long as they are needed to prevent the attacks. (Freedman, who introduced the motion setting up the defense committee, is a member of the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle grouping at Harvester.)

As we reported in the last issue of *WV*, these attacks are part of a pattern of terror against blacks living in predominantly white areas of Chicago, a campaign to which Nazis and the KKK have been linked. At a time when these gutter demagogues are finding a growing audience for their race hate filth and treacherous reformists preach reliance on the armed forces of the capitalist state as the answer Broadview represents a call for action by the labor movement. The UAW militants' response is the answer to racist mobilizations such as in Boston!

Because the militant defense of the Dennis home by Local 6 stands in such striking contrast to the usual inaction of the labor movement in the face of racist attacks, it received considerable attention from the local news media. It has also led to harassment by the cops, company and fascists.

- Broadview police, who earlier refused Dennis' request for full-time protection against the attacks, are now busy checking out the license plates of members of the defense guard, allegedly looking for "unauthorized individuals."
- At the International Harvester Parts Depot in Broadview, the company fired two workers for distributing copies of *Workers Voice* (a syndicalist newsletter) calling for support to the defense committee. The two militants were only reinstated after they filed a suit with the NLRB against this blatantly illegal victimization.
- Workers arriving at the union hall last week found the words "N----r Beware" scrawled on the front door. The fascist preachers of race hate aim at the total destruction of the organized labor movement, and Local members are becoming increasingly aware that defense of the Dennis home is also defense of the union.

The major stumbling block to a wider mobilization for defense until now has been inaction on the part of the union leadership. Despite the clear mandate of the membership, it is reported that Local 6 president Norm Roth has not contacted other union locals about the defense. Furthermore, the Local executive board has so far refused to recognize the Civil Rights Defense Committee as an official union body, overriding the unanimous request of the steering committee.

WV Photo

Members of UAW Local 6 at meeting to set up union defense squad last month.

Conservative elements in the Local leadership together with the reformist Roth (a leader of the Communist Party-backed Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy) are attempting to funnel widespread sentiment to defend the Dennis home into reliance on the capitalist state. But as Freedman (who is running for executive board member-at-large as candidate of the Labor Struggle Caucus) points out, labor black defense is counterposed to reliance on the cops, who do not protect working people but their enemies the corporations, banks and fascist scum.

Only by strengthening and extending the Local 6 defense guard, winning support from other union locals and black organizations, can the nightriders be stopped. And only by linking this exemplary labor black defense to a full program for independent working-class action such as put forward by the LSC for factory occupations against mass layoffs, for a workers party based on the unions, for a workers government can it become part of a class-struggle offensive which will put a stop to racist terror by overthrowing the capitalist system which breeds it. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 69 23 May 1975

U.S. Hands Off Indochinese Revolution!

Spartacist contingent at Bay Area May Day rally. WV

Victorious Khmer Rouge troops entering Phnom Penh. L'Express

MAY 19—The seizure last week of the U.S. freighter Mayagüez by the recently victorious Cambodian revolutionary government provided the excuse Washington has been looking for to demonstrate that it is not a toothless tiger despite the humiliating defeat of its puppets in South Vietnam and Cambodia. It was a classic display of brinkmanship, "massive retaliation," gunboat "diplomacy," and imperialist hypocrisy.

Two devastating air strikes against the Cambodian mainland took place *after* the crew was released and the ship taken by U.S. forces; the firepower assembled was enough to take a sizeable city, not to mention board a single ship on an isolated island; and Kissinger never indicated the slightest interest in negotiating release of the crew. Ford's high-flown talk of resisting "international piracy" and concern for "American lives" was simply the cover—and the Mayagüez incident a pretext—for naked military aggression against the Indochinese revolution.

The vessel involved was apparently not a spy ship (at least the Cambodian government made no such claim in its May 15 communiqué); the area is a frequently traveled sea lane; and commercial cargo ships frequently pass quite close to small islands (being subject, of course, to inspection by states whose territorial waters they enter).

But something important has just happened on the Indochinese peninsula. The area is a war zone and the entire coastline is now controlled by deformed workers states! U.S. ships would certainly behave more cautiously in Chinese, Russian or even Vietnamese territorial waters in such circumstances. The fact that U.S. authorities reportedly did not warn the Mayagüez to stay away from the area, even though a Panamanian registry freighter had been stopped in the same place a few days earlier, was either a gross stupidity or quite possibly a deliberate imperialist scheme to send an apparently innocent freighter through, thus permitting a "punitive retaliation."

Most likely it was the latter, for it is obvious that Kissinger was spoiling for "opportunities to prove our manhood." No doubt, the Pentagon figured (accurately) that it could pulverize anything the Cambodians could muster. The sending of Marines from U.S. bases in Thailand was a gross insult to the Thai government and a statement that the U.S. was a strong imperialist power that could do what it liked.

The new Cambodian regime has every

continued on page 10

New York Times Gary Settle

Congress of Afrikan People

Imamu Baraka: From Mayor Gibson to Mao-Thought.....7

Letters

15 March 1975

Dear Comrades,

WV No. 62 dated 14 February 1975 contains an excellent summation and analysis of the current events in Spain and correctly draws the parallel between the Stalinist "peaceful co-existence" policies of today and those of the PCE [Spanish Communist Party] 40 years ago which led to the strangling of the Spanish Revolution.

Nevertheless in spite of the excellent nature of the article on Spain ("Franco Dictatorship Totters") a phrase is inserted into the article which is quite incorrect and in fact goes against the analysis of the article. The article states that the "PCE called for victory now and revolution later" during the Spanish Civil War. I do not believe that the PCE ever said any such thing about "revolution" or "revolution later", not in actions or in words. Far from wanting any leftish rhetoric to cover themselves in the eyes of the radicalized working-class elements, the PCE *dropped all left rhetoric* based on Stalin's Pop-Front policy of trying to convince western bourgeois democracies that he wanted no revolution in Spain.

Jesus Hernandez wrote in *El Mundo Obrero* on August 6, 1936 (the very beginning of the Spanish Civil War!!) the following: "It is *absolutely false* that the present workers movement has for its object the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship *after* the war has *terminated*. It *cannot be said* that we have a *social motive* for our participation in the war. *We communists are the first to repudiate this supposition.* We are *motivated exclusively* by the desire to defend the democratic republic" (all emphasis mine—A.G.; quoted from *The Spanish Revolution* by Leon Trotsky, page 42).

The reason why I think that such phrases as "victory now, revolution later" should not be mistakenly attributed to the PCE or any Stalinist party for that matter is the following. The Pabloists both inside and outside of U.Sec. have for years used such phrases to prove that Stalinism is variant of centrism. Having then done that they adapt and capitulate to it on nearly every occasion. It should not be Trotskyists who mistakenly provide left-cover for Stalinists and excuses for pseudo-Trotskyists to capitulate to Stalinists. This is doubly true in the case of Spain which, if a mass revolutionary party is not built, will suffer from the defeat of the upcoming revolutionary situation. Given the fact that the fake Trotskyists of the LCR are in an unprincipled bloc with the PCE, *WV* should make the history of both *words* and *actions* of the PCE perfectly clear. As Antonio Gramsci once noted: "Truth is revolutionary".

Comradely,
Al Greengold

Editor's reply: In emphasizing the openly counterrevolutionary policy of the Communist Party of Spain the above comments make a valuable point. It is quite true that during the Civil War the PCE served, often literally, as the policeman of the bourgeois state, taking the crushing of any independent organization and aspirations to power of the Spanish proletariat as its primary task in maintaining the status quo.

During these years, the Spanish Stalinists never succeeded in winning a sizeable mass proletarian base, instead recruiting largely from the petty bourgeoisie, particularly in the state apparatus (army, police, etc.), by posing as the only force capable of maintaining bourgeois law and order in the Republican areas. Yet the PCE was never entirely without influence in the working class and remained a reformist workers party.

While the PCE never had any intention of carrying out a revolution, its character as a bourgeois workers party forced it to occasionally appeal to the traditions of the Russian Revolution and promise socialism "later" (i.e., never) even as it was executing socialists and anarchists. Thus, among the numerous quotations from the PCE press stressing its limited goals and undying loyalty to the bourgeois order, there are also statements which speak of a revolution in stages. *Mundo Obrero* of 18 February 1936 (quoted in Stanley Payne, *The Spanish Revolution*, p. 186) states:

> "We shall follow the path of completing the bourgeois democratic revolution until it brings us to a situation in which the proletariat and the peasantry themselves assume the responsibility of making the people of Spain as happy and free as are the Soviet people, through the victorious achievement of socialism, through the dictatorship of the proletariat."

An editorial in *Mundo Obrero* of 24 February 1936 elaborates this concept of stages, calling first for the outlawing of the rightist parties. Once the conservatives were out of the way and the revolutionary left had expanded, the Republican left would give way to a "worker-peasant government." Of course, at the same time the leaders of the popular front (including the PCE) were coddling the reactionary army officers who rose up under Franco a few months later.

The Stalinists were even capable of making use of the heroic fighting spirit of the proletariat on occasion, as in the bitter defense of Madrid. Pierre Broué and Emile Témime comment (in *La révolution et la guerre d'Espagne*, p. 224) that at such times PCE leader Dolores Ibarruri ("La Pasionaria") could stand before mass demonstrations in Madrid and discourse on the legality of the bourgeois government and "respect for order and property," and in the next breath appeal directly to the workers of Madrid in glorification of "the proletarian revolution they were in the process of accomplishing."

While denouncing the counterrevolutionary policy of the Stalinists, and the fact that they were the main guarantor of the capitalist order in Spain, it is necessary also to understand the dual character of the PCE (simultaneously bourgeois and proletarian) in order to explain how it was able to successfully derail the struggles and revolutionary aspirations of the working masses. The PCE was more than KGB agents and Russian machine-guns in the Republican Assault Guard.

•

Chicago, Ill.
13 May 1975

To the Editor:

We appreciate the thorough coverage which *Workers Vanguard* has given to our local union's defense guard to protect the home of C.B. Dennis in Broadview from racist fire-bombing attacks. This coverage is vital to acquaint the labor movement with the need for—and possibility of—labor/black defense against racist attacks over busing, integration and so forth. I have noticed that many of my co-workers who don't usually read the left press have bought the last two issues of *WV* from your paper-sellers at the plant gate.

I am writing this letter to clear up one point. Your articles (in *WV* Nos. 67 and 68) have said that the defense guard "was set up by unanimous vote" at our local membership meeting of Sunday, April 13. It is certainly true that our Labor Struggle Caucus resolution passed unanimously, and that it resulted, as intended, in the setting up of a local defense guard. I think this point will be clear if the entire resolution is reprinted:

> "*Whereas* racist hoods have attempted to burn down the house of our union brother, C.B. Dennis, in the town of Broadview; and
>
> "*Whereas* scum from the Nazi Party have been terrorizing black families in a predominantly white neighborhood on the SW Side of Chicago; and
>
> "*Whereas* defense of black peoples' rights and the struggle for integration of blacks in housing, education and jobs is in the vital interests of the entire working class; and
>
> "*Whereas* the racists, and the viciously anti-black, anti-semitic, and anti-labor fascists are the sworn enemies of the labor movement as a whole; and
>
> "*Whereas* the police serve the employers and can not be depended upon to defend the rights of blacks or of the trade unions, some of them even being members of fascist groups; therefore,
>
> "*Be it resolved* that our local immediately contact other labor organizations, black groups, and sympathetic community groups to prepare to mobilize a mass labor/black defense to protect the family and house of Brother Dennis; and further,
>
> "*Be it resolved* that this defense group be prepared, if requested, to aid in the defense of the threatened families on the SW Side."

As you can see, however, while the motion clearly calls for a defense group, it did not include a clause specifically setting up an official Local 6 committee to implement its contents. An amendment to set up a "rank and file committee" to implement the motion was made by another brother. Although we felt the term "rank and file" to be a hindrance, since participation by local officials was important to the success of the defense effort, the Labor Struggle Caucus supported the amendment. It failed to pass, chiefly because conservative elements in the Local leadership opposed it for supposed "legal reasons." (Later, Local President Norm Roth raised the same excuse.) Following the voting, volunteers set up a committee to implement the motion which met the following Tuesday and elected a steering committee, with Roth's reluctant approval, as you reported.

The failure of the amendment was unfortunate because it allowed Roth and the other officials to pass the entire defense effort off as a "volunteer" action, for which the Local had no *official* responsibility, despite the unanimous vote. Because of this, Roth only recently agreed to officially contact other local unions, as mandated in the motion.

Incredibly, the brother who made the amendment tried to use the lack of a clause setting up a committee in our motion to accuse the Labor Struggle Caucus of "vacillating and temporizing" and "cowardly behavior" when he spoke at a public meeting about the defense guard in Chicago sponsored by the Spartacist League. He was strongly supported in these remarks by spokesmen of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL). We wonder how he could have come to such a conclusion after reading the issue of our newsletter, *Labor's Struggle*, which contained the resolution and in which we said: "We cannot let this terror continue.... We must mobilize our union and other sympathetic groups into a defense squad to protect our union brother...." What could be more clear? Needless to say, the Labor Struggle Caucus poured all its energy into the defense campaign which resulted from its resolution. (Most of the other groupings in the plant concentrated on the elections held last week.)

The Labor Struggle Caucus cannot be accused of not fighting for what it believes in, but this is more than we can say for supporters of the RSL. We wonder why the brother who made the amendment voted for our resolution in the first place, since the resolution is pro-integration and the RSL, with which he openly sympathizes, *attacks integration* in its newspaper, the *Torch*! Never once has this brother so much as whispered his support for this reactionary position. If he had done so, he would have had to line up with racist opponents of integration who want blacks to "stay in their place," in the ghetto, instead of moving into predominantly white neighborhoods as C.B. Dennis is trying to do.

Fraternally,

Marc Freedman
for the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6

Editor's note: The writer is the secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee, in charge of the defense guard of the Dennis house, and was a candidate for executive board in the recent Local 6 elections, in which he received 17 percent of the vote.

Support Grows for Jha Defense Campaign

The campaign being conducted by the Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, to build support for the Indian Trotskyist Jagadish Jha continues to meet with success. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* who have not yet made a contribution to the defense of Jha to do so through the PDC.

This veteran socialist has been victimized repeatedly for the past five years by the Indian government. His "crime": organizing the agricultural workers of Bankura district during 1969-70. Jha himself has been arrested three times since 1970 and 39 cases have been brought by the police against 150 of the militant agricultural wurkers and union organizers. Even though they have been forced to sell livestock and agricultural implements in order to meet onerous legal expenses, their combined resources are insufficient to pay for the cost of court appearances.

Jha is a member of the Communist League of India, a section of the so-called "United Secretariat," but the USec has failed to lift a finger in defense of its persecuted comrade. We condemn the USec's cynical abandonment of these courageous class-war fighters and refuse to let them be forgotten. International proletarian solidarity is more than just words!

Defense of Jagadish Jha and his comrades is an elementary duty for all who fight for the interests of the working class and the oppressed. Copies of the article in *WV* No. 65 (28 March) reporting Jha's story in detail are available in leaflet form. Donations may be made through locals of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth League; collection containers will be available at SL/SYL literature tables. In addition, contributions can be mailed directly to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 633, Canal Street Station, New York, N.Y. 10013. Checks or money orders should be payable to "Partisan Defense Committee" and donations for the defense of Comrade Jha should be so marked.

French Pabloists Outlaw Trotskyist Views

LCR Central Committee Member Purged

For the first time since the formation of the Ligue Communiste in 1969, the French section of the United Secretariat (USec) has expelled a member of its central committee, Lafitte, solely and explicitly for his political views. Threatened by the formation of the only consistent left opposition tendency to emerge within a French Pabloist organization since the 1950's, the leadership of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) resorted to time-honored methods of bureaucratic suppression in order to silence Comrade Lafitte.

This Stalin-style operation provoked considerable resistance from the LCR ranks. Three key trade-union sections voted down the expulsion. Krivine & Co. were able to get rid of the troublesome oppositionist only after the organization's star Renault shop cell (of which Lafitte was a member) was dissolved on orders from the Political Bureau, and abstainers on the central committee were threatened with expulsion unless they could produce a good explanation for their vote.

Nor is this frenzied campaign to crush Lafitte an isolated phenomenon. As the international faction fight in the "United" Secretariat drags on, it becomes increasingly difficult for anyone to take seriously the USec's masquerading as "The Fourth International." In country after country the reformist minority Leninist-Trotskyist Faction (LTF) and centrist International Majority Tendency (IMT) have already split into separate organizations.

Thus the most dangerous opponents—whose willingness to "say what is" threatens to explode the fraudulent facade of unity—are those who declare openly that the Fourth International does not exist, that it was destroyed by Pabloist revisionism, and that it must be recreated through a principled struggle for the Transitional Program. Both minority and majority sections of the USec have moved quickly to expel Trotskyist oppositionists who commit this blasphemous "crime of opinion." In 1973 supporters of the Revolutionary Internationalist Tendency (RIT) were peremptorily driven out of the USec in the U.S. and Australia, and last month the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) was similarly purged from the Canadian Revolutionary Marxist Group. The witchhunt in the French LCR is only the latest, if most spectacular, example of this anti-communist bureaucratism.

The cynicism behind this hatchet job was spelled out by the LCR leadership itself, in a PB statement of 25 April:

> "Tolerating Lafitte's statement in the organization would logically entail serious consequences.... If Comrade Lafitte, an alternate member of the Central Committee, stays in the organization, it goes without saying that his opinions have to be debated throughout the organization as a precondition to any other discussion (trade-union, CP/SP, Army, Women, Portugal, etc...).... It would certainly be grotesque to discuss seriously this or that tactical or strategic question before being sure that the discussion is indeed taking place among revolutionaries.... if we start to discuss seriously the question of whether we have spent all our time since 1945 capitulating, whether the Inter[national] is centrist, whether it has to be rebuilt because it was destroyed ... then it is hard to see how we would stop the massive entry of the OCI, LO, the Spartacists, the LIRQI, etc."

And since one thing the leadership cannot afford is to discuss whether the USec is centrist, there is—to paraphrase a favorite LCR slogan—"only one solution, expulsion."

Formation of the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction

Unfortunately for the LCR leadership, however, Comrade Lafitte and two other comrades who share his political positions formed the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International (B-LF) before he was railroaded out of the organization. Thus in order to complete the purge, the central committee meeting of May 10-11 passed a motion which in essence orders cells of the LCR to expel all present members of the B-LF and anyone who in the future may come to agree with its positions!

This blatant suppression of political debate is by no means a recent development in the United Secretariat, nor the exclusive monopoly of the IMT. In order to put together an unprincipled "reunification" in 1963, the hydra-headed USec agreed not to discuss the 1951-53 split for a decade. Also in 1963, the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) expelled its Revolutionary Tendency (forerunner of the Spartacist League/U.S.) for "disloyalty," a charge "proved" by the fact that RT leaders had characterized the SWP as centrist. (Pierre Frank put the icing on the cake by refusing to hear an RT appeal, on the grounds that the SWP was not formally part of the USec.)

Just as the SWP was forced to throw overboard any semblance of Leninist democratic centralism in order to get rid of the RT, the LCR leadership resorts to Stalinist arguments in order to justify Lafitte's expulsion. In its April 25 "explanation" the PB states:

> "No legalistic quibbling about the program can get us to accept that the program of any section might include [the statement] that the Fourth International is centrist and must be rebuilt."

By this logic the LCR would have justified Stalin's expulsion of Trotsky from the Third International, since the Left Opposition argued that the Comintern was "centrist" and had to be "rebuilt"! Or, at the very least, had Trotskyists won the leadership of any section, according to the USec revisionists Stalin would have been justified in expelling that section!

"The Emperor Has No Clothes!"

The membership did not accept this Stalinist reasoning, however. Although the central committee suspended Lafitte on April 5, requesting that his cell expel him, an expulsion motion was defeated in the Renault cell a week later. The next week, cells in the LCR's most important area of trade-union work (the banks) were instrumental in passing a motion at a general assembly of sections 31 and 32 condemning the CC for its "unacceptable" bureaucratic methods.

The resolution charged that Lafitte "is being expelled for his views since the comrade has not been accused of any factional activity, any break with democratic centralism." Calling on the CC to reconsider its action, the motion was passed 59 to 14. Shortly afterwards, another trade-union section (23) voted in a general assembly by 14 to 0 that "a comrade should not be expelled for the internal expression of political differences which do not necessarily constitute a break with democratic centralism."

Seeing the mounting opposition, the Political Bureau resorted to more "energetic" measures the next day. While the section leadership was dissolving the Renault cell, the PB prepared an announcement at its April 24-25 meeting that members of the cell could be "reintegrated" if they individually signed statements agreeing to "construct" (i.e., not "reconstruct") the Fourth International! The expulsion of Lafitte was not even mentioned in the PB statement.

The LCR central committee tried to justify this outrageous bureaucratic expulsion on the grounds that Lafitte's conception of "reconstructing" the FI is "incompatible" with being a member of the Ligue. In a statement submitted to a bank workers' cell by future members of the B-LF on April 8, the absurdity of this claim is pointed out:

> "Who does not recall the application of some members of the PSU [Parti Socialiste Unifié, a social-democratic group] (several of whom are currently on the Central Committee) to our organization which clearly argued that the present Fourth International was merely a springboard to construct the Fifth!! But perhaps the LCR leadership can accept wanting to construct the Fifth International while refusing to condone wanting to reconstruct the Fourth?"

The real reason behind the political expulsion of Lafitte is that the LCR leadership is afraid to debate its bankrupt political positions with a principled oppositionist who has a Trotskyist historical analysis of the United Secretariat and the determination to wage an unrelenting fight against Pabloist revisionism. The centrists cannot bear to be called by their true name. As the B-LF put it in a statement to the central committee of May 6:

> "The LCR leadership is able to accept even sharp criticisms by left tendencies in the LCR, except on the point which constitutes the basis of the central mystification by the IMT and the LTF: the supposed existence of an International. If you deprive the LCR of the usurped title 'French section of the Fourth International,' there are no programmatic differences between the LCR, Révolution, and the PSU. An important member of the B-LF has been expelled for having said: 'The emperor has no clothes'."

LTF and IMT: Equally Far from the Revolutionary Program

Realization that the faction fight within the USec was not between revolutionists and revisionists, but rather between centrists and reformists, was crucial to the B-LF's break from the centrism of the LCR leadership (and from the centrist hodge podge of the now-defunct Tendency 4). The "Declaration" of the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction correctly characterizes the International Majority Tendency as "more to the left than the LTF, but just as distant from the revolutionary Marxist program." In his original statement to the CC (for which he was expelled), Lafitte commented on the "crisis" in the USec:

> "...whether one votes for the candidate of the popular front, Mitterrand, after having liquidated one's sections in Latin America via guerrillaism [IMT]; or whether one calls on the armed bands of capital to protect blacks and fight racism in Boston, while at the same time participating in attempts to set up a popular-frontist bloc in Argentina [LTF]—in both cases it is the same rejection of the *Transitional Program* which these two unprincipled factions have in common."
>
> —*Centre de Recherches Socialistes*, No. 27

The B-LF "Declaration" subjects the Pabloists' capitulations to non-proletarian forces to sharp attack, linking them to the politically liquidationist policies of Pablo in 1951-53. Both minority and majority are condemned for capitulating to class-collaborationist popular fronts, for supporting Castroism and Vietnamese Stalinism, for failure to call for political revolution in Cuba and Vietnam, for their abandonment of the Transitional Program.

The revisionists' distortion of the Leninist tactic of united front, something never understood by Tendency 4, is also criticized:

> "It is extremely significant that in countries where strong Stalinist parties exist, the revisionists—whether the LCR or the OCI leadership—always pass off their capitulation in the form of the united front. The latter calls it a strategy in order to justify the capitulationist practice of fetishizing the bloc of working-class organizations (without bothering about its programmatic basis); the former rejects the united front and, in fact, the program, pretending (wherever possible) to ignore the popular front in order to support it, either by indifference (by not denouncing it) or more concretely by voting for it in the name of the dynamic."

Finally, the B-LF denounces the leadership's tailist conception of trade-union work and the LCR's disgusting capitulation to national chauvinism in its "work" in the French army, which "in no way represents an attack, on a proletarian basis, against the bourgeois army" (statement to the CC, 6 May).

For a Trotskyist Organization in France!

The struggle waged by the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction for the Reconstruction

continued on page 11

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.
538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Labor/Black Defense Continues in Chicago

Class-Struggle Candidate Polls 17% at Harvester

Woodcock Forces Sweep Local 6 Elections

CHICAGO—Recent elections in UAW Local 6, at International Harvester's important Melrose Park plant on Chicago's West Side, produced a sweep for the right-wing, business-unionist pro-Woodcock slate. The results were a stern indictment of the reformists who hide their politics in unprincipled coalitions and disguise their opportunism with phony "militant" phraseology. But they also showed strong support for the one candidate who actively built the Local's on-going labor/black defense guard as a main focus of his campaign.

A month ago the Local voted unanimously for a resolution presented by the Labor Struggle Caucus resulting in the formation of a defense guard to protect a black member's house, which had been repeatedly attacked (including firebombing) in an attempt to prevent him from moving into the predominantly white neighborhood of Broadview. These attacks were part of a wave of terror against blacks in white areas of Chicago; on the Southwest Side, Nazis have all but taken direct responsibility for similar incidents.

Despite foot-dragging by the Local 6 leadership and silence from most of the candidates in the recent election, the defense guard continues to operate and has thwarted new attacks on the house. Support for the defense has reportedly been received from UAW Local 688 (Broadview Parts Depot), Boilermakers Local 1257 and the Bulk Mail Center local of the Postal Workers Union. Resolutions of support have been raised in at least three other local unions, including Steelworkers Local 65, at U.S. Steel's Southworks.

Red-Baiters Denounce "Dream Schemes"

The across-the-board winners in the election were the candidates of the Positive Action Leadership (PAL) slate, consisting of the incumbent administration under retiring shop chairman Robert Stack. The PAL launched a no-holds-barred red-baiting attack on its main opponents grouped together in the Rank and File Coalition (RFC). Echoing a classic J. Edgar Hoover line, Stack wrote in his regular Local newsletter column inveighing against "anarchistic, revolutionary elements" who "used and exploited the plight of minority members of the union" (*Union Voice*, 25 April). The opposition, said PAL, was a "catch-all coalition of militant visionaries" who would "present their 'dream-schemes' for world revolution to the Company as your views." PAL, in contrast, promised "responsible" unionism with "a team of experienced leaders."

The opposition, which included Local 6 President Norm Roth running a losing battle for shop chairman, was indeed a catch-all coalition, but that was the only accurate point in Stack's diatribe. The RFC grab-bag was no more capable of presenting a program for "world revolution" than PAL, but the few so-called "revolutionaries" within it opened themselves up to vicious red-baiting with their own well-practiced and incurable opportunism.

WV

Members of the Labor Struggle Caucus leafletting Harvester plant last fall, after LSC won right to distribute literature at inside plant gate through NLRB suit. Management had issued rule requiring prior approval of all handouts on company property.

Roth, who has a long-standing individual following in the plant, is a leading member of Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy and helped found the short-lived Auto Workers Action Caucus (AWAC), both of which are supported in the press of the reformist Communist Party. AWAC was touted by the CP as the answer to the United National Caucus (UNC), which it considered too oppositional. CP-supported elements, including Roth, backed Woodcock for UAW president at the union's last convention.

The RFC also included left social-democratic elements and received the support of the International Socialists. The IS, however, is a chief backer of the UNC—despite the latter's support for protectionism and its attempts to exclude socialists at UNC demonstrations—and criticizes the CP's support for Woodcock. Thus about all the RFC could agree on was a low-level program of shop-floor militancy. At a time when massive layoffs and racist violence are the main issues facing the membership, the RFC concentrated its campaign fire on speed-ups. While mentioning six hours' work for eight hours' pay in its program, the RFC also endorsed the current sellout contract whose bankruptcy in the face of layoffs is demonstrated by the collapse of GM and Chrysler SUB funds.

No effective answer to PAL's sophisticated red-baiting could possibly be mounted by a group so divided on fundamentals that one half of it praises "détente" as the answer to unemployment (the plant happens to be operating largely on Soviet tractor orders) while the other half capitulates to anti-communist "Buy Americanism"! Since the RFC offered nothing beyond a slightly frenzied version of the same business unionism as PAL (one plank in the RFC program was a vague call for "total non-cooperation" as the answer to speed-up), the membership, logically enough, opted for the "experts."

Defense Guard Must Be Strengthened

Meanwhile, the Labor Struggle Caucus, a group of Local 6 militants putting

L.A. Cops Frame Up Black Youth

Defend Philip Allen!

About 3:30 a.m. on January 1 of this year a curious crowd gathered outside a neighborhood cafeteria in West Hollywood, looking at a recently broken front window. On his way to the nearby bus stop after a New Year's Eve party, 19-year-old Philip L. Allen joined the onlookers.

After being flagged down by people on the sidewalk who reported that the window had been broken by an unruly customer, West Hollywood police began questioning people gathered around the cafeteria. Allen was one of those questioned. During his "questioning" Allen was brutally battered by at least six combat-trained cops.

Allen phoned his mother from jail and told her that he had been beaten, choked, kicked in the groin and arrested. He also told her that the police now "informed" him that he had killed one deputy sheriff and wounded two or three other cops!

Allen's bail was first set at $20,000, and then was more than doubled. When he was first jailed, Allen was allowed only limited visitation rights, searched every 15 minutes and kept apart from the other prisoners. It is generally believed that "the police were giving Allen a chance to heal somewhat to look more presentable" (*Los Angeles Sentinel*, 20 February 1975).

Allen, a black student at Los Angeles Community College, is on trial for his life. That he was severely beaten by police there is no doubt, and witnesses at the scene have testified that Allen never had his hands on the alleged murder weapon during the incident. Also, the owner of the gun, Deputy Sheriff Michael Grimes, admits to twice firing his gun. Both shots were aimed at Allen's head while he lay on the sidewalk, face down, straddled by Grimes. At the preliminary hearing for the case, the following exchange took place between Defense Attorney Lawrence W. Steinberg and Grimes:

> "*Att. Steinberg:* And you pulled the trigger twice, did you not?
> "*Grimes:* Yes.
> "*Att. Steinberg:* And at that time, did you intend to kill Mr. Allen?
> "*Grimes:* Yes."
>
> hearing transcript quoted in Philip L. Allen Defense Committee leaflet

Luckily for Allen, the gun was empty.

The whole scenario claimed by the police is absurd. To begin with, how could a slight (5-foot, 3-inch) youth overpower six to eight burly cops, all of them over 6 feet tall? Another fact: when Grimes' gun was introduced into court, it was clean of all fingerprints. This "clean" gun is telling: it is ludicrous to suppose that in the midst of being beaten Allen could have wiped fingerprints from a gun; and if his prints were on the weapon, why would the police have removed this incriminating evidence?

The affair is a blatant cover-up from beginning to end. Grimes admittedly fired his own gun at least twice and is the obvious prime suspect in the killing and wounding of the other policemen. So a scapegoat had to be found: Philip Allen. It is also significant that there has been a news blackout on the case in the bourgeois media—hardly normal when a black youth is accused of killing a white cop.

The trial is scheduled to start June 2; the principal witnesses against Allen will be cops—close associates of the dead cop and of Grimes. The jury will be selected from the predominantly conservative, white community of Santa Monica. Winning an acquittal will not be easy under these circumstances.

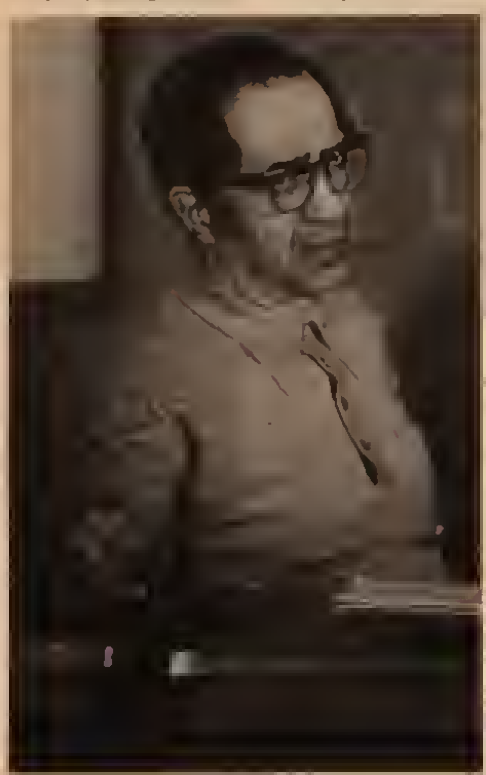
The life of an innocent young man is at stake: the blatant frame-up of Philip Allen by the cops must be protested! Drop all charges against Allen! The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League has declared its support for Allen and made a contribution to his defense fund. We urge readers of *Workers Vanguard* to send messages of support and donations to meet legal fees for Allen to: Philip L. Allen Defense Fund of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005.■

forward a class-struggle program, reduced its number of candidates from three (in the 1974 elections) to one this year, largely because of the LSC's heavy involvement in building the Local defense guard. Its candidate for executive board member-at-large was Marc Freedman, who is also secretary of the Civil Rights Defense Committee.

A recent incident at the Dennis house drove home the need for the entire Local to strengthen this defense committee, a point which the LSC has been making for some time. Last week five whites drove up to the home, yelling racial epithets and making threatening moves toward a car in which two unionists on duty at the time were sitting. No violence resulted, but the failure of the union leadership to mobilize for the guard has heightened the danger of renewed racist violence.

One of the two campaign leaflets issued by the Labor Struggle Caucus attacked the other candidates for ignoring the guard and ran a "box score" showing who had served guard duty and who hadn't. In a capitulation to racism in the plant, the entire PAL slate had not served once. While Roth and a few candidates for lesser office on the RFC slate had helped guard the house, these "militants" remained silent about the defense squad in all their campaign literature.

In addition to supporting labor/black defense as part of a militant, integrationist program to fight racism with united working-class action, the LSC was alone in proposing an effective response to the



WV

Norm Roth

layoffs (of 200 to 250 workers) which were announced for the plant just prior to the election. On this key question, which is plaguing the auto union and the entire working class, Roth proposed "détente" and paid lip-service to the old UAW slogan of a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. The Labor Struggle Caucus made the issue quite concrete by proposing a resolution for a strike to stop the layoffs, "extended throughout the Harvester chain and backed up with the full power of the International union."

The LSC also rejects class collaborationism and called for opposition to the parties of big business (Democratic and Republican), and for the building of a workers party which would "fight for a workers government to reorganize our society to do away with unemployment and racism."

Unable to mount a serious challenge to the main slates with only one candidate, the LSC nevertheless scored a victory for the labor/black defense effort and its class-struggle program by winning 441 votes, or 17 percent of those voting, for its candidate. This is more than double the highest vote received by a candidate of the Militant Action Slate (which subsequently became the LSC) a year ago. The program and determined struggle of the LSC point the way forward to victory for a class-struggle leadership of the workers movement in the future. ■

Charges Dropped Against Anti-Nazi Demonstrators

SYL Defense Campaign Victory at S.F. State

SAN FRANCISCO, May 12—Demonstrators who successfully ran a Nazi speaker off San Francisco State University (SFSU) March 10 won a second victory recently. In a letter dated May 6, the Associate Dean of Students, Sandra Duffield, announced that "no action should be taken regarding the groups alleged or admittedly involved" in the anti-fascist protest.

The charges were dropped after hearings by the university's Organizational Review Committee (ORC) found no basis for reprisals against the Spartacus Youth League, Progressive Labor Party and Revolutionary Student Brigade, all of which had been threatened with loss of their status as officially recognized campus organizations.

At the hearings of the ORC, a spokesman for the Spartacus Youth League announced: "We begin by stating to all those present that we do not recognize the legitimacy of these proceedings." Refusing to finger anyone, the SYL said: "...the Nazi scum got what they deserved. Those students, workers and leftists who drove them off this campus should be applauded for courageous action in the defense of black people, Jews, leftists, and the whole labor movement."

While praising the well-deserved thrashing administered to a handful of fascists on March 10, the SYL made clear that it "does not call on the administration to carry out political censorship either by banning the fascists from campus or by firing conservative bourgeois ideologues like Shockley and Jensen." The statement pointed out that despite its hypocritical talk of "democratic rights for all," the bourgeoisie would resort to fascism and genocide in a last desperate effort to preserve its class rule.

The Review Committee, while responding to widespread sentiment in the student body against reprisals, was careful to phrase its findings in the "balanced" terms of "academic freedom": criticizing the "lack of adequate security," the ORC concluded that "Measures could have been taken to insure: (a) the Nazis' right to freedom of speech and (b) the organizations' and individuals' right to demonstrate." Dean Duffield pointed to a demonstration by the Nazis at SFSU on April 19 as an example of what should have been done. On that occasion, Tactical Squad police in full riot gear were mobilized to protect the fascist filth.

The SYL, which initiated the united-front demonstration on March 10 around the slogan "No Platform for the Fascists," denied the Nazis' supposed "right to freedom of speech":

> "For communists...no democratic right is absolute... if the Klan were holding a rally on the outskirts of a black community to gain support for a lynching expedition, most people probably wouldn't oppose the right of the blacks to organize and break up the rally. It should be clear that fascists use their 'speakers' platform not just to rally support for reactionary ideas but to recruit for racist, anti-working class terror and ultimately genocide.
>
> "...Fascism is not, as Progressive Labor would have it, first and foremost a reactionary idea, it is action. Fascism is a gun held to the heads of the working class and the oppressed...."
>
> —SFSU *Young Spartacus* supplement No. 3, 23 April

Since the announcement that charges were being brought against the anti-Nazi demonstrators, the SYL held forums and classes and published several campus supplements to *Young Spartacus* to drive home the lessons of what fascism is and how to fight it. Before an audience of over 100 students and faculty it debated the professors who were responsible for inviting the Nazis to speak on March 10.

The SYL also initiated a March 10 (M10) Defense Committee in order to put up a united defense against the administration's attempt to witchhunt the left off campus. The M10 committee held a press conference to publicize the case (at which well-known lawyer Charles Garry spoke in defense of the anti-fascist demonstrators), distributed thousands of leaflets, set up informational picket lines, held fund-raising events and showed a film ("Night and Fog") about Nazi atrocities. The committee received a number of endorsements from outside SFSU, including from the Black Student Movement at the University of North Carolina. Last January the BSM prevented the national leader of the Ku Klux Klan from speaking at Chapel Hill and then defeated a subsequent witchhunt.

The activities of the SYL and the M10 defense committee were largely responsible for turning around the mood on campus and neutralizing dangerous anti-communist sentiment, formerly prevalent even among students who considered themselves left of liberalism. In contrast, most of the left groups continued on their respective sectarian courses.

The Young Socialist Alliance, after sending a letter to the campus paper *Zenger's* (19 March) terming the anti-fascist demonstration "unfortunate" and a "disruption," did as little as possible to defend the demonstrators. The Progressive Labor Party refused to join in a united defense and sought to strike a

WV

Attorney Charles Garry speaking in defense of anti-Nazi demonstrators at S.F. State University.

heroic pose by proclaiming "We are guilty!" Not once did it defend the other groups charged and recently in its paper (*Challenge*) PL has taken to labeling the Revolutionary Student Brigade a "Nazi youth group." The RSB, in turn, crawled to an administration representative and behind closed doors dissociated itself from the events of March 10. While condemning the despicable and cowardly behavior of the YSA, PL and RSB, the SYL continued to defend all groups threatened with victimization by the university.

The dropping of charges, while a victory for the anti-fascist protesters, should not lead to complacency. The verdict of the ORC and Dean Duffield can be overturned by SFSU President Romberg, the Nazis have already returned once to campus, and the administration and police have declared their support for "freedom of speech" for paramilitary ultra-rightist terrorists. There must be no illusions that the bourgeoisie will or can stop the fascists. Hitler himself made clear in 1933 what was necessary to crush the Nazis:

> "Only one thing could have broken our movement if the adversary had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed, with the most extreme brutality, the nucleus of our new movement."

This is the lesson that must be learned by those who would bar the way to the fascist scum and their genocidal race-hate, anti-working-class plans. The terrorist vermin of capitalism will be afraid to to raise their heads only when faced with the powerful fist of a class-conscious workers movement! ■

WV

S.F. Police protecting Nazis last month.

WV

ILWU union militants being forcibly ejected from SWP public forum in San Francisco on May 2. Inside, an ILWUer protesting exclusion of the Spartacist League was grabbed by SWP goon squad, choked and, along with his union brothers, pushed toward stairs. When SL pickets outside the building moved to defend ILWUers being assaulted, a violent scuffle broke out.

Denounce SWP Gangsterism!

Following the exclusion of Spartacist League supporters and an attack on three ILWU unionists by SWP goons at a Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco May 2, we have received several denunciations of this gangsterism and anti-communist exclusionism from organizationally non-affiliated defenders of workers democracy. We have also obtained affidavits from a number of witnesses both to this assault and to earlier meetings which the SWP slanderously claims were "disrupted" by the SL. Some of these statements and affidavits are printed here.

At the May 2 meeting itself an unaffiliated social democrat protested the forcible ejection of the unionists, exhorting the assembled SWPers: "Comrades: It ill reflects upon social democracy when we are reduced to using force against comrades—for what the reason and whomever is to blame.... We must not continue in such a manner!" (letter from Clyde K., dated 2 May).

In an affidavit describing the events of this meeting, one of the ILWUers (members of the Militant Caucus of that union) who was physically attacked by SWP goons writes that he and his union brothers talked before the forum with a leading member of the SWP: "The leading SWPer said that it was the SL actions at the Chicago forum which had precipitated the Gusano attack on [Argentine socialist Juan Carlos] Coral.... He went on to state that the Gusano attack had been prevented during the forum because the moderator kept stating that the campus cops were on the way and this allowed Coral to finish. He stated that during the discussion period the SL's actions gave the Gusanos the chance to attack."

The ILWU militant writes further on that when he stood up to protect a union brother who was being assaulted by SWP goons trying to prevent him from protesting the exclusion of the SL, "people moved in on me and grabbed my arms and I heard someone keep repeating 'grab his legs, grab his legs'." After the unionists were forced to the head of the stairs "the goon squad was trying to shove us down the stairs, which are very long and could have seriously injured us. They stopped to let us out only because of 2 things:

"1. I had an SWPer firmly in my grasp and he would have cushioned my fall.

"2. A female SWPer intervened and said that we should be allowed to leave vertically and not horizontally.

"We were then followed down the stairs and outside we found that the S.L. picket line had seen the incident through the glass door and had attempted to come to our aid. One SLer had been injured in the face by the SWP goon squad" (affidavit from Peter W., dated 7 May 1975).

Concerning the events at the Chicago forum on March 8, we have published an account of the gusano attack and the defense of Coral by SL supporters while the SWP waited for the cops to arrive (see "SL Helps Fend Off Gusano Goons," *WV* No. 64, 14 March). We are printing below an affidavit by a former member of the Young Socialist Alliance who saw the incident. He makes clear that the SL did not disrupt the meeting and defended Coral in a disciplined manner. We have additional affidavits to the same effect from organizationally non-affiliated persons who were present at the meeting.

(Moreover, the *Militant* [16 May] now makes it clear that the SWP didn't even have to call the police to inform them of the gusano attack since "the Chicago cops had known about the planned disruption beforehand...." This proves that the SWP's reliance on the armed thugs of the capitalist state not only endangered Coral, but is downright ludicrous besides. In any case, if the SL was attempting to disrupt Coral's meetings in order to set him up for assassins, then why did the Los Angeles and New York SWP branches call the SL to invite our participation in defense squads to protect these meetings?!)

In view of the manifest absurdity of charging the SL with disruption for energetically defending Coral from attack by counterrevolutionary thugs, the San Francisco SWP is now trying to back off from using the Chicago incident as the "grounds" for its bureaucratic exclusion. But its prepared statement at the May 2 forum *did* assert that the SL had intentionally set Coral up for an assassination attempt! We have repeatedly demanded that the S.F. SWP branch furnish us with a copy of the statement read at that meeting and, since the proceedings were recorded, permit us to copy the undoctored tape. We have received only evasive answers to our telephone calls and no reply at all to our letter.

In the letter printed here, Associate Professor Richard Rubenstein of Roosevelt University, a long-time sympathizer of the SWP well-known in the Chicago area (he has spoken at numerous SMC/NPAC rallies, USLA events and similar functions), appeals to the SWP "to stamp out this undemocratic, bureaucratic, Stalinoid virus before it spreads even further. Stop the attack on the Spartacist League! Fight capitalism, not revolutionary socialists!" We echo his call on the Socialist Workers Party to put a stop to these despicable incidents of gangsterism and exclusionism by its branches.■

Roosevelt University
Chicago, Illinois

May 15, 1975

To the Socialist Workers Party
Chicago Branch
428 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Ill. 60605

Dear Friends:

As you know, I have for several years been a strong sympathizer of the Socialist Workers Party, working in several SWP electoral campaigns and holding local offices of several organizations in which the SWP is interested: the Chicago Peace Action Coalition, USLA, the Committee for Democratic Election Laws, and the Political Rights Defense Fund. It is difficult, therefore, to make public a disagreement with the SWP—but circumstances, and loyalty to the revolutionary socialist cause, compel me to speak out.

I wish to protest in the strongest possible terms the developing pattern of harassment, attempted intimidation, smear tactics, and exclusionary policies directed by the SWP against the Spartacist League and the Spartacist Youth League. SWP members in Chicago have alleged that the Spartacists are irresponsible and disruptive; that they failed to defend Juan Carlos Coral at his USLA-sponsored appearance at the University of Chicago; that they publish information furnished by the F.B.I.; that they are red-baiters; etc. On this basis, the Chicago Chapter justifies its policy of excluding the Spartacists from Militant Forums, and failing to inform them of meetings and demonstrations which they might otherwise attend. Apparently, in San Francisco, this policy has been extended to include taking physical action against allegedly "disruptive" Spartacists and their sympathizers.

On the basis of several years' contact with the Spartacists (most of it unfriendly,) and my own investigation of the latest charges, I conclude that the SWP's allegations are either exaggerated or trumped up. The members of the Spartacist League *are* polemicists, and they *do* defend their right to be heard at public meetings and demonstrations. They are not "disroptive"; they did defend Coral at the University of Chicago; they are not a "cop group" (as Peter Camejo has reportedly charged); they do not red-bait; and there is no basis for excluding them from forums and other activities, smearing them, or attacking them physically.

The reasons given for cracking down on the SL vary from city to city, but it seems evident that the SWP has implemented a national policy to discredit and damage the League. Why? When the norms of socialist democracy are violated—especially by an organization claiming adherence to Trotskyism—one has every reason to suspect that "aggressive," "disruptive," "ultra-left," and similar terms of abuse have become synonyms for "effective." Isn't that precisely how Stalinists customarily rid themselves of Trotskyists?

I appeal to the Socialist Workers Party to stamp out this undemocratic, bureaucratic, Stalinoid virus before it spreads even further. Stop the attack on the Spartacist League! Fight capitalism, not revolutionary socialists!

Yours for socialist democracy,

Richard E. Rubenstein
(Assoc. Prof. of Pol. Sci.)

cc: Spartacist League
P.O. Box 6471
Chicago, Ill.

Congress of Afrikan People

Imamu Baraka: From Mayor Gibson to Mao-Thought

The history of the struggle for liberation from racial oppression in the United States is the bitter story of radical aspirations of the black masses repeatedly betrayed by the empty promises of demagogues, both romantic and cynical. The promise of black liberation aboard the separatist voyage of Marcus Garvey, the promise of overcoming Jim Crow segregation by marching behind Martin Luther King's pacifist liberalism, the promise of black power in the cities through community control—all proved to be illusions, broken against the reality of the capitalist social order.

Superficially, the black power movement of the 1960's seemed to have achieved a distorted "success." By 1974 there were black mayors in Newark, Detroit, Gary, Los Angeles, Atlanta and Washington, D.C.; "community school boards" were set up in New York and elsewhere; black professionals found new job opportunities in "minority businesses" and poverty program neighborhood centers. But for the black masses this "success" was illusory: black incomes are again falling relative to whites; black capitalism simply meant ghetto straw bosses, community control meant strikebreaking, and the cops of the black capitalist politicians continue to shoot down ghetto youth.

Following the waning of the black power movement, an amalgam of Pan Africanism and Mao Tse-tung Thought has lately gained popularity in radical black nationalist circles. And one of the most flamboyant sellers of Mao-tickets to subjectively revolutionary black youth is Imamu Amiri Baraka (formerly LeRoi Jones). His current vehicle is the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP).

While CAP claims to be Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, it is Baraka's picture that appears on virtually all CAP pamphlets and his picture that dwarfs those of Marx and Lenin in the organization's Newark meeting hall. To understand CAP it is first necessary to know its leader. After a brief flirtation with the left (he was head of the New York City Fair Play for Cuba Committee at one point), Jones "came home" to Newark in the mid-1960's as a well-connected black poet and playwright.

Imamu Amiri Baraka

During the Newark ghetto rebellion of 1967, Jones was beaten by the cops and arrested but quickly released. He was far more valuable to the racist Democratic Mayor Addonizio as a sharpshooting anti-communist, blaming "outside agitators" of the "white left" (SDS) for the outburst of ghetto anger. In his book, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*, Robert L. Allen describes how Baraka was the willing instrument of the cops against the left:

> "In his capacity as spokesman for the United Brothers, Jones actively sought to quell the riots which developed after the murder of Martin Luther King. He believed that Black control of Newark could be won through the ballot, not the bullet. On April 12, 1968 he participated in an interview with Newark Police Captain Charles Kinney, and Anthony Imperiale, leader of a local right-wing white organization. During the interview, Jones suggested that white leftists were responsible for instigating the riots."

Jones was not just another black militant in Newark; he was a real political power in the city. His cultural projects were funded with federal government money, and along with the Prudential Insurance Company (which had one of its executives as head of the Newark Urban Coalition) he launched a drive to build up a black (capitalist) political machine and elect a black mayor in Newark. In 1968 he formed the Black Caucus for that purpose, and by all accounts it was Jones who was a key to Kenneth Gibson's electoral success in 1970.

Baraka Against Unions

Having become a successful power broker, Jones now had to face "the responsibilities of office." From the capitalists' viewpoint he passed the test with flying colors. When the Newark Teachers Union (NTU) struck in defiance of court orders in 1970, more than a hundred union members were arrested and more than 30 convicted of breaking a reactionary no-strike law. While elementary class solidarity demanded support for the union under attack, black nationalists were concerned only with the illusinn of "community control." It was the Young Lords and "black community leaders" whose "representatives kept the schools open" (*New York Times*, 7 February 1970).

When the NTU struck again the next year, the school board did its best to recreate the atmosphere of the 1968 NYC teachers' strike, mobilizing "community leaders" in the service of strikebreaking. Jones' youth group attacked some of the picketing unionists. Fortunately, the attempt to polarize the city along racial lines failed in spite of him, largely because the union's president and 30 percent of its membership were black.

But those were the days before Jones/Baraka became a "Marxist-Leninist-Mao-Tse-tung thinker." Now CAP's newspaper, *Unity and Struggle*, "frankly admits" errors and makes "ruthless self criticisms" of its past mistakes (which ones?). Now they are all for the class struggle, but the April 1975 issue of *Unity and Struggle* is preparing once again to line up against the teachers who are faced with massive layoffs in Newark:

> "If the Newark teachers go out on strike will they be striking for all the workers and for a just cause or will they be being used by Shanker and his boss, Nelson Rockefeller?...
> "We all support the struggle of working people against corrupted Board officials and the capitalist system in general.... But at the same time we do not support the game used by the capitalists to divide the workers whether it be an anti-community teachers strike in Newark or a race war like the one that was started in Boston."

So for all its "ruthless criticism" of "narrow nationalism" in the past, for all its denunciations of "fascist" Gibson who is now seen as a "tool of capitalist rule," CAP still lines up with the bourgeoisie against the workers' struggles! For this task, Mao Thought is more than adequate—having in the past excused such betrayals as the ruthless suppression of a 1971 youth uprising in Ceylon—and we will no doubt soon be hearing of the

continued on page 10

Statement by John Hess, Co-Editor of Jump Cut *preceding a Militant Labor Forum given by the SWP in San Francisco on Friday evening, May 16, 1975.*

"I have a brief political statement to make before this forum on Revolution and Cinema gets under way. I thank the Chairperson for his permission to make it now. I want to vigorously protest against the SWP policy of forcefully excluding for political reasons certain groups on the left, specifically the Spartacist League, from their open, public forums. I raise this protest not as a member of either group, but in defense of the principle of workers democracy.

"Now is the crucial time for the development of the left in America and the only way we can gain strength, clarity, direction, and therefore effectiveness is through constant, open, rational debate of the principles and issues. The physical expulsion of the three ILWU labor union militants from a recent Militant Labor Forum on Chile seems a strange way for a self-proclaimed Marxist political party to conduct itself at a moment when the increasing confusion among the capitalists provides us with many opportunities to advance our cause.

"I call on the SWP to reverse its anti-Marxist exclusion of other groups from its public forums; I call on my colleagues on this panel to join me in this protest."

I attended the lecture given by Juan Carlos Coral at the University of Chicago. During both the periods of the lecture and the ensuing disturbance, I at no time witnessed any disruptive activities on the part of any of the members of the Spartacist League. Quite to the contrary, they participated fully and helpfully in the defense guard around Coral, actively seeking to keep him protected.

While I do not necessarily support the political positions of the Spartacist League—in fact, I am a former member of the YSA—I feel that the allegations made by the YSA represent a breach of conduct on the radical left. Any sympathies I had with the YSA after I quit their organization I have no longer.

David Arenberg

The SWP claims that the Spartacist League disrupted the appearances of Juan Coral in the Bay Area. This is not true. However, I did attend a speech by Coral that was disrupted—by the SWP. This meeting took place in the Mission District of San Francisco. I was called on early in the discussion period and after I had spoken for only a couple of minutes SWP members began to shout so loudly that I could not be heard. A goon squad of 8 to 10 people from the SWP security force surrounded me and the shouting continued.

This action was carried out by the SWP with no protest from the chairman and completely disrupted the meeting for five to ten minutes. Finally I gave up trying to complete my remarks and sat down. The chair next called on Earl Owens, a member of the Class Struggle League. Owens spoke first in defense of my democratic rights and the rights of everyone at the meeting, stating that by not controlling its own members the SWP had disrupted the meeting.

After attacking this assault on workers democracy he then proceeded to denounce Coral's statement of support for the current government of Argentina. After the meeting, Owens was surrounded by angry SWPers who shouted "You Spartacists disrupt everything." Owens could only protest, "I'm not a Spartacist," and that the SWP were the real disrupters.

Tweet Carter
Spartacist League Central Committee

Mass Expulsions from British WRP

After Healy, What? WSL Adrift

LONDON—Last December-January, Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) expelled perhaps as many as 200 members, led by Alan Thornett, whose core has since formed the Workers Socialist League (WSL) claiming to be an anti-revisionist Trotskyist organization. The exit of large numbers from the WRP is not in itself unusual. The combination of an erratic and often fantastical political line with a frenzied and despotic internal life guarantees a steady supply of ex-Healyites. In fact, a large proportion of the cadre of all the ostensibly Trotskyist groups in Britain has passed through Healy's organizations. However, those who in the past left the Socialist Labour League (SLL), or its successor, the WRP, did not or were not able to wage an effective opposition laying the basis for a new organization.

The Thornett opposition constituted the first serious internal challenge to the Healy/Banda regime in a decade. In part this was because Thornett had a pre-existing regional base in the Oxford-Reading-Swindon area. This derived from the fact that Alan Thornett was the most prominent industrial unionist in the WRP, coming under sharp and well-publicized bourgeois attack for his actions at the Oxford-Cowley Leyland auto plant. Both because of its claim to stand in the anti-Pabloist Trotskyist tradition and because of the prominence of its leading cadre, the WSL should be regarded seriously.

If Healy's Mafia tactics including physical intimidation—against the Thornett opposition were predictable, his attempts to destroy the WSL are worse than despicable. As a result of a domestic lawsuit, Thornett had borrowed money from Vanessa Redgrave, the wealthiest Healyite of them all, while he was still a member of the WRP. Actress Redgrave, whose life-style would not shame Princess Grace of Monaco, has now appealed to the capitalist courts to make Thornett, an industrial worker, repay the entire loan immediately. This is Healyite class collaboration par excellence!

Healyism as Sectarian British Economism

Virtually all those who break with Healyism characterize it as ultra-left sectarianism, and so it is with the Thornett group.

> "As the split emerged, the sectarianism of the WRP, its departure from the Transitional Programme, and the way its maximum programme isolates the WRP from the working class became clear."
> —*Socialist Press*, 3 April

It is indisputable that organizationally Healyism is sectarian: the posturing as a mass party, the generalized gangsterism against other working-class tendencies, the refusal to enter into united fronts provide the proof. While sectarian organizational practice is usually associated with ultra-left policies (e.g., electoral abstention, dual unionism, refusal to fight for democratic rights), this is not at all the case with the Healyites. In a sense, the contrary is true. The Healyites' sectarianism—their violence and character assassination against opponents, willful distortion of reality and absurd posturing—is caused by the contradiction between organizational hostility to the Labour Party, proper for a communist vanguard, and a program that does not go beyond traditional British Labourism.

The essence of Healyite politics is not ultra-leftism or ultimatism, but militant nationally centered economism—defense of the immediate economic interests of the English working class. Healyism, like all forms of economism, denies that the proletariat cannot liberate itself without, in Marx's words, "destroying all the inhuman conditions of life in contemporary society." The SLL and WRP have never acted as a "tribune of the people" and an upholder of socialist morality. On the contrary, they have pandered to and strengthened the most backward prejudices among English workers.

The liberation of women through the destruction of the bourgeois family plays no role whatsoever in Healyite politics. The increasingly important question of the racial oppression of South Asian and West Indian immigrants has been of marginal concern to the SLL and WRP. And Healy's England-centered perspective is notorious within the left, reaching chauvinist proportions over the Irish question. Thus when the Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed, following the Birmingham pub bombings attributed to Irish nationalists, *Workers Press* denounced it for threatening above all the English workers movement, particularly the WRP! Presumably, had Healy been assured the law would be used only against the IRA he would not have opposed it.

It is only within the framework of the Healyites' underlying economism that their "The Crisis" mongering can be understood. From an economist viewpoint, a socialist revolution is *only* justified in the face of a massive decline in the living standard of the working class. For Healy, a socialist revolution was not possible or really justified throughout the post-war period. For him, a revolutionary situation must be like Germany in 1932—a profoundly defeatist and pessimistic attitude.

Despite its ritualistic attacks on Pabloism, Healyism shares the central conclusion of Mandelian "neo-capitalism": that since the late 1940's revolutionary situations have been impossible in West Europe because of objective conditions. This objectivist pessimism was disproven by life itself with the anti-Gaullist general strike of May 1968 and the wave of workers

Alan Thornett — Workers Press

control struggles in Italy the following year. In France during 1968 and Italy in 1969, the working class demonstrated an *offensive* revolutionary impulse, directed against bourgeois democracy under conditions of relative conjunctural stability. Such revolutionary developments are incomprehensible to the Little England economism of Gerry Healy.

Electoral Opposition to Labour

Both Thornett's WRP internal document and the Healyite account in *Workers Press* after the expulsion indicate that the WRP's electoral candidacies in March and October 1974 were a major issue in the faction fight. The question of electoral policy represents in a concentrated form the central problem facing British revolutionaries: how to break the masses from the Labour Party.

Bulletin

Gerry Healy (standing), leader of the WRP, with Vanessa Redgrave.

Because the Labour Party has been the only mass workers party in British history, and because of its organic ties to the unions (every union member is automatically in the Labour Party), it is generally taken for granted as *the* political expression of the British proletariat. The British working class can hardly conceive of a different mass workers party. Therefore, there is great social pressure on a revolutionary organization to present itself as a non-competitor, as non-antagonistic to the Labour Party.

And virtually all British left organizations adapt to the spirit of Labour hegemony. Some act as organic factions within the Labour Party (the *Militant* and *Chartist* groups); some act as pressure groups upon the Labour Party (the Communist Party, the Healyites at times); and others embrace spontaneism/syndicalism, maintaining that new forms of revolutionary organization will emerge independently of developments within the Labour Party (the Mandelite International Marxist Group [IMG], International Socialists [IS]).

For a British revolutionary propaganda group it is essential to project itself as an *organizational* opponent, however embryonic, to the Labour Party. (This is not to deny that use of the tactic of entry into the Labour Party will also be essential in building a British Trotskyist party.) Despite long-standing revulsion against Healyism, we gave critical support to WRP candidates in the two 1974 elections, in part because standing against the Labour Party is *itself* a central question for British revolutionaries, particularly in the February election which culminated a period of intense class polarization. (We were sharply critical of the WRP's February campaign not because it competed with the Labour Party but, on the contrary, because it failed to agitate for a general strike in defense of the miners—a demand which would have challenged efforts by both union and Labour Party leaderships to liquidate the miners' strike into parliamentary electioneering.)

In contrast, Thornett retrospectively opposed the WRP candidacies, as the party did not have a mass base and there was strong working-class sentiment to vote Labour:

> "This means in my view that the party would require a definite base in the working class where it stood candidates. It should have the capability of winning the support of important sections of the labour movement to our candidates...."
> —"Correct the Wrong Positions of the Party—Return to the Transitional Programme"

Revolutionists call for votes to candidates of the Labour Party not because we believe a Wilson government will undertake progressive policies; rather, the tactic of critical support enables the communist vanguard to *expose* Labourism—to demonstrate that Wilson & Co. will *refuse* to fight for policies which defend the workers' interests—and thereby win over its most class-conscious and militant supporters. To achieve this end the vanguard must present an organizational alternative to the Labour Party capable of attracting those workers already disillusioned with reformism and now seeking a revolutionary path. For a very small and weak propaganda group to participate in parliamentary elections may be a gross misuse of resources. But for an organization with the resources of the WRP not to stand some candidates against the Labour Party is liquidationist, transforming the tactic of critical support into the strategy of political support to reformism.

Workers Control and Revolutionary Strategy

If anything distinguishes the WSL's position on the British question, it is emphasis on workers control. Much of Thornett's documents are devoted to this question. His criticism of the Healyite all-purpose slogan, "nationalization without compensation under workers control," is correct. Putting forward workers control only as part of a demand for generalized expropriation of the capitalist class is both ultimatistic and confusing. Workers control—meaning dual power at the point of production—can exist *before* widespread expropriation, which requires the establishment of a workers state. After general expropriation what is involved is not at all dual power but the institutionalized relation of factory committees to the administration of a workers state concerning production decisions. Because the Healyite press does not raise workers control except in this manner, Thornett is correct in asserting that Healy's ultimatistic slogan *eliminates* workers control as a transitional demand.

However, Thornett goes on to fetishize workers control, presenting it as a neeceessary stage for any revolutionary dynamic:

> "Only workers' control, struggled for and established *from below*—against the capitalist owner creates the organised power of the workers to carry through the expropriation of the owners... no 'bridge' in the form of workers' control, no 'revolutionary nationalization'." [emphasis in original]
>
> "Second Document on Party Policy and Perspectives"

This view is totally mechanical and without historical justification. In Russia in 1917 and Germany in 1918, workers control emerged (and could only emerge) *after* political revolutions had shattered the state apparatus and simultaneously with the creation of soviets. Prior to that point, atomized illegality at the factory level would simply have been crushed.

Furthermore, there are revolutionary situations where workers control plays no essential role at all; for example, the sudden explosion of a political general strike. To have called for workers control in the first period of the 1968 French May events was to demand a *lower* level of struggle than that already attained. To carry the French May events forward what was called for was placing the strike in the hands of democratically elected and nationally coordinated factory committees, which would serve as embryonic soviets.

In an article from which Thornett quotes extensively, "Workers' Control of Production," Trotsky explicitly states that there is *no* necessary connection in time between workers control and the emergence of soviets:

> "...that these two processes need not necessarily run in parallel and simultaneously. Under the influence of crisis, unemployment and the predatory manipulations of the capitalists, the working class in its majority *may* turn out to be ready to fight for the abolition of business secrecy and for control over banks, commerce and production before it has come to understand the necessity of the revolutionary conquest of power." [our emphasis]

Where Trotsky uses the word "may," Thornett insists on must—a significant difference.

Regroupment

Thornett presents the central theme of his opposition as "Return to the Transitional Programme." However, he presents that theme in such an abstract manner that it could be used by any self-proclaimed Trotskyist. The abstractness of Thornett's documents mainly derives from his failure to deal with the concrete organizational configuration and balance of forces within the British left.

Thornett's documents essentially ignore the Communist Party, the Maoists, the ostensibly Trotskyist groups (e.g., IMG, *Militant* group, etc.) and the Irish nationalist left. Yet it is just these forces that must be destroyed as obstacles before a Trotskyist organization can make serious inroads among the supporters of Tony Benn and Michael Foot. The struggle to win over the Labourite masses through struggling for the Transitional Program is not an isolated pedagogical process, but can only be achieved through the defeat of the Stalinists, centrists and left Irish nationalists.

It is clear that Thornett accepts the Healyite "mass" press concept; indeed, he wants to deepen it, making the press more pedagogical and more agitational. A genuine mass press is not a matter of content and style, but of whether the party has the breadth and depth of cadre to have its press actually influence mass struggles on a wide scale:

> "This task [making the newspaper of the organization accessible to the masses] cannot be effectively solved except as a function of the growth of the organization and its cadres who must pave the way to the masses for the newspaper—since it is not enough, it is understood, to call a publication a 'mass paper' to have the masses accept it in reality."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "What Is a 'Mass Paper'?" November 1935

A "popular" agitational press without a cadre having considerable real influence in the workers movement is a diversion from the development of a communist vanguard.

Virtually all of the leftist organizations here maintain an attitude of peaceful coexistence with one another, seeking to recruit out of the broad Labourite milieu. This attitude is also that of Healy's WRP, although its conception of peaceful coexistence is modeled on Stalin's Russia in the 1930's. But a genuine Trotskyist party can be built in Britain only by destroying the manifold "Trotskyist" organizations, assemblying and unifying their most serious and subjectively communist cadre through effecting splits and fusions among the ostensibly revolutionary left.

Which "Fourth International"?

The WSL's reluctance to engage its left opponents in polemical combat is also reflected in the vagueness of its references to the key question of the International. *Socialist Press* (20 February) simply states, "We are confident that our movement will soon be able to play an important role in the strengthening of the Trotskyist Fourth International...." The question is, *which* "Fourth International" does the WSL mean?

Socialist Press provides no answers. We can presume that the WSL does not identify the "International Committee" as the Fourth International, having learned at close hand how the IC is but a puppet in the hands of Gerry Healy, lacking even rudiments of democratic centralism. On the other hand, much of Thornett's writings on workers control seem curiously akin to the writings of Ernest Mandel on the subject. But the WSL declares it will fight against "the Pabloite revisionists of the IMG," local representatives of Mandel's "United Secretariat." No doubt the IMG's long-time line that the Labour Party is a bourgeois party (a view now in disfavor, but indicative of the British Pabloists' general approach to the LP) would be hard for Thornett to stomach.

More compatible with the WSL's views on the Labour Party would be the French OCI, whose British satellite (the Bulletin group of Blick) has a perspective of deep entry in the LP. But how would the WSL coexist with the Irish affiliate of the OCI's "Organizing Committee for the Reconstruction of the Fourth International" which called for a vote for the Republicans (either wing!) in Northern Ireland local elections last summer? And how would recent victims of Healy's heavy-handed bureaucratism (if not gangsterism) feel about becoming potential candidates for the Varga treatment at the hands of the OCI (charges of being KGB agents, etc.)?

Without clarity on the central question of the Fourth International and on the concrete tasks involved in reforging the Trotskyist party of world revolution, the WSL will either disappear into the Labour Party or be taken over by right centrists such as the OCI. Thornett's sympathizers in the U.S., the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist) in the San Francisco Bay Area, have already clearly latched onto the most right-wing expression of Healyism by calling for a *reformist* labor party as a stage in the construction of the revolutionary party.

At present the WSL is most clearly defined negatively, by its break from the Healyite organization in opposition to the WRP's sectarianism and brutally undemocratic internal regime. While its future programmatic course is not definitively predictable, the WSL's failure to develop the internal struggle against Healy much beyond the democracy issue, and its rejection of Healyite "ultra-leftism" while maintaining some of the most rightist-revisionist aspects of the SLL/WRP, would seem to define the WSL as a split to the right from a badly deformed and characteristically English-centered version of fake "Trotskyism." ■

While RMG Chants "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh!"

Canadian Spartacists Hail Martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists

TORONTO—On April 19, 130 people met at Toronto City Hall to march in solidarity with the Indochinese revolution. Sponsors of the demonstration were the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (CCIST), the Revolutionary Marxist Group (a sympathising section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat), the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (recently expelled from the RMG), and the Canadian nationalist Socialist League.

TA THU THAU — Quatrieme Internationale

The RMG tried to exclude the League for Socialist Action (its own factional opponent within the USec) from the speakers' platform. The LSA, they argued with bureaucratic logic, didn't sponsor the rally, so why should they speak?! The CCIST and B-LT, however, condemned this blatantly undemocratic maneuver and successfully demanded the right of all tendencies in the left and workers movement to have a speaker.

As the march proceeded to the U.S. consulate the spirited CCIST/B-LT contingent chanted "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" and "Take Saigon, Take Vientiane, No Coalition Governments!" The RMG, obviously offended by these communist slogans and caught up in their NLF flag waving, cried "Ho, Ho, Ho Chi Minh, the NLF is Going to Win!"

Outraged by this disgusting praise for the Vietnamese Stalinists (led by Ho Chi Minh) who were responsible for assassinating several thousand Vietnamese Trotskyists in 1945-46, among them the veteran Trotskyist leader Ta Thu Thau, the CCIST/B-LT contingent responded with the call, "Long Live the ICL" and "Long Live Trotskyism!" (The International Communist League was the Trotskyist organization which led a workers' insurrection in Saigon in 1945 against the reintroduction of colonial troops.)

The RMG continued its cheers for Ho Chi Minh (who in 1946 welcomed French troops back to Hanoi), so that at one point there was the spectacle of the RMG shouting hosannahs to the Vietnamese Stalinists in opposition to the call for "Long Live Trotskyism." This is the treacherous logic of Pabloist liquidationism, which capitulates to non-proletarian forces and abandons the struggle for the independent Trotskyist program and party.

...CCNY

(continued from page 12)

are not part of its job agency!

The unionized building trades workers correctly see the coalition's demands, especially its insistence that it directly control one quarter of the hiring on the site, as threats to the union, the seniority system and their jobs. The coalition's call on the university administration to go around the union hiring hall, threatening to sue the union if its demands are not met, amounts to plain-and-simple union-busting, an attack on the entire working class, including black workers. This is not surprising, given participation in the MNC by contractors who, whether they are black or white, see the unions only as impediments to higher profits.

The existing union leadership, however, bears the ultimate responsibility for the ugly confrontation which erupted at CCNY. The narrowly self-interested labor bureaucracy, which has fought tooth and nail against any attempt to alter the previously lily-white composition of the craft unions, has made the unions vulnerable to attack, while driving the union ranks into apathy or into the arms of outright reactionary and racist elements. In the absence of substantial oppositional forces fighting for a class-struggle program within the unions themselves, the bourgeois ideology of the union misleaders is inevitably reflected in the ranks. At CCNY, many of the construction workers fraternized with the marauding cops during last week's incidents.

Whatever the motives of many of the MNC's supporters, beneath the militant rhetoric lurks the hucksterist appetite to replicate the job-trusting rake-off mentality of the construction union tops. In the guise of opposing the racist status quo—which is supported by the blatantly anti-black, exclusionist, nakedly reactionary policies of the construction unions—the MNC eagerly makes itself a party to an assault on the hard-won gains of unionism: the seniority system and the union hiring hall. It would be tragic if the MNC were successful in appealing to the just grievances of unemployed minority-group workers and sympathetic students, using this reservoir of anger to buttress its own schemes.

The Maoist opportunists of the Revolutionary Student Brigade formed a rotten bloc with the "community" forces of the MNC, although the RSB's mentors in the Revolutionary Union now claim to oppose preferential hiring. In contrast, the SL/SYL has consistently fought for an end to discrimination in hiring, for contractor-funded minority recruitment and training programs, a shorter work-week at no loss in pay (to provide jobs for all) and the ousting of the reactionary union bureaucracy by a class-struggle leadership—while warning that preferential hiring schemes serve the bosses by setting one section of the working class against the other.

It is necessary to unite the unemployed with the employed workers, through trade-union organization of the unemployed; massive public works programs at full union-scale wages and under union control; unlimited, unconditional unemployment insurance at union wages; and amalgamation of unemployment insurance, welfare, SUB benefits and social security programs into a single fund at the highest rate. And the fight must be directly against the capitalist system, refusing to accept the "logic" of production for profit, by calling for strikes and factory occupations against mass layoffs; expropriation of construction companies and all industry with no compensation; and a workers party to fight for a workers government which can institute planned production for use, the only way to guarantee full employment.■

Baraka...

(continued from page 7)

"two lines" which make a struggle against layoffs "objectively reactionary."

CAP's "Revolutionary" Nationalism

The Congress of Afrikan People is not the only organization which has traveled from cultural black nationalism to "Marxist-Leninist-Maoist" Pan-Africanism. Many of yesterday's leading advocates of the seven principles of Kawaida (Maulanda Karenga, Baraka, etc.) now claim to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Faced with the demise of the black power movement (including its most left-wing expression, the Black Panther Party), a large U.S. contingent to the Sixth Pan-African Congress at Dar es-Salaam in 1974 welcomed the socialist rhetoric of Nyerere and other African leaders. But while "African socialism" is the ideology of petty-bourgeois bureaucrats seeking to transform themselves into a capitalist class under conditions of extreme economic backwardness, the recent popularity of socialist Pan-Africanism among U.S. blacks represents in part a subjectively left-wing response to the manifest bankruptcy of "black power."

Yet the very abstractness of the new rhetoric was its main attraction for leftward-moving black nationalists, making it possible for slick, cynical opportunists like Baraka to elaborate a "revolutionary nationalism" whose "socialism" was still very much anti-union. It was all too easy to see the Kenneth Gibsons as the domestic equivalents of such reactionary "African socialists" as Leopold Senghor.

CAP has not broken from black nationalism. It declares: "It is the Congress of Afrikan People's view that black people are an oppressed nation in the United States" (*Black Scholar*, January/February 1975). This position paper sees that blacks are situated in key industries in the U.S. and lack the economic-territorial basis to secede, yet CAP still calls black people a nation. This is nothing but the old cultural nationalism dressed up in a Mao suit.

Blacks in the U.S. are a color/race caste segregated at the bottom of the working class. The key position of black workers in the country's industrial structure will give them a vital role in building a united revolutionary vanguard. Moreover, the struggle for the democratic rights of racial minorities and against the special oppression of black people must be a major component of the proletarian revolution in the U.S. The forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist workers party is the only means to prepare the overthrow of capitalism which is at the root of black oppression. Utopian dreams of a separate black state—whether in Africa, the old "Black Belt" of the South or northern ghettos—will go the way of Garveyism.

And while Garveyism was able to

...Indochinese Revolution

(continued from page 1)

reason to exercise the utmost vigilance against infiltration by imperialist spies and agents, and it would hardly be surprising if, as Cambodian Information Minister Hu Nim said in his statement, CIA agents are being slipped in aboard small sailing vessels. The Khmer Rouge demonstrated good sense in returning the crew and its statement showed dignity in the face of an inevitable attack by vastly superior forces, when it could only lose.

Given their bitter experience with U.S. imperialism, the Cambodian government likewise had every reason for inspecting an American ship entering its territorial waters. At the same time, if there was no evidence of spying, both Cambodian and U.S. workers should legitimately have been concerned for the freedom of the crew, who were cynically used as pawns in a criminal imperialist adventure. Ford naturally showed no concern whatever for their lives, and U.S. planes could easily have killed them all with the massive fireworks.

Despite the overwhelming dove sentiment in the U.S. and European bourgeoisies with respect to Vietnam and Cambodia only a few short weeks ago, imperialist ruling circles throughout the world uniformly praised Ford's petulant display of military might in the Mayagüez incident. The London *Economist* (17 May) commented that "This was a fresh reminder that brinkmanship is sometimes necessary and sometimes works...." The Japanese government, which had long dissociated itself from Washington's Vietnam policies, firmly supported the U.S. attack, even apologizing for the landing of Marines in Thailand ("maybe the United States did not have enough time to think about Thailand," remarked its spokesman according to the 16 May *New York Times*).

In the U.S., the fact that President Ford violated the vaunted legal prohibitions on involvement in military hostilities in Indochina to carry out the "Mayagüez operation" has, of course, been quickly swept under the rug. (So was the illegality of the mass evacuation of more than 130,000 Vietnamese reactionaries, exploiters and war criminals, their families and their gold.) Liberals in the U.S. Senate are deciding not to call for a reduction of U.S. troop strength in West Europe. In short, it is being made crystal clear that objections to the Vietnam adventure by imperialist doves were based on the fact that it was a losing gamble, tying up resources urgently needed elsewhere *to defend the same class interests*. The Mayagüez incident was a chance to reaffirm their class loyalties.

The Spartacist League warns that the imperialist butchers of Indochina, both "doves" and "hawks," are prepared to plunge civilization into a nuclear holocaust in order to preserve their exploitative system of class rule. They seek always to reverse the tremendous social and economic conquests of the Russian Revolution and the revolutions which have destroyed capitalism in the deformed workers states, from East Europe to Vietnam and Cambodia.

While both Peking and Moscow seek "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism, Marxists warn the workers that a life-and-death battle with the bourgeoisie is inevitable. Without placing any political confidence in the architects of détente and the advocates of coalition governments with the bourgeoisie, we call for unconditional military defense of the deformed and degenerated workers states against imperialist attack and domestic counterrevolution. Only by a political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, which overthrows the parasitic bureaucracy and establishes organs of democratic working-class rule (soviets) can the revolution be extended and a real defense against counterrevolution be mounted, through world proletarian revolution.

—U.S. Hands Off the Indochinese Revolution!

—Extend Soviet/Chinese Nuclear Shield to Cover Phnom Penh, Saigon and Hanoi!

—For a Communist United Front Against Imperialism—For Political Revolution Against Stalinist Bureaucratic Rule!

—Take Vientiane!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6471, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA ..... (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-0871
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

69

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

capture the imagination of thousands of workers, youth and unemployed in Harlem and elsewhere before it disappeared, it also promoted a virulently anti-union brand of "black capitalist" ideology. Class collaboration with its "own" bourgeoisie is inherent in all forms of nationalist ideology, and this has been true of Baraka's career from the anti-communist baiting of the "white left" through "community control" strike-breaking to his current anti-union "socialism."

Facing the Future...And the Past

CAP's turn toward Maoist Pan-Africanism is relatively recent, and for some time the membership (many of whom are subjectively revolutionary, but with their political development distorted by the cultism around Baraka) seemed to be in political flux. The article "CAP: Going Through Changes!!" (*Unity and Struggle*, October 1974) which announced the organization's embracing of Mao Tse-tung Thought also said:

> "...we have made mistakes, undoubtedly we will make more. But we will be testing all dogmas, policy, &c., reorganizing all our work along revolutionary lines and practicing ruthless self criticism in order to unite our theory and practice, and contribute to the building of a socialist society."

Last fall members of the Spartacist League were told that many CAPers now felt that Baraka's support to Gibson in 1970 was "a mistake." But more recently we have been told that it was a "necessary stage" in the struggle for black liberation. This argument is false to the core: the liberation of the oppressed masses depends on the political independence of the proletariat from the class enemy; support for bourgeois politicians (black or white, and no matter how "progressive") is always a betrayal of the struggle against capitalist exploitation and racial oppression.

"But Addonizio was a racist and had to be defeated at all cost!" a CAPer will protest. Leaving aside the fact that Baraka sided with Addonizio, and even arch-reactionary racist Anthony Imperiale, against the ghetto rebellion of 1967, this is the same type of rationalization the reformist Communist Party gave for its backhanded support to Roosevelt in the 1930's and 1940's. That the class collaborationism of Maoism/Stalinism is reflected in the policies of CAP is evident in its "Strategy for 76" published in the March issue of *Unity and Struggle*:

> "Progressive forces should deal with the enormous crisis that 1976 will usher in by launching a campaign, running a presidential candidate and holding a national people's convention in the Spring of 1976. And that campaign will be an anti-democratic, anti-republican, anti-depression and anti-repression movement to combat the rising threat of fascism in the U.S. and imperialist wars abroad."

This is classical popular frontism, an old standby of the CPUSA. From Henry Wallace to Benjamin Spock, the Stalinists have promoted "third parties" and "peoples candidates" in order to obscure the need for a *class* opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism. In contrast, the Trotskyists call for the formation of a *workers* party, based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government.

CAP's inability to draw the class line means that it has no program for revolutionary struggle in the trade unions, no answers for black workers in the heart of American heavy industry. (This is not surprising, of course, since CAP's program for the Newark Teachers Union is evidently to break it!) It has also meant that CAP seeks to control killer cops with...community control. When police clubbed down scores of Puerto Ricans, killing two, last fall in Newark, Baraka denounced Gibson's regime as "blackface fascism" while proposing as a solution a "civilian review board."

"Necessary Stage"...For What?

CAP defends Baraka's strikebreaking by claiming that the NTU strike was "anti-community." Naturally government workers' strikes always hurt the oppressed first, because they are most dependent on public services. But it was precisely the inner-city "community" of workers and unemployed whose children attend Newark's public schools that had a vital and direct interest in the victory of the strike. It was the suburban "community" of Prudential executives and government bureaucrats who send their children to private schools that screamed the loudest about "the public interest" and fought to smash the strike.

The importance of trade unions is not that of "just another pressure group." Unions are an elementary attempt to suppress the competition between workers engendered by wage slavery, enabling them to organize around their common interests. Of course, unions by themselves are not sufficient to emancipate the working class, much less the rest of the oppressed. But what is needed is to build a revolutionary vanguard party and a class-struggle leadership inside the union to *defeat* the pro-capitalist bureaucracy which is the major obstacle to the construction of such a party. By joining the capitalist state in its assault on the NTU, Baraka *reinforces* the present misleaders of labor.

Workers need to fight for *political* as well as economic organizational independence from the bourgeoisie—they need their own party as well as their own unions. CAP defends Baraka's support for Gibson's first mayoral race on the basis that this was a "necessary stage" that the masses had to go through, and that the masses had to learn from their experiences. What did the masses learn when they resoundingly re-elected "fascist" "enemy of the people" Gibson for a second term?

The "theory of stages" of Stalin and Mao, here applied to Newark's Chiang Kai-shek, reduces every sellout and betrayal to a "necessary stage." Martin Luther King calls for troops to put down the Watts rebellion? King was a "necessary stage." Gibson uses the cops to ruthlessly break up a Puerto Rican festival? Gibson was a "necessary stage." Chiang Kai-shek, honorary member of the Comintern Executive (at Stalin's invitation), crushes the Shanghai uprising? That, too, was a "necessary stage." The blood of the blacks murdered in Watts, the Puerto Ricans murdered in Newark and the workers murdered in Shanghai is on the hands of every apologist for these betrayals and defeats. Without conscious intervention of the revolutionary vanguard, organized in a Trotskyist party and fighting for proletarian independence, the oppressed will have to suffer many more such "necessary stages."■

LCR Purge...

(continued from page 3)

of the Fourth International represents the potential for a qualitative step forward in the fight to build a Trotskyist organization in France as part of a regenerated Fourth International. The expulsion of Lafitte comes a year after the resignation of Lesueur, another central committee member of the USec's French section (then called the FCR), to join the Spartacist tendency. Both Lesueur and Lafitte played a leading role in the 1973 bank strike and were instrumental in building the LCR's bank workers' fraction. In 1973 Lafitte was an FCR candidate in elections for the French National Assembly, and as a member of the national leadership of Tendency 4, he was elected alternate member of the CC at the LCR founding conference last December.

Although its documents contain a few ambiguous formulations, the political positions of the B-LF represent a qualitative break with both the infantile/degenerate centrism of the IMT and the bold-faced reformism of the LTF, and a return to authentic Trotskyism. Unlike a number of eclectic left Pabloists (Tendency 4 in the LCR, the "third tendency" of the USec, German Spartacusbund) who continue in endless maneuvering and intrigue with the USec minority and majority, the B-LF declares its determination to struggle to reforge a politically homogeneous, democratic-centralist Fourth International.

The international Spartacist tendency is committed to waging the "difficult, long, and, above all, uneven" struggle for the rebirth of the FI ("Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency," *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974). An essential part of this struggle will be the regrouping of valuable forces from ostensibly revolutionary organizations through a process of splits and fusions. In a number of countries this is already occurring and we hope that the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction will follow the path taken by the RIT, B-LT and individual comrades in Australia, Austria, Canada, France, Germany and the U.S. who have broken with Pabloism to make common cause with the international Spartacist tendency.

—For a Trotskyist Organizatinn in France!

—Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

...Boston Busing

(continued from page 12)

and their capitalist/cop oppressors—is illusory and even suicidal. The working masses must rely on their own organized strength. This was the theme of trade-union oppositionists from the UAW and National Maritime Union who participated in the march with signs calling for labor defense squads to stop racist attacks.

The demonstration was steeped in symbolic displays of respectability and patriotism—from the red, white and blue-draped speakers' platform to the Shriners' band playing the Marine Hymn and Star Spangled Banner. The NAACP's Atkins provided a folksy political rationale: "We are here today to commemorate the removal of the monster [racism] from the cradle of the confederacy and to celebrate the removal of the monster from Boston's cradle of liberty. I am glad to tell you that Boston is finally on C.P.T.—Constitutional Protection Time." He called on the demonstrators to work "to save the country from the consequences of unchecked moral insensitivity and deviation from the country's fundamental law."

The theme of the rally was reliance on the benevolence of the bosses' government. Nowhere was this more explicit than in the speech by Maceo Dixon, representing the SWP-dominated National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR). Only a day after the vicious imperialist assault on Cambodia, Dixon remarked, "If Ford can send troops and tanks and bombers to Cambodia...he should be able to send troops to Boston to enforce the law." Yes indeed, but just what will the butchers of Indochina do in Boston?

At a Spartacist League forum that evening, former Black Panther Party member Gerald Smith answered that question by noting, "Malcolm X had a saying, 'You can't demand that a chicken lay duck's eggs'." Despite a flawed and above all partial political analysis, Malcolm X understood what the SWP and their reformist cohorts work to obscure: the state is a body of armed men that exists to protect the rights not of the masses but of their oppressors. Smith summed up the counterposition: "While the SWP considers itself the democratic doctor of capitalism, the SL considers itself the grave-diggers of capitalism."

The subservience of the SWP to reformist coalitionism was never more evident than at the Boston demonstration. There was hardly a single SWP banner or sign in sight. NAACP signs predominated, with slogans such as "Schools Are for *All* Children" and "Quality Education—Let's Do It Together."

Aggressively cutting through the morass of liberalism, pacifism and chauvinism, an impressive Spartacist League contingent of about 150 marched with slogans such as "Not White Against Black, But Class Against Class," "No Trust in Capitalist Politicians, Troops and Cops—For a Labor and Black Defense Against Racist Anti-Busing Vigilantism" and "For a Workers Party to Fight for a Workers Government." Some small centrist groups effected an ad hoc united front with the SL marchers, while unaffiliated militants all along the march cheered our banners and joined our contingent. As the contingent turned in toward the Commons, at the corner of Arlington and Boylston, a group of perhaps two dozen young black militants wearing parade marshals' arm bands approvingly greeted our militant banners and slogans.

The marchers' response to a small counterdemonstration by a band of Nazis was instructive. As the SL and others moved to deal with the racist scum, SWP and NAACP marchers linked arms to keep the indignant crowd from getting at the fascists. The police moved immediately to protect the Nazis.

The Maoists' policy was a nearly total boycott of the demonstration. An October League spokesman explained that "This march represents the assimilationist wing of the black bourgeoisie led by the NAACP, whereas the December march represented more of the nationalist wing, exemplified by [black Democratic State] Representative Bill Owens. The NAACP busing plan is forced assimilation and denies the democratic right of Third World people to attend the schools of their choice" (*Guardian*, 21 May 1975). Unable to find a militant-talking black bourgeois politician like Owens to tail, Maoist groups like the OL chose abstentionism, leaving the masses to their misleaders.

The alternative to Uncle Tom liberalism will not be found in the social-democratic SWP or the mush-headed Maoists, but in the revolutionary Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League, which struggles to become the vanguard of the workers and the tribune of all the oppressed.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Union-Busting Coalition Pits Unemployed Against Employed

Bloody Battle Over Construction Jobs at CCNY

NEW YORK—A dispute over quota hiring at a City College of New York (CCNY) construction project exploded into a violent clash on May 14. Groups claiming to represent "the community," organized into the Manhattan North Coalition (MNC), had closed down the $90-million building project site at the Harlem campus for several days. On Wednesday the construction unions decided to re-open the site and a pitched battle broke out pitting construction workers against the MNC and its student allies, mainly Maoists. The fighting raged from 9 a.m. well into the afternoon. Workers hurled large nuts and bolts from the skeletal construction while numerous skirmishes took place below with both sides wielding clubs, pipes and wrenches.

Demonstrators at CCNY construction site charging police lines last week.

New York Times

The burden of unemployment which is presently escalating to disastrous proportions falls especially hard on minority workers. In some cities unemployment among black youth is approaching 50 percent. What is needed to answer the current economic crisis is a program for class struggle which unites the employed and unemployed workers in a militant fight against the common enemy, the boom-bust system of capitalism which produces mass unemployment and oppression of racial and ethnic minorities. But instead the increased competition for jobs has brought about demands for "solutions" which pit one section of the working class against another, i.e., protectionism ("Buy American"), preferential hiring and firing. Moreover, such schemes frequently involve using the capitalist state against the unions.

The MNC, a main component of which is the "Fight Back" organization, is an assortment of "community" politicos attempting to channel the just anger and frustration of non-white unemployed into an attempt to destroy the construction unions and set up a job trust of their own. The original name of the coalition, the "Manhattan North Coalition for Employment, Business and Housing," reflected its class-collaborationist thrust—its intention to unite "minority workers, contractors, community agencies, political figures, community people and CCNY students."

The demands of the coalition, which was formed last October when the construction of a new academic complex was begun, were: 50 percent of the jobs on the site to go to community workers; 25 percent of the contracts to non-white contractors; and the election of a non-white "site coordinator" by the community. By this month, however, 40 to 50 percent of the workers were minority. The coalition is now demanding that half the minority workers be from its organizations. Thus the MNC's pork-barrelling demands would actually mean *laying off* black and Spanish-speaking workers who

continued on page 10

Impotent NAACP March Supports Constitution As

Court Retreats on Boston Busing

SL contingent at Boston demonstration, May 17.

WV

BOSTON—The May 17 NAACP march here mobilized some 10-15,000 people to "support quality desegregated education and the Constitution." While the march was a carefully orchestrated part of the liberals' strategy of pressuring the bourgeoisie to be more democratic, many young black militants showed an appetite to go beyond the tame reformism of the NAACP and Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But without a revolutionary leadership that can carry the struggle for democratic demands and the rights of black people forward to the fight for a workers government, the black masses will remain chained to the impotent protest politics that dominated the Boston march.

The march took place only days after Judge Arthur Garrity issued the Phase II Plan for desegregating Boston's schools. It was intimately linked to the NAACP's legalistic policy. Abandoned by its white liberal allies, who cringe before the virulent racist reaction to busing, the NAACP intended the march, as Boston NAACP head Tom Atkins said, "to show that Judge Garrity does not stand alone in saying that Boston schools must be desegregated."

The Phase II Plan itself represents compromise with the racists. While several thousand more students will be bused than under Phase I or the earlier "Masters' Plan," and busing has been extended into school districts previously untouched, the new plan leaves a major area of the city, East Boston, almost totally white. In addition Garrity's order to close 20 schools with virtually no new school construction ensures the overcrowding of existing schools. The Spartacist League's call for "No Retreat! Extend Busing Citywide and into the Suburbs!" remains very much on the agenda.

The liberals' half-hearted policies are not an accident. A real struggle against segregation and for full social equality for black people would threaten to break through the boundaries of this deeply racist, capitalist society. Such a struggle, centered above all in the labor movement, must begin with the recognition that the perspective of class collaboration—the spurious "unity" of the working people

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 70 6 June 1975

Merchants, Generals, Princes Flee

Pathet Lao Taking Over

MAY 31—The minuscule Laotian capitalist class (little more than a conglomeration of comprador merchants) is presently fleeing the country with an entourage of rightist generals, corrupt government officials and feudal princes. Power is being consolidated in the hands of its coalition partners, the Pathet Lao, with the impotent neutralist Premier Souvanna Phouma and aging King Vatthana presiding over the process. Until recently, however, State Department Laos-watchers had remained confident of the good intentions of the Stalinists in the Laotian coalition government. A scant two weeks ago sentiment was that "the Pathet Lao has no immediate plans for an armed take-over." One unnamed Western diplomat gave voice to this optimism, predicting that "things will go back to the way they have been" (*New York Times*, 12 May).

Unfortunately for messrs. diplomats—but fortunately for the Laotian toilers—vacuums are no more tolerable in politics than in nature. For several months strikes and student demonstrations have mounted in protest against soaring inflation and continued imperialist economic and political domination. While Pathet Lao organizers were involved in these actions, it was only with reluctance. Well aware of the fate of two previous coalition governments (both ousted by rightist coups), the Stalinists felt the need to establish a base of support in the towns previously held exclusively by the reactionaries.

But their commitment to class collaboration was no less real. Pathet Lao/rightist negotiating teams were routinely sent to bargain with the dissidents, occasionally resorting to arrests as a form of persuasion. Evidently this "cooperation" was unique among the coalition partners. In the cabinet where every rightist minister was assigned a Pathet Lao deputy (and vice versa) each side boycotted the other.

"I won't tell them about my army until they tell me about their army," pouted the then Defense Minister and rightist prince, Sisouk na Champassak. The *New York Times* (14 April) bluntly admitted that the coalition was barely "hanging together" because "the United States, the Soviet Union, China and North Vietnam seem content to keep the current government intact." This miracle of détente did not, however, prevent U.S. military aid from going to the Royal Laotian Army. A curious example of this international "support" for the shaky coalition occured a year ago when Souvanna Phouma suffered a mild heart attack. Doctors from Thailand, France, the U.S., the USSR and China rushed to the side of the ailing prince while their sponsoring governments fretted lest a few missed heartbeats bring down the "bloc of four classes."

Anti-American protesters in Laos last month.

All the king's horses, however, were unable to re-assemble the shattered government during the past two weeks. The collapse of the Lon Nol and Thieu regimes terrified the Laotian, Chinese and Indian merchants who dominated the economy in Laos. These parasites unjustifiably feared intervention by the triumphant Hanoi regime. In reality the Democratic Republic of Vietnam has steadily reduced its forces in Laos since the ceasefire agreement of February 1973. Those troops remaining have shown no interest in the recent events. The DRV army units stationed in Laos had, after 1973, demonstrated support for the "progressive" coalition government by doing nothing while Pathet Lao guerrillas were besieged by the Royalist army and a CIA-financed "secret army" headed by "general" Vang Pao. Nevertheless, the bourgeois merchants fantasized that the Hanoi bureaucrats would behave like revolutionaries.

Terror turned to panic when several thousand students and teachers demonstrated in Vientiane during mid May carrying such slogans as "Cut the Throats of the Rightists." The rightist ministers immediately resigned from the cabinet and the flow of well-to-do emigrés out of the country turned into a stampede. The government, now dominated by the Pathet Lao, quickly proceeded to ban any further demonstrations in an effort to stem the tide and save the coalition. The end, however, had begun.

The cowardice of the comprador merchants was matched only by their cupidity. As their counterparts in Viet-

continued on page 11

Gamma

Laotian Premier Souvanna Phouma

Workers Press

Police riot against anti-fascist demonstrators, 15 June 1974, in London's Red Lion Square.

Fascism: How Not to Fight It...4

Vietnamese Refugees

The management of New York television station WPIX refused to broadcast this SL statement in response to its editorial welcoming Vietnamese refugees. Specifically, WPIX refused to permit any reference to "war criminals," "mass murderers," "mass killing" or the Daily News' *virulently chauvinist articles against foreign workers.*

AP

Marshall Ky with wife, 1966. In September 1970 Ky stated: "I have only one hero—Hitler. I want to infuse in our youth the same fanatacism, the same dedication, the same fighting spirit as Hitler infused in his people."

WPIX EDITORIAL

There has been so much controversy over so long a period of time about the war in Southeast Asia that it is not surprising that some resentment has developed over the plan to resettle 130,000 Vietnamese in the United States. Those who oppose the plan believe that we have done enough for the Vietnamese, and that all of our attention should be directed to our own people and their problems, which have been made all the more serious by the recession.

In thinking about the dilemma caused by the Vietnamese who cannot stay in their country for fear of retaliation by the new rulers, and our own very real needs here at home which severely tax the resources of the government, it is wise to remember an ancient saying about faith. It goes like this: "For those who believe, no explanation is necessary. For those who do not believe, no explanation is possible."

For our part, the Management of WPIX believes that everything our country stands for cries out for us to take in those homeless unfortunates, as we have done so many times before. We think that to do otherwise would be to deny our heritage as a nation of aliens. To do otherwise would be to deny one of the great strengths of this land, which comes from the amalgamation of a variety of cultures and peoples.

We who live in the Greater New York area have a special reason to welcome the refugees. We have a foreigner in our midst, a beautiful lady who was born in France and came to this country many, many years ago. She lives in the New York harbor, and in the words of the poetess Emma Lazarus, "Lift(s her) lamp, beside the golden door..."

Unless we are willing to put out the lamp and close that door and call the Statue of Liberty a relic from another age, we must support the resettlement of the Vietnamese in our country.

Our nation may not be all that much richer for allowing these 130,000 refugees to enter, but it will be infinitely poorer if it turns them away...

What's your opinion? We'd like to know.

18 May 1975

SPARTACIST LEAGUE STATEMENT

In an editorial broadcast last week, the management of WPIX called for asylum to Vietnamese refugees. Just who are these refugees? Many of them are like Nguyen Cao Ky, who declared that Adolf Hitler is his idol. They are directly responsible for the mass murder of millions of Indochinese. Such professional killers should not be allowed to escape punishment for their heinous crimes. They don't deserve asylum any more than did the Nazi High Command.

WPIX appeals to the spirit of the Statue of Liberty and "our heritage as a nation of aliens." This is pure hypocrisy. In February, the *Daily News* (which owns WPIX) published a rabid series of articles which accused immigrant workers of every conceivable social ill and suggested mass deportations as the answer to unemployment. To protest this vicious smear attack—and the more than 800,000 deportations of so-called illegal aliens last year—the Spartacist League picketed the offices of the *Daily News*, calling for a program to fight the real cause of unemployment: capitalism.

This is a *class* question. U.S. rulers are now importing tens of thousands of Indochinese reactionaries—exploiters, grafters and mass murderers—just as they earlier brought in right-wing and middle-class Cubans. Meanwhile, thousands of victims of the torture chambers of the reactionary Chilean military junta—among them many prominent labor leaders—are refused entry to the U.S.

The Spartacist League calls for no asylum to Indochinese reactionaries; instead, open the doors to Chilean refugees from right-wing terror! End the deportations and grant full citizenship rights to foreign-born workers! And send the war criminals (including the Calleys and Nixons) to Hanoi, Phnom Penh and Saigon, so that the napalmers, defoliators and terror bombers can be tried by a jury of their victims!

27 May 1975

Protest Portugal MRPP Ban

In coordinated pre-dawn raids on May 29 troops of the Portuguese Armed Forces Movement (MFA) struck national and neighborhood headquarters of the Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party (MRPP), the largest Maoist organization in the country. Five hundred leftist militants were arrested in the sweeps and are now imprisoned on an off-shore island. The MRPP's files and propaganda equipment were also confiscated in the raids.

The "progressive" officers have moved against the MRPP because the Maoists enjoy support from among soldiers in key units. The MRPP has also angered the MFA by being one of the few groups on the Portuguese left to unambiguously declare that this officers' movement heads a *bourgeois* regime, incapable of achieving socialism.

It is significant that the arrests were carried out in order to frustrate Maoist plans for an anti-NATO demonstration in conjunction with Ford's visit to Spain on Saturday. This dramatically exposes the quandary of the Portuguese Maoists: they avidly oppose NATO as an anti-communist alliance, but the Chinese bureaucracy *supports* the efforts of European members of NATO to build up their military strength as an objective blow against "Soviet social imperialism."

In more than 50 issues of *Peking Review* since the dictatorial Caetano regime was toppled in Lisbon last April, not one word has appeared on Portugal. This is despite the fact that both the MRPP and the other leading Maoist group, the PCP-ML, sent their leaders to Peking last month in order to get the official franchise. In the U.S. Maoist press, the explosive pre-revolutionary situation in Lisbon has been almost totally ignored, except for Wilfred Burchett's denunciations of the MRPP in the pages of the *Guardian*.

While warning the workers against the treacherous reformism of the MRPP's Maoist/Stalinist policies, the Spartacist League vigorously denounces this effort by the military rulers to silence the Portuguese left. *Free the MRPP Militants! No Confidence in the MFA—For Proletarian Revolution in Portugal!*

CORRECTION

The "KGB agents" mentioned in the last sentence of the editor's reply to Al Greengold's letter on page two of *WV* No. 69, 23 May, were actually "GPU agents."

DEMONSTRATE—

RELEASE THE MRPP!
HANDS OFF THE PORTUGUESE LEFT!

Thursday, June 5—5 p.m.
Portuguese Govt. Trade Office
3250 Wilshire Blvd.
LOS ANGELES

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.
538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Vient de paraître

SPARTACIST

édition française No. 9

Documents sur l'exclusion de la LCR

$.50 US/Canada 2,00 F.

pour toute commande s'addresser à:
Bruno Porquier
B.P. 57
95120 Ermont, FRANCE

ou

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone. (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

California Enacts Farm Labor Bill

Chavez Submits to Government Arbitration

MAY 31 A farm labor law which is supposed to usher in a new era of labor peace to California's agricultural battlefields will be signed into law next week by Governor Edmund G. Brown, Jr. Originally three bills were put forward to resolve the conflict between Cesar Chavez' beleaguered United Farm Workers and a union-busting alliance of Teamsters and agribusiness: one by the UFW, one by Governor Brown and one by the growers and Teamsters. Many weeks of maneuver and "compromise" followed, the result being a bill which all parties now claim they "can live with." Brown claims credit for accomplishing the impossible in the course of his personal negotiations.

The Agricultural Labor Relations Act provides for government-conducted representation elections. (Farm workers are excluded from the National Labor

César Chavez. WV photo

Relations Act which stipulates this procedure for most other sectors of the workforce.) Among its provisions:

—Within seven days of the filing of a petition representing 50 percent of the workers on a farm (during that farm's peak employment season) secret-ballot elections for union representation will be held.

—The governor will personally appoint a five-member Agricultural Labor Relations board to supervise the elections. It will rule on the key question of who is entitled to vote and on complaints of alleged unfair labor practices.

—Strikes to gain bargaining representation are banned. Harvest-time strikes over contractual terms are permitted, however.

—So-called "hard" secondary boycotts (i.e., attempts by members of a union to get employees of another company, such as a supermarket, to refuse to handle scab goods) are banned. Consumer boycotts are allowed so long as the union has not lost a representational election at the ranch whose produce is involved.

Under the terms of the bill, all agricultural employees on a farm are to be organized into a single union. At one stage in the negotiating the old question of industrial versus craft organization became a major bone of contention, pitting the UFW against not only the Teamsters but also the California Building and Construction Trades Council and the state AFL-CIO. The UFW correctly insisted that industrial organization was essential for the protection and upgrading of farm workers into the skilled jobs created by increasing mechanization of agriculture.

Chavez claims this piece of legislation as a great victory, evidently expecting that elections will regain for the UFW the union recognition stolen from it by Teamster sweetheart deals. (Teamsters now hold 95 percent of the agricultural workers' contracts in California.) But whatever the number of contracts won by the UFW (it can hardly decrease), this law is a move toward greater state control of the unions and must be opposed by all class-conscious militants.

As always, it is the class struggle, not "understandings" with the capitalist politicians, which will determine defeat or victory. Governor Brown, like all bourgeois politicians whatever their posturing, is no "friend of labor." Chavez was forced to admit as much—momentarily—when he mounted a statewide campaign against the governor's original bill. He told a crowd of 1,000 at San Francisco State University: "We elected a man last year and we thought we had a man who would be pretty good for the farm workers.... It's a pleasure to stand up and fight your enemies, but what do you do when your friends come around and try to do you in?"

Yet it is Governor Brown, whose job is to defend the interests of the capitalist class (including the agribusiness bosses), who will appoint the board that decides who gets to vote in these binding elections. The legislative representative of the growers' California Farm Bureau Federation assured reporters, "The governor has told us he'll do everything he can to appoint people who don't represent a special interest." The "special interest" that will not be represented, though, is that of the farm workers. A Teamster representative in San Francisco told a *WV* reporter that his union was satisfied with the bill precisely because it was confident that the composition of the board would favor its interests.

"Fair labor practices" depend on whom you're being fair to. The interests of the working class require breaking the stranglehold of the capitalists and fighting for the independence of the unions from the bosses' state. The power to win the farm workers' struggles lies in mobilizing the organized strength of the working class, and it is precisely this that is outlawed by the new legislation. The Spartacist League has agitated for militant organizing strikes by the UFW (banned under the law), a statewide general strike to defend the Farm Workers, and "hot-cargoing" (labor boycott) of scab agrigultural produce (also outlawed under the new farm labor bill). Chavez accepted these restrictions because he never has had any intention of resorting to a policy of class struggle, preferring instead the impotent liberal tactic of a consumer boycott.

From suing the Teamsters union in the capitalist courts, to fingering undocumented foreign workers to the Immigration Service for deportation, to supporting this bill for state control of the unions, Chavez' policy has consistently been that of cooperation with the class enemy and hostility to working-class independence. Only by ousting the UFW bureaucracy—as treacherous as the most entrenched reactionary professional sellout artists—through a struggle within the unions for a militant class-struggle leadership can lasting victories be won by farm workers. ■

AP

Teamsters and Farm Workers clash at May 12 hearing on farm labor bill in Sacramento.

Fascism: How Not to Fight It

On 15 June 1974 London's Red Lion Square witnessed one of the bloodiest confrontations between police and left-wing forces in recent British history. Countless demonstrators were beaten with police truncheons, a number were trampled under mounted patrols, and one young man, Kevin Gately, was killed by the cops, his head so brutally battered that he died of a cerebral hemorrhage. The occasion was a protest against a rally scheduled by the fascist-inspired National Front.

The NF is one of many extreme-rightist organizations that have been surfacing and spreading in Europe during recent months. Their breeding ground is the fear of economic ruin, in particular an intensified competition for jobs in the wake of a worldwide capitalist economic slump.

As in the past, one of the common fascist themes is race hatred against Jews, blacks and now immigrant workers. Former National Front führer John Tyndall was quoted in 1969 as saying: "the Jew is a poisonous maggot feeding on a body in an advanced state of decay" (*Sunday Times*, 30 March 1969). Along with NF national organizer Martin Webster and others in the group's leadership, Tyndall was during the early 1960's a member of the now-defunct British National Socialist Movement, which called for "deportation of all non-Aryans" from Britain.

While many of these groups seek to put on respectable airs, their aim is to recruit enraged petty-bourgeois and lumpen elements for the purpose of brutally smashing "the reds" and organized labor. As the history of the rise of Nazism tragically demonstrated, it is literally a life-and-death matter for the workers movement to crush such reactionary paramilitary organizations while they are still weak.

With the growth of the NF in recent years (it polled 113,000 votes in last October's parliamentary elections), many leftists and labor militants have understood the need to stop this racialist anti-communist outfit. The occasion for their protest last June was a National Front meeting against the Labour Party government's decision to grant amnesty to persons deemed "illegal immigrants" under the discriminatory 1971 Immigration Act.

Police Riot at Red Lion Square

On the day of the rally, the 1,500 NF marchers drew up in military formation, drums beating and Union Jacks flying. Many of the flags were mounted on steel-pointed poles, some of the marchers were dressed in black shirts while others wore army surplus uniforms. A counterdemonstration of about 1,000 was organized by the Communist Party (CP) and Liberation, with contingents of the International Socialists (IS) and International Marxist Group (IMG).

Trouble began as the anti-fascist demonstrators approached Red Lion Square, occupied (according to the IS account) by about 500 police including mounted patrols. The bourgeois press and police claim the marchers were told in advance to make a right turn as they entered the square, moving away from the meeting hall where the NF rally was to take place. The left organizations say they were told no such thing. In any case it is clear that a section of the march, with the IMG toward the front, sought to break through the police lines to get to Conway Hall.

The police thereupon launched a baton charge, kicking and punching their way into the crowd. As the momentum of the march carried more people into the square, units of the elite Special Patrol Group, notorious for smashing workers' picket lines, were brought in. They formed a wedge and drove through the crowd, splitting it in two.

The fighting intensified as they cornered one section of the marchers in a side street. Then the arrests began. Blood-soaked demonstrators were dragged by their hair to waiting police vans and several bodies were left lying in the square, among them Kevin Gately. Some of the remaining protesters regrouped on the side street and jeered the NF marchers, who were now approaching from a different direction. After a pause of about ten minutes, the police suddenly launched a mounted charge against the leftists, a savage and totally unprovoked attack. The National Front column looked on jubilantly, then paraded triumphantly into Red Lion Square cheering the police and chanting, "We got to get the reds!"

The cops' vicious attack, including an unprovoked horse charge and the death of Kevin Gately, are the responsibility of the Wilson government. Gately's funeral drew thousands of angry marchers and the wanton police assault has been vigorously condemned by numerous socialist and union organizations. Yet, incredibly, the government has sought to blame the left, and in particular the IMG, for the violence! The recently published Scarman Tribunal report rejected most charges of police brutality and denied any responsibility of the cops in Gately's death. This is in spite of the fact that the demonstrators used no weapons, only the police had instruments which could have caused the head wounds (truncheons and horses' hooves), and there were witnesses to the beating. This "report" is a shameless whitewash of what was in fact a police riot.

However, our proletarian solidarity with the victims of bourgeois "law and order" must not be an excuse to cover up serious errors committed by some leaders of the anti-fascist demonstration at Red Lion Square. It is not enough to want to fight fascists—one must know how to do it. A New Left policy of confrontation with police who obviously intended to defend the National Front is not the way.

Socialist Worker

The body of dying Kevin Gately being dragged from London's Red Lion Square.

There is no doubt that the IMG sought to break through police lines in order to arrive in front of the meeting hall. Jackie Stevens, a member of the IMG, gave this report: "We came across a line of police, and behind them were mounted police. When we tried to get through to Conway Hall, the police drew their batons and charged..." (*Intercontinental Press*, 24 June 1974).

It is less clear why the IMG took this dangerously mistaken step. But whatever the prior arrangements with the police; whether demonstrators had made plans beforehand or simply fell into a police trap; if it was bravado or confusion—in any case, the decision to try to push through the police lines was a disastrous move. The fact that the demonstrators lacked any means to defend themselves from the cops' murderous onslaught, while it refutes police theories of a conspiracy to attack the police, only makes this move all the more grievously wrong.

Marxists do not uphold a spurious "right" of fascists to freedom of speech; we call on the labor movement to mobilize to prevent the reactionary terror gangs from spewing out their race-hate poison in mass rallies and by provocations such as their marches in military uniform. But to prevent them from speaking through militant mass action requires a favorable balance of forces—something that was obviously not present in Red Lion Square.

Yes, 20,000 workers could, and should, have prevented the NF from holding its racist meeting. The failure of the unions to mobilize against these anti-labor scum is criminal. But this betrayal cannot be corrected by false heroics, sending several score demonstrators against well-equipped riot police. Not only was one militant killed and many injured, but the National Front scored a significant publicity victory as a result.

"Far Left" Battles Cops in Paris

Unfortunately, such confrontationism is not an isolated phenomenon. In France, while the Stalinists and social democrats systematically abstain from mobilizing the working class against the fascists, the fake "Trotskyists" of the United Secretariat (of which the IMG is the British affiliate) have taken a different approach: adventurist clashes with police protecting the fascists. The classic case of this substitutionism occurred on 21 June 1973.

On that date the Ligue Communiste (now Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire), French section of the USec, organized a counterdemonstration against a rally by the fascist Ordre Nouveau ("New Order"). The ON had for some time been campaigning against "wildcat immigration" with virulently racist rhetoric, and had succeeded in provoking assaults on immigrant workers. They planned to highlight this campaign nationally with a mass rally at the Mutualité meeting hall in Paris.

While traditionally the Paris police had not mobilized heavily in conflicts between the right and left, this time they clearly were preparing to defend Ordre Nouveau. First they looked on as the ON turned the meeting hall into an armed camp, moving

Gamma

Horace

Well-armed police units (right) await left-wing demonstrators (left) in Paris, 21 June 1973.

in van loads of iron pipes, clubs and other assorted weaponry. Then, by the Ligue Communiste's own report, the Mutualité was surrounded by 2,000 police, a veritable army to protect the fascists, waiting for the "far left" demonstrators to make the slightest move.

The LC, which early in the day realized that the police were ready to break up the anti-fascist demonstration, encouraged people to come to the march prepared for a confrontation. The leftists were heavily armed with clubs and molotov cocktails. Thus it was clear from the beginning that the Ligue fully expected a bash with the cops—a battle which, however, they could not possibly win without massive contingents of workers and left militants from all quarters.

When the police cordoned off the area around the hall they were bombarded by incendiaries. The anti-fascist demonstrators then broke up into small groups and long into the night isolated clashes continued throughout the area. While there was no clear military defeat of the leftists, they were unable to do more than harass the cops and did not stop the fascists. The next day, Ligue headquarters were occupied by the police, 25 of its supporters were arrested and the organization was outlawed.

The Spartacist League immediately and vigorously protested this viciously anti-democratic government attack and called for united defense of the Ligue. But we also criticized its adventurist tactics:

> "The Trotskyist movement has a long history of resistance to fascist groups, including attacking and dispersing fascist meetings....In this case, however, the presence of massive police force made the relation of forces unfavorable to the left. It would appear that the Ligue Communiste recklessly entered into an adventurist confrontation by attempting to take on the armed power of the state under circumstances which could lead only to the defeat of the left. The correct tactic, given the government's authorization of the meeting, was to mount a campaign calling on the mass workers organizations...to mobilize tens of thousands of their members to prevent the fascist meeting. In their absence, the Ligue could certainly have organized a mass protest demonstration. This is not the same thing, however, as a futile attempt to overwhelm the police with 1,000 youths."
>
> —"Repeal the Ban on the French Ligue Communiste," *WV* No. 25, 20 July 1973

Portugal: A Hair's Breadth from Disaster

Another instance of stupid guerrillaist confrontation tactics occurred earlier this year in Portugal, where it could easily have had disastrous consequences in an explosive pre-revolutionary situation. On the night of January 25-26 several thousand youth and workers in the northern city of Porto surrounded a meeting hall where the rightist Social Democratic Center (CDS) was holding its national congress. This party's leaders include numerous former officials of the Salazar-Caetano dictatorship.

Four leftist organizations—LUAR, MES, PRP, and LCI—called a demonstration in front of the meeting hall. Their joint communiqué merely announced a protest action. After an hour, however, a second demonstration arrived on the scene, this one led by the OCMLP (Portuguese Communist Organization Marxist-Leninist, a left-Maoist group), which in an attempt to stop the congress proceedings attacked the paramilitary police who were protecting the building (*Esquerda Socialista*, 28 January).

This infantile "heroic" gesture led to baton charges by the special police and a tear gas barrage followed by shots, leaving a dozen demonstrators injured, some seriously. The leftists' only means of defense was to hurl bricks. Then beginning around 8 p.m. the regional military commander sent in several army units. The officer in charge asked the CDS to end the meeting (which it did), while the ranks outside fraternized with the demonstrators.

Due to the hostile attitude of the troops, rightist politicians in the Crystal Palace were afraid to leave the building, however, and during the early morning hours a second paramilitary police unit attacked on horse and in personnel carriers. Soldiers reportedly resisted the police assault. Finally, at 7 a.m. parachutists from a base commanded by conservative officers managed to extract the besieged reactionaries (*Luta Popular*, 2 February; *Revolução*, 7 February).

A demonstration against the CDS congress, particularly if attended by large numbers of workers, could have been useful in exposing the viciously anti-working class and anti-democratic character of this ostensibly moderate party, which is in reality a front for Salazarist forces. Massive militant action by the labor movement in response to open counterrevolutionary activity by such a group could put it out of business.

But the attempt to stop the congress by launching a chaotic unarmed crowd against police guards was perilously dangerous adventurism. Although the CDS did call off its meeting, this was due to the attitude taken by the troop commanders, not to a few hundred demonstrators. And the armed forces' action could very easily have been the opposite, leading to a bloodbath of the anti-fascist militants.

(Although there is great ferment in the army and navy, most of the ranks still have confidence in the "progressive" officers of the Armed Forces Movement. It was by no means assured, or even probable, that the soldiers would have fraternized with anti-CDS demonstrators if explicitly ordered not to. On November 4 of last year, troops commanded by the most leftist officers of the Armed Forces Movement arrested the top leadership of another Maoist group, the MRPP, for attacking a CDS local office.)

A strong show of force against the "far leftists" on January 25-26 would have greatly strengthened reactionary elements in the military who at the time were trying to oust the more leftist top officers, in order to then crush the organized workers movement. The action initiated by the OCMLP-led demonstrators could have sparked a counterrevolutionary mobilization.

Sowing Dangerous Democratic Illusions

It was characteristic of the complacent reformism of the Stalinists and social democrats in the mid and late 1930's that they sought to pressure the bourgeois state into checking the fascists. The workers paid for this criminal passivity with rivers of blood as the jackbooted legions strode to power over the corpse of the organized labor movement.

Today an international capitalist depression is once again generating a host of ultra-right and overtly fascist formations. It would be a serious mistake to pretend, as do some New Left/anarchist elements (along with Gerry Healy), that fascism is "just around the corner." But the reactionary terror gangs are an important weapon in the capitalist arsenal and it is essential for the labor movement to know how to crush them. This is particularly true for the young generation of workers who have never seen the unions smashed, labor leaders jailed and killed, the socialist press banned and the entire proletariat brought to its knees by a bourgeoisie desperate to maintain at all costs its brutal class dictatorship.

The reformists' democratic illusions in the ability and willingness of the bourgeoisie to "control" reactionary ultras are by no means dead and buried, nor restricted to overtly Stalinist and social-democratic organizations. In Boston today it is the ostensibly Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party which leads the liberal/reformist chorus pleading for *federal troops* to protect black school children and communities from racist night riders and lynch mobs.

The centrist European majority of the USec also expresses confidence in the class enemy. The French LCR supports the SWP call for federal troops to Boston (*Rouge*, 5 January). Moreover, after fighting the police all night in the June 1973 Paris anti-fascist demonstration, the Ligue Communiste sent an appeal to "working-class elements" in the Autonomous Federation of Police Unions, asking: "Do you consider it natural [!!] for you to be used to protect fascists and to intervene against strikers struggling to improve their wages and working conditions?" (*Rouge*, 27 June 1973). What Marxist would expect anything else of the hired guns of the capitalist class?!

As for those "workers in police uniforms," Trotsky wrote in "What Next?" (1932) that "The worker who becomes a policeman in the service of the capitalist state is a bourgeois cop, not a worker." Revolutionaries do not appeal to the cops but to the workers movement to smash the reactionary gangs, and demand the expulsion of police from the unions.

The Ligue also called on the French government to ban the Ordre Nouveau meeting, just as the IMG in Britain called on the Labour government to ban the National Front rally. Not only does this foster the dangerous illusion that the bourgeois state can or will stop the fascists (in fact, cops and military officers are often closely connected with fascist groups), but the laws under which it would ban a fascist meeting will be used tomorrow to cancel demonstrations by the "extremist left." The French government's "impartial" banning of both Ordre Nouveau and the Ligue Communiste following the June 1973 clash is a classic example.

United Workers Action, Not New Left Confrontationism

The Marxist policy on how to fight the fascists was stated unambiguously by Leon Trotsky during the 1930's, and directly contradicts the policy of both wings of the United Secretariat. "Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands," states the Transitional Program. And in "War and the Fourth International," Trotsky writes: "To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will."

Trotsky was quite explicit that the task of defense of the workers movement from the reactionary terror gangs was not the job of small groups, but requires united action by the workers and their mass organizations. Our movement has not been passive in the face of fascists, and in 1939 the then-revolutionary SWP called a demonstration to protest a fascist rally at Madison Square Garden in New York. When 50,000 anti-fascist demonstrators arrived, they did not hesitate to break through police lines. Many of the fascists received a good thrashing from the protesters as they left the meeting.

But the perspective of the USec majority is a different one, of "minority violence" by the vanguard as a stimulant to "excite" the workers to follow its example. D. Bensaid, a leader of the LCR, writes that "...acts of minority violence, presently lumped together under the general heading of terrorism, can play their role as a tactical recourse among others within a strategy of conquest of power by the masses" ("Terrorism and Class Struggle"). They may excite Bensaid, but the history of the last century, from the Russian Narodniks to the Tupamaros, has demonstrated the utter impotence of such a policy.

The incidents reported above show clearly that "minority vanguard violence" against police who are protecting fascist and ultra-rightist meetings either has had or easily could have had the most disastrous consequences. It serves to drive the state and the fascists together, precisely the opposite of what revolutionaries seek to achieve. When they are defeated (as usually happens) by the superior force of the state military apparatus such confrontations greatly embolden the reactionaries.

Marxists call for no confidence in the bourgeois state and warn the working people that they must rely on their own forces to protect against the vicious attacks of capitalist reaction. It is possible, even for small groups to play a decisive role in sparking organized workers self-defense actions. But this will not take place through New Left confrontationism but by providing political leadership within the mass organizations of the exploited and oppressed and by building the revolutionary vanguard party capable of leading the workers forward to the conquest of power. Not voluntaristic militarism but a struggle to resolve the crisis of proletarian leadership—this is the only road to victory over fascism!■

Leon Trotsky on Fighting Fascists:

"In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists; it wants to 'arbitrate.'... Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the 'arbiter,' its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point."

—reprinted in *Intercontinental Press*, 2 December 1974

Workers Press

Police cordon guarding the fascist National Front marchers last June.

Spartacist League/*Workers Vanguard* Forum

THE BLACK WORKER AND THE DEPRESSION

Speaker: Paul Collins
Spartacist League
Guest Speaker: Member of Committee for a Militant UAW, Local 1364

Friday, June 6
7:30 p.m.
YMCA—Morgan Lounge
33rd Street & Macdonald
RICHMOND, CALIFORNIA

Violent Wildcats Sweep Province

Quebec Government Seizes Construction Unions

FTQ Capitulates

TORONTO, May 23 A series of wildcat strikes spread across the province of Quebec early this month as construction workers protested the report of the Cliche Commission a government inquiry into the construction industry made public May 6. The Commission urged that four construction locals affiliated with the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ Fédération des Travailleurs du Québec) be put into direct government receivership for a period of three years.

The strikes culminated May 12 in a bloody battle between enraged workers and riot police at a United Aircraft plant in the Montreal suburb of Longueuil. Several hundred workers travelled to the plant site -on strike for the past 16 months by the UAW –from a rally where they had heard FTQ president Louis Laberge denounce the Cliche Commission's findings. Five police cruisers immediately arrived on the scene but were turned over and burned after angry workers forced the cops to leave their cars. Some demonstrators entered the plant, took seven hostages (mostly scabs who had kept the plant running), and demanded that the strike be settled and government legislation against the unions be withdrawn within 48 hours.

Outside the plant, 135 fully equipped riot police shot heavy barrages of tear gas into the crowd. At 1:30 a.m. police prepared to storm the building. When warned of the imminent attack, occupants inside stated over 2-way radio that they were giving up and wanted ten minutes to leave the building quietly. A few minutes later 85 policemen poured into the building carrying truncheons. Jose Ledoux, a radio news reporter taken hostage, broadcast from inside the plant:

> "The occupants tried to surrender and offered no resistance but the police massacred them. They are being rounded up in a corner like cattle and at the moment I am speaking to you the police are beating them with their truncheons on the head, the back and the legs.
> "It is scandalous, unimaginable, ugly and inhuman. It's disgusting, unthinkable, inhuman scenes. They're bleeding from the head, they're piling up bodies like animals. People are moaning everywhere.... people are being massacred."
> *Globe and Mail*, [Toronto], 14 May

At this point police forced Ledoux to stop broadcasting and set up a smokescreen to carry out hostages and occupants—many on stretchers—by a back door. A senior Longueuil police official later said that his men had only used "necessary force against occupants in the plant" (*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 14 May)!

Following the Longueuil incident, wildcat actions intensified with almost all construction work in Quebec grinding to a halt. More and more workers called in sick to protest the vicious beating of the aircraft plant occupants. The government's response was to suspend regular debating rules in the Quebec National Assembly which quickly passed, "in principle," legislation authorizing receivership of the construction unions. The next day, "The QFL put aside its opposition to the trusteeship legislation, sensing that popular opinion is against it on that issue" (*Globe and Mail*, 16 May).

A province-wide FTQ protest strike on May 21 was limited to a single day merely a gesture, not a serious struggle against the viciously anti-labour government.

From the Greased Palm to the Mailed Fist

The construction industry in Quebec is a rat's nest of corruption. One third of the construction firms go bankrupt each year, only to reappear soon afterwards under new names. Last year only 47,009 of 144,000 workers were able to work more than 500 hours. Safety regulations are not enforced. During the height of the 1975 construction season, more than one worker a week was killed on the sites and several more injured. The industry is reportedly controlled by Mafia capital and is infested with graft and patronage.

In this volatile situation, which since 1968 has been characterized by spontaneous explosions of rank-and-file discontent, the government attempted to buy labour peace through the direct bribery of union officials and the promotion of inter-union rivalry. Legal advantages given to the FTQ enabled it to build up a strong network of "stewards" (thugs) whose chief occupation was the raiding of the construction sites of the Confederation of National Trade Unions (CSN Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux) and intimidation of the FTQ workforce. Strife between the FTQ and CSN was the direct cause of violence at the James Bay Hydroelectric site in northern Quebec last year which provided the opportunity for the government to move toward direct control of the construction unions.

The Cliche Commission began its inquiry after a fire at the James Bay site caused $2 million damage. The FTQ tops, headed by "Dede" Desjardins had attempted negotiation of a ten-year no-strike contract in James Bay in return for a monopoly of union representation. When the FTQ failed to have the CSN legally excluded from James Bay, it began a campaign of goon terror which culminated in the fire fourteen months ago.

The government took advantage of the James Bay incident to change its "labour relations" strategy in the construction sector. The greased palm gave way to the mailed fist. The Quebec provincial government of Liberal Robert Bourassa began the Cliche Commission inquiry under the pretext of "fighting corruption" in the construction unions. But the clear purpose is to lay the basis for the repression of the entire Quebec labour movement by promoting the integration of the trade unions into the state apparatus and thereby imposing the "industrial peace" that decades of collusion among the trade-union bureaucracy, the government and the employers have failed to secure.

On 22 May a bill based on the Commission report was passed by the Quebec Assembly. A government-appointed council will run the construction unions, with the power to amend union by-laws and replace union officers. The bill included restrictions on "criminals" holding office; presumption of guilt (guilty until proven innocent) will be used against union leaders prosecuted in connection with illegal strikes or unauthorized work stoppages (wildcats). A proposal for the union hiring hall to be replaced by a "construction agency" composed of representatives of labour, management and government was, however, tabled.

Globe and Mail (Toronto)

Louis Laberge, leader of the Quebec Federation of Labour at rally during one-day province-wide general strike last month in Montreal.

"Anti-Capitalist" Labour Fakers Aid Government Intervention

The Bourassa government's anti-union offensive has been facilitated by the treacherous bureaucratic misleaderships of the labour movement, including the CSN, FTQ and the Quebec Teachers Corporation (CEQ). The head of the inquiry, Judge Robert Cliche, is himself a formal provincial leader of the New Democratic Party, Canada's ultra-reformist social-democratic party. The leaders of the CSN, Marcel Pepin and Michel Chartrand, have given back-handed support to the Cliche Commission because it primarily concerned the "representatives of the American unions" –the CSN's term for the FTQ (which is affiliated with the Canadian Labour Congress and the AFL-CIO). Last year, CSN leaders repeatedly sought court injunctions against FTQ raids.

The Quebec Teachers Corporation even permitted its vice-president, Guy Chevrette, to participate as one of the three members of the Commission. When questioned about Chevrette's involvement, Yvon Charbonneau, president of the CEQ, responded by saying that while many members and officers disagreed with Chevrette's participation on the Commission "the union allows its mem-

hers to publicly dissent"! This criminal position on the decisive question of state control of the unions exposes the complete hollowness of the anti-capitalist rhetoric the CEQ and CSN bureaucrats are so fond of indulging in. Militant workers must demand that the unions maintain absolute independence from the bosses' state agencies, and that all labour officials resign from such government boards and commissions.

The corruption of the FTQ cannot be separated from the pro-capitalist character of the bureaucrats that presently control the trade unions. Those who are willing to sell away the safety, working conditions and economic gains of the rank and file in exchange for favours from the bosses and their government also give political support to the capitalist parties in Quebec and oppose the independent political mobilization of the working class in its own interests. Gangsterism and bribery are an endemic feature of the class collaborationist policies that these labour fakers practice daily.

The corruption of the FTQ bureaucrats must be fought by the rank-and-file unionists themselves. As clearly evidenced by the Quebec government's history of rampant bribery of union officials, the capitalists are hardly interested in "honest" bureaucrats. Bourgeois governments have always intervened to smash the trade-union movement, not to "clean it out."

Thus, for instance, the McClellan hearings led by Robert Kennedy against the Teamsters union in the late 1950's—the first implementation of the U.S. capitalists' "anti-corruption" Landrum-Griffin Act—were a thinly disguised effort to weaken the leadership of a powerful union, using the convenient guise of "fighting corruption." A decade later the U.S. Labor Department's open backing of Arnold Miller as the "honest" candidate for the presidency of the United Mine Workers succeeded in heading off a rising class militancy by placing in office a bureaucrat who talked "left" but was only too willing to sacrifice the interests of mine workers on the altar of class collaboration. While reformist and centrist socialist groups in the U.S. fell into line behind the Labor Department, backing the "honest reformer" Miller against the corrupt Tony Boyle, the Spartacist League refused to support class collaboration with the capitalist state.

Class Struggle or Class Collaboration?

The Quebec working class is currently the most militant and class-conscious on the continent. In past weeks it has defied its leaders to register an outraged protest against government takeover of the construction unions. Unlike the disgusting raiding tactics of the construction bureaucrats, strong sentiments for class solidarity have been repeatedly demonstrated, as in 1971 when rank-and-file pressure created the Common Front, a unity of the FTQ, CSN and CEQ to fight for a single contract for Quebec government employees. Struggle around this issue led in May 1972 to a massive general strike of 110,000—the largest in the history of North America.

Like the recent wildcats against government intervention, the 1972 strike was a direct offensive against the government. Strikers demanded unconditional release of three union presidents jailed in connection with the government employees' strike and withdrawal of legislation which would outlaw strikes in the public sector. A situation of embryonic dual power emerged as the Common Front virtually ran some of the towns. But the strike dissipated through lack of a principled and united leadership: within six months the Common Front was disbanded due to internal squabbling and the bureaucrats felt safe to return to their usual capitalist party electioneering.

The tremendous militancy of the Quebec working class can achieve lasting gains only through the development of a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions. Corruption and class treason of the labour movement will end only when the labour lieutenants of capital who now dominate the workers movement are replaced by a leadership committed to a real socialist program, something that goes far beyond the phony anti-capitalist rhetoric of the Laberges, Charbonneaus and Pepin/Chartrands. Such a leadership would not crawl before the bribes of the capitalist class because it could only come to power through mobilization of class-conscious ranks and because of its unequivocal commitment to a program of working-class independence, from refusal to participate on government commissions or sue the unions in the capitalist courts to complete expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers government.

Immediately, the offensive of the Quebec government demands a swift response by the labour movement: a complete mobilization of the militant ranks of the FTQ, CSN and CEQ. A general strike of Quebec labour could bring the government to its knees, smash the trusteeship imposed on the construction unions and prevent similar intervention in the future.

Government out of the union movement!

For a province-wide general strike to smash the trusteeship!

For a class-struggle leadership in the trade unions!

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

BUFFALO ..... (716) 882-3863
c/o SYL, Box 6,
Norton Union, SUNYAB,
Buffalo, NY 14214

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

ITHACA ..... (706) 277-3211
c/o SYL, P.O. Box 578
Ithaca, NY 14850

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 879-7623
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

Keystone Press

Painting depicting Lenin arriving at Finland Station, after crossing Germany in famous "sealed train." (Stalin is faked in behind him.) On arrival Lenin called on the working class to take power. Ever since bourgeois and social-democratic propagandists have accused the Bolsheviks of being agents of the Kaiser.

Lenin and German Gold

Talk of the "international communist conspiracy" is usually associated with J. Edgar Hoover, Dr. Tom Dooley, Barry Goldwater and other relics/remnants of the cold war. But with the U.S. increasingly on the defensive lately, professional liberal anti-communist pundits are seeking to revive the shibboleth of "outside agitators" and gold from Moscow. In a scurrilous article on the West German Baader-Meinhof neo-anarchists in the *New York Times Magazine* (11 May), Melvin J. Lasky concludes there was no bankrolling by foreign powers *in this case*. But often there is, he adds, "and occasionally it is decisive."

Proof? What we get next is the long-deceased and utterly discredited German gold slander against Lenin and the Bolsheviks!

> "We know now that Lenin in exile received millions from the Kaiser's secret political fund and that the money helped finance a plethora of Bolshevik publications."

"We know" that, do we? And how do we know? Lasky offers no evidence, but to allay suspicions of partiality he immediately demonstrates his evenhandedness:

> "We also know that the CIA in the postwar years secretly supported many activities that helped stabilize Western European security and 'destabilize' the Communist and neo-Marxist European left."

Now here is knowledge more believable! Lasky ought to know what he is talking about because he is co-editor of *Encounter*, a British magazine published by the Congress of Cultural Freedom, a liberal anti-communist outfit which for years was funded by the CIA. (See Victor Marchetti's *CIA and the Cult of Intelligence*, p. 49.)

Like Dr. Goebels, the Nazis' master propagandist, Lasky understands the simple technique of the Big Lie: tell it often. In addition to the Baader-Meinhof article, a recent book on *The Sealed Train* (by Michael Pearson) and an article on "German Money and Bolshevik Honour" by Joel Carmichael in *Encounter* (March 1974) have recently elaborated the theme that the "Bolshevik putsch" (the October Revolution) was really a plot by the Kaiser. Carmichael assures us that he at first thought the charges against Lenin were "corny"; but he was, he says, "convinced" by the "hard evidence" that the "German subsidy" was "decisive" in forming Bolshevik policy.

All the "hard evidence" is contained in a slim volume of documents from the archives of the German Foreign Ministry, edited by Z. A. B. Zeman and published in 1958 under the title, *Germany and the Revolution in Russia, 1915-1918*. These papers are interesting insofar as they reveal the cloak-and-dagger intrigues of Prussian diplomats, but supply nothing even remotely resembling damning evidence against the Bolsheviks. Assuming the authenticity of the documents, they "prove" what is generally accepted: that German imperialism was interested in immobilizing the eastern front in order to transfer troops to the western battlefields, and that they tried to funnel money to Russian defeatists and pacifists whose agitation they perceived to be in the German military interest.

The facts are that far from having a "plethora" of Berlin-financed publications during the exile period, the Bolsheviks had trouble even getting out their monthly newspaper; that a collection of articles by Lenin and Zinoviev (*Against the Stream*) had to be circulated clandestinely in Germany because of censorship; that Trotsky was sentenced *in absentia* by a German court for his pamphlet "The War and the International." Moreover, there is not a shred of evidence that the Bolsheviks received a single Reichsmark; not one sentence in one document shows Lenin on the take.

Even if it could be proved that Lenin did get his hands on some German money, those who would argue that the Bolsheviks were the instruments of the Kaiser's imperialist designs must show that Bolshevik policy was influenced by German gold. But Lasky, Carmichael and Pearson are unable to prove either charge. They are reduced to printing as "evidence" the tired gossip of such "impartial" sources as the bitter anti-Bolsheviks Eduard Bernstein and Kerensky.

Then there are the innuendos: Why did Lenin "take to his heels" to hide in July when the Kerensky government ordered his arrest as an agent of the Central Powers? Did he have something to hide—after all, "Lenin risked absolutely nothing but imprisonment" (Sukhanov, quoted by Carmichael). On the very razor edge of world history it is suggested that Lenin risk a jail sentence (actually execution) to

continued on page 10

Class-Struggle Candidates Challenge Reformists at River Rouge

Anti-Woodcock Sentiment in Detroit UAW Elections

DETROIT—Elections for local officers held in most UAW locals here recently reflected growing dissatisfaction in the ranks with the criminal inaction and betrayals of Leonard Woodcock's Solidarity House bureaucracy. After smashing a spate of wildcat strikes in 1973, including mobilizing 1,000 official goons to break a small sitdown strike at Chrysler's Mack Avenue stamping plant in August of that year, the Woodcock leadership signed a contract with a 3-percent (!) wage increase and no protection against layoffs. Immediately massive layoffs hit the industry during the so-called "energy crisis."

Since then, as layoffs in auto worsened and a general economic downturn set in, Woodcock hastened to lament dwindling corporate profits and the rising market share of foreign autos. Mobilizing the union's powerful 1.5 million-strong membership in strike action to stop the layoffs and fight for the union's stated goal of a shorter workweek at no loss in pay was, for the UAW misleaders, totally out of the question. Now, as the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression promises only to get worse for auto workers—despite predictions by bourgeois economists of a pickup later this year—Woodcock continues to preach reliance on capitalist politicians and pressure on the bosses' government.

Ford River Rouge plant in Detroit.

WV

The elections were highlighted by evidence that the auto union ranks remember these betrayals and are receptive to oppositionists of various hues. In many locals incumbent administrations were dumped and in others challengers made a strong showing, including ostensible radicals and explicitly anti-Woodcock groupings. These encouraging signs pointing to sentiment for a class-struggle opposition to the dominant bureaucratic reformism were marred, however, by the rampant opportunism and reformism of most of the challengers themselves. Indeed, the elections showed that while the betrayals by the leadership have not been forgotten by the workers, neither have opportunism and mistakes of many of the oppositionists.

In Dodge Truck, Local 140, incumbent President Arthur Harvey was dumped by two challengers, Nate Gooden and Steve Smith, who were thrown into a run-off. Harvey was identified with support for the last contract (in a local which rejected it twice); for weakening the token 1973 Chrysler strike, by letting outside-contracted workers cross picket lines; and for helping break a massive, three-day wildcat strike in June 1974 over bad conditions and the firing of a steward.

Smith was a key leader of the wildcat, and a victim of heavy red-baiting in the Detroit press at the time of the strike. His personal record in the plant helped garner him nearly 1,000 votes, but the Workers Unity slate of which he was a part had an abysmally minimalist program: "Organize to fight attacks by Chrysler. Make the Local hall a workers fortress and Unite with other workers to deal with our common problems inside and outside the factory." The slate was supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Union.

In the Mack Avenue Local 212, the 1973 sit-down and goon squad were a key issue. Inspired by open supporters of Progressive Labor Party/Workers Action Movement, the 1973 strike had very little real support in the plant, making the bureaucracy's strikebreaking work easier. During the election, the incumbents denounced the strike as a "commie takeover," and tried to identify the oppositional United National Caucus (UNC) slate with WAM, despite the latter's lack of presence or intervention in the election.

The UNC's response opposed the goon squad while characterizing the WAM action as an adventure, and denounced bureaucratic anti-communism. The rest of the UNC program, however, was utterly reformist: for democratic unionism and membership participation. Damaged by the legacy of WAM adventurism, the UNC slate received only 20 to 30 percent of the vote. Thus the election demonstrated both the poisonous results for the left of idiot adventurism and at the same time the inability of reformist opportunism to overcome bureaucratic anti-communism.

The UNC, which is uncritically tailed after by the reformist International Socialists (IS), was the biggest single oppositional grouping in the elections, with supporter groups or individuals running in five locals. The UNC is anti-Woodcock, setting it apart from a number of run-of-the-mill, pro-machine bureaucratic oppositions, but it has always been a grouping of would-be bureaucrats with a reformist program parochially centered on the UAW. Its formal "program" ("30 for 40," industry nationalizations, labor party, etc.) is always opportunistically buried or dropped altogether when getting elected is at stake. As a result, its individual leaders once in office become virtually indistinguishable from the rest of the bureaucracy. Ironically, the UNC's opportunism both helped and hindered it in this election: in some locals it cornered the opposition vote, but in the Tool and Die Unit of Local 600 (the giant Ford River Rouge complex) UNC incumbent president Al Gardner got caught in a general anti-leadership sweep in which nine of the 14 unit leaderships in Local 600 were dumped! The skilled-trades tool and die unit is traditionally the UNC's base.

The UNC generally has been moving to the right in recent months in preparation for the elections. Thus it was Gardner and the UNC Unemployed Committee (dominated by supporters of the IS brand of social-democratic reformism) which recently sponsored a demonstration under the slogan, "Ford Work for Ford Workers," which was aimed at keeping work at River Rouge which the company wanted to send—not even to Japan or to a non-union shop—but to a UAW Budd plant in Philadelphia!

This criminal parochialism and company protectionism was matched by blatant exclusionism at a UNC demonstration against unemployment on April 3. UNC slogans included a shorter workweek at no loss in pay and independent labor political action, but also a demand for *cutting* (not eliminating) the military budget. When the Spartacist League showed up to participate in the demonstration with its own slogans, the "militant" UNC leadership was offended by our demands for expropriation of industry without compensation and for workers control.

UNC leaders demanded that the SL take down its signs. Upon our refusal, UNC co-chairman Pete Kelley demanded that we leave the demonstration entirely, saying that the UNC didn't want to be associated with socialist organizations. This was immediately supported by UNC Unemployed Committee leader Mark Levitan, a supporter of IS views!

The UNC electoral programs made no mention of broader social and political issues facing the working class, such as busing, which is looming on the Detroit horizon, or the need to stop deportations of undocumented foreign-born workers. The most radical UNC campaign, that of Dave McCollough, another sympathizer of IS politics, for president of Local 869, broke out of trade-union parochialism only far enough to call for the nationalization of Chrysler under workers control and for a labor party. (He identified the latter with European reformist labor parties, saying that "In Sweden, for example, the unions have been running the country for years." This not only completely blurs the class character of capitalist Sweden, but implies that the unions ought to have as their goal running the capitalist state for the benefit of the bosses!)

Unlike other UNC campaigns, however, McCullough ran alone, not in coalition with assorted bureaucratic aspirants, and made an attempt to represent the usually forgotten UNC "program" in his campaign. For this he was rewarded not with the humiliating defeat one would expect from the opportunist UNC viewpoint, but with the best vote percentage of all the UNC campaigns except Al Gardner: one third of the vote (509 votes to the incumbent's 1,012).

In the Chrysler Jefferson Ave. Assembly plant, Local 7, the Jefferson Avenue Revolutionary Union Movement (JARUM) slate, which is supported by the Stalinist Communist Labor Party, ran on a program which represented a refreshing change from narrow UNC opportunism, but still fell far short of a class-struggle program. JARUM insisted on support to busing, calling on workers to "Smash the KKK, the Nazi party and other fascist gangs." The program, however, failed to mention any way to implement its demand that Jefferson, which Chrysler has threatened to close, be kept open. It also revealed abysmally reformist dependence on the federal government, reflected in demands for government subsidies to provide jobs and implementation of federal health and safety legislation.

Only in the Dearborn Assembly Plant (DAP) unit of Local 600 did two candidates, Keith Dodds and Jerry Harris, running for president and vice-president respectively, put forward a principled class-struggle program. The unit's incumbent president (and subsequent victor in the runoff election), Hank Wilson, is a demagogic militant who claims to be for a labor party and other "left" positions in the abstract, while

toeing the Solidarity House line on every important question. Wilson supported Woodcock for re-election at the last convention and supported the incumbent Local and International leaderships in his current campaign (as did his opponent Ross). Only Dodds and Harris pointed to the futility of an oppositional or radical "local program" within the context of support for the reformist bureaucracy as a whole.

In contrast to the bureaucratic slates, the UNC, and CLP- and RU-supported slates in other locals, Dodds and Harris called for using the strike weapon—including factory occupations to stop mass layoffs or plant closures—to struggle for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. Dodds and Harris also campaigned for the UAW to take the lead in mass organization of the unemployed, for citizenship rights for foreign workers (against deportations), and for international working-class solidarity—against economic protectionism, imperialist wars and interventions and against the UAW holding Israeli war bonds.

Dodds and Harris made a particular effort to raise the busing issue, putting out a special leaflet during the campaign, calling for defense of busing through labor-black defense and extension of busing to Detroit's "white donut" ring of suburbs. This principled stand was appreciated by many black workers in the plant—even the "militant" Wilson refused to mention the issue—but, Dodds told a *WV* reporter, "undoubtedly cost us many white votes." Pointing to the need for a break with Democrats and Republicans, and for a workers party based on the trade unions, Dodds and Harris avoided the reformism of the UNC by calling for a workers government to implement expropriation of large corporations. Without this as its fundamental goal, a labor party could turn out to be merely an alternative means of tying the workers to ("reformed") capitalism.

The DAP campaign was marred by two examples of the grossest "dirty politics" which characterize most trade-union elections. An obviously fraudulent leaflet purportedly in support of Wilson's white opponent Ross, signed by the "klan" and "White Citizen's Council," could only have been the work of an anonymous Wilson supporter.

Another leaflet by the crackpot National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC) ran pictures of Dodds and Harris under a huge headline, "These are FBI Agents." Incredibly, the leaflet condemned Dodds and Harris for their stand on busing while also apparently confusing them with the RU, which opposes busing! The gross slander received no response in the plant, and Wilson (who was opportunistically supported in the NCLC leaflet) issued a principled statement repudiating any charges that Dodds or Harris were FBI agents, and affirming freedom of political expression within the union.

Running for the first time, Dodds and Harris received 126 (6 percent) and 280 (15 percent) votes respectively. The lower total was in the hotly contested presidential race and reflected the fact that many workers felt the right-wing candidate must be defeated at all costs. Dodds and Harris refused to capitulate to this "lesser evil" sentiment, and it is significant that they won sufficient support to force a runoff election for president.

A leaflet by Dodds and Harris pointed to the significance of their campaign: "For a change, someone is running not on a watered down vote-catching basis, or avoiding controversial issues for the sake of temporary popularity, but is instead posing the fundamental tasks the UAW must take up to oppose the mounting attacks of [Ford] and the government." It is only such a principled course, not opportunist aping of the reformist bureaucracy, that is capable of forging a class-struggle leadership for the trade unions and taking them forward, under the leadership of a revolutionary vanguard party, on the road to victory over capitalism.■

Who Do They Think They're Kidding?

SWP "Explains" Gangster Attacks

The anti-communist campaign of slander, exclusionism and thuggery being carried out by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) against the Spartacist League as well as individual trade-union militants, has recently led to public assassin-baiting of the SL and a physical assault upon three longshore union militants who protested the exclusion of the SL at the May 2 Militant Labor Forum in San Francisco. The excuses put forward by the SWP are so outrageously fraudulent and despicable that a number of organizationally unaffiliated individuals and known SWP sympathizers have joined with the SL in denouncing this pattern of smear tactics and hooliganism (see "Denounce SWP Gangsterism!" *WV* No. 69, 23 May).

Only concerned with deodorizing the stench of its Stalinist-style thuggery now that even its own periphery is gagging on the vile slanders, the SWP has at last come forth with an official "explanation" of its new policy of excluding all SL supporters from SWP forums in the Bay Area. This is contained in a greasy fabrication entitled "Spartacist League Thugs Attack SF Forum" (*Militant*, 6 June).

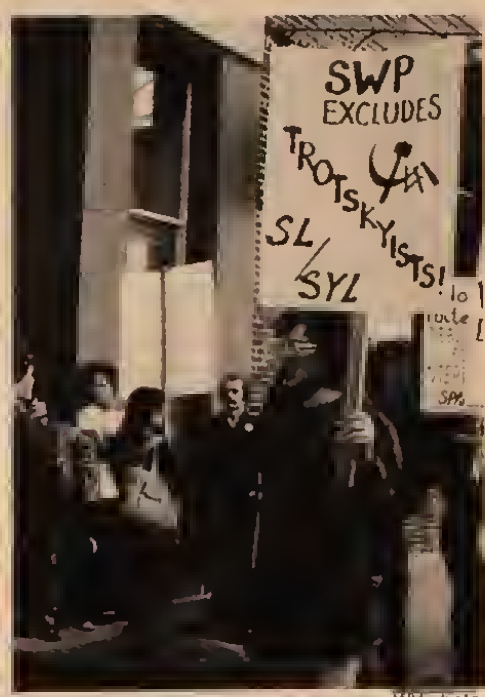
Dredging the septic tank of social democracy, this foul "reply" avoids answering any of the charges leveled by the SL and numerous unaffiliated individuals who have vehemently protested the SWP's contemptuous violations of workers democracy. Concerning our alleged role as accomplices to would-be counterrevolutionary assassins, the *Militant* dares not "explain" the fact that several SL supporters rushed to the defense of SWP co-thinker Juan Carlos Coral during the gusano attack in Chicago, nor that subsequently the SWP on its own initiative solicited the assistance of the SL to defend Coral forums in Los Angeles and New York City. Indeed, the prepared statement assassin-baiting the SL which was read at the May 2 San Francisco forum is so indefensible and damaging to the SWP that the *Militant* "reply" refrains from repeating its content. Moreover, the Bay Area SWP has failed to provide the SL with a copy despite repeated requests.

The SWP also has not bothered to identify the five SL supporters who allegedly "disrupted" Coral forums in the Bay Area in March or to detail the incidents of so-called "disruption." And the *Militant* does not explain why the SWP continues to deny the SL permission to make a copy of the tape upon which it recorded the May 2 forum, including the allegedly "disruptive" intervention of the three ILWU union militants and the SWP's response.

Cynically portraying the SWP as an ever-so-tolerant and victimized champion of workers democracy, the *Militant* resorts to open red-baiting, viciously slandering the union militants as "SL representatives" and "SL hooligans." With well-practised consummate hypocrisy the *Militant* piously intones, "Members of the Spartacist League have always been welcome to ask questions and make comments at the Militant Labor Forums, along with everyone else in the audience, provided only that they abide by time limits, confine their discussion to the discussion period, and respect the right of others to speak."

We rub our eyes in disbelief! Who does the *Militant* think will swallow this? For years the SL in its press and in leaflets has exposed and documented unending incidents of SWP exclusionism and suppression of the "question and comments" of the SL and other working-class tendencies critical of the SWP at its so-called "public" forums and conferences. Instances of such bureaucratic chicanery must be known to virtually every SWP member. Smarting at the sting of Trotskyist criticism, the SWP has long "welcomed" the SL by shouting down our speakers during "discussion" periods, routinely refusing to recognize known SL supporters (even if they are the only ones seeking the floor) and even physically excluding our comrades and supporters from "public" events on a number of occasions.

The *Militant* asserts that at the March



WV photo

19 Coral forum in San Jose the SL "yelled loudly" and "interrupted other speakers." It was not the SL but the SWP entourage that yelled loudly and interrupted a woman, duly recognized by the SWP chairman, who, after identifying herself as a member of the Committee for a Militant UAW (Local 1364), raised pointed political criticisms of Coral based on the SL leaflet which she received at the door. As the fuming SWP chairman red-baited this militant, and arch-demagogue Coral tirade against the SL, heaping slander upon slander, the SL supporters sat silently with hands raised waiting for the chair to "welcome" their "questions and comments." A full 30 minutes later, as the chairman was clearly preparing to end the meeting, an SL member rose, after Coral had finished a reply, to ask why the chair was refusing to recognize known SL spokesmen. SWP supporters began shouting before he even completed one sentence, and a goon squad immediately rushed him. At this and the subsequent forums, the SWP deliberately disrupted the meetings to prevent any voicing of criticisms of the reformist Coral and the SWP's bureaucratic exclusionism.

The other "example" of alleged SL "disruption" mentioned in the *Militant* article was the July 1971 National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) meeting, where the SL is accused of joining Progressive Labor "in a violent attempt to break up"

continued on next page

I attended the National Peace Action Coalition at Hunter College held on the 4 July 1971 weekend. At that time I was a member of the Socialist Workers Party and had previously been a member of the Southern Regional Executive Committee of the Young Socialist Alliance. I was also a "marshal" at the conference.

Every group has the right to develop a defense guard to prevent its meetings from being disrupted, but the NPAC "marshals" did not form such a group. They were virtually entirely selected on the basis of their support for the SWP, and those individuals hostile to the SWP's politics were consciously excluded as I was told at the time by an SWP leader. Thus they were not present to insure that democratic procedures would be followed, but rather to insure that the SWP's policies were adopted, even if this meant that they themselves would be the disruptive force.

The SWP had decided before the meeting that U.S. Senator Vance Hartke would speak along with Victor Reuther, a leader of the UAW. When the Spartacist League challenged the SWP's agenda, called for the removal of Hartke and called for discussion and vote on its motion, the chairman (an SWP member) ruled the motion out of order on the grounds that "the meeting had not yet started." Thus from the very beginning, the SWP, not the SL or the Progressive Labor Party, disrupted the democratic functioning of the meeting.

Denied this right by the SWP, both PL and the SL proceeded to heckle Hartke and in general, keep him from speaking. While PL additionally attempted to shout Reuther down, the SL chanted "Labor Strikes Against the War" about three times and then sat down. As the PL chanting began to wane, SWP head marshal Fred Halstead suddenly led a select group of SWP marshals against PL, an activity which brought the other SWP-selected marshals into the attack as well. The SL leader at the conference clearly stated that the SL was walking out on its own accord. Despite this, marshals attacked the SL as well, resulting in several injuries to the SL members present. I repeat, the SWP itself was the group that disrupted the meeting by ruling out of order any call for discussion and vote on its previously selected agenda, and SWP leader Fred Halstead, not PL or the SL, began the physical attack.

Paul Abbot
31 May 1975

Letter from ILWU Militants to San Francisco State Student Newspaper

We understand that the Young Socialist Alliance is active on the State campus and recently ran an election campaign for student government. We believe that the student movement must be closely linked to the workers' movement. Thus we feel it's appropriate to communicate our experience with the YSA SWP's strategy for the working class.

Last Friday night (2 May) we attended a public forum given by the SWP YSA on Chile. We had been very active in a boycott of Chilean goods undertaken by our union, the ILWU, for two days last fall in defense of the Chilean working class. So we were particularly anxious to talk to the guest speaker who is active in the Chilean underground. However, we were physically assaulted and thrown out of the meeting.

Why? After we arrived, a picket line was set up in front of the meeting by the SL SYL (Spartacist League & Spartacus Youth League). They were protesting the fact that they were being physically excluded even though the forum was public. When the meeting began, one of us rose to question the exclusion. We pointed out that during the dock boycott the SL SYL was the only left group outside the union to actively support and build it. They picketed the *Santa Maria* in SF and LA. The SWP YSA itself was nowhere to be seen. Thus we felt the SL SYL would have much to contribute to any discussion on Chile.

The chairwoman responded by announcing there would be no debate on the exclusion till after the speaker, assuring in effect that the SL SYL couldn't participate. She then read a statement which accused the SL SYL of disrupting meetings addressed by the Argentine socialist Coral, which actions set him up for assassination! The SWP statement asserted that the SL had become far more aggressive than in the past, and this "Would have given any assassin a chance to do his work," and it became clear it was "the intent of the SL to do that"!

When we arose again to protest this in light of the highly principled work of the SL SYL in defense of the Chilean working class and to demand that they be permitted to attend, we were jumped. Nine of them attacked three of us, punching and shoving. One of us was thrown to the ground and choked. For a moment they threatened to throw us down a flight of stairs. In all our experience in the labor movement, we've rarely seen even the most reactionary trade union bureaucrat use such violence to silence dissent.

We believe in principle that the only way the workers movement can arrive at the strategy it needs to win a workers' government is through full and open debate within the workers movement. Exclusion and physical attacks are the methods used by union bureaucrats who support the capitalist government's policies to suppress militants. Implications that militants are actually CIA FBI operatives are currently a favorite ploy of union bureaucrats who themselves for years never seriously opposed the policies carried out by the CIA FBI.

The lessons of Chile are vital to the workers and oppressed throughout the world. As the result of mistaken policies in the workers movement which preached confidence in the liberal representatives of capitalism and the peaceful reform of the state, tens of thousands are dead. To prevent a repeat in countries like Portugal or the US itself, the lessons must be carefully drawn. By physically attacking union militants active in defense of the Chilean working class and excluding a left political organization from the discussion on Chile, we believe the SWP YSA disqualifies itself as a leader either of the working class or its ally, the radical student movement.

Bob Mandel
Pete Farrugio

SWP "Explains" Gangster Attacks

(continued from page 9)

the convention "because they didn't agree with what some of the speakers were saying." At that meeting supporters of the SL and PL SDS verbally protested the keynote address of imperialist politician Vance Hartke and labor bureaucrat Victor Reuther. The SWP responded by viciously assaulting the PLers. When the SL rose to defend the victims of this goon attack and then announced we were leaving the meeting in protest against the thuggery, our comrades were also set upon by the NPAC "marshals" (see statement below by a former SWPer who was a member of the NPAC goon squad). A classic example of the SWP's protective attitude toward capitalist politicians was provided by the recent April 26 jobs rally in Washington. When over 1,000 justly angry workers drowned out the cackling Hubert Humphrey with chants of "Jobs Now!" the SWP shrieked "disruption" and proffered its services to the labor skates as "marshals" with experience in keeping such crowds under control.

For the SL workers democracy is a principled question, and we are determined to struggle to uphold the rights of all working-class militants and tendencies, including our own, in any meeting open to the public. We call upon all left and labor organizations to do likewise and demand that the SWP repudiate its cop-baiting, assassin-baiting, red-baiting, and exclusionism and thuggery at once!■

German Gold...

(continued from page 7)

"clear himself" of concocted charges. Lenin knew better, and responded in the Bolshevik press: "there is no guarantee of justice...in the hands of infuriated counter-revolutionists for whom the whole accusation against us is a mere episode in a civil war" (quoted by Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*).

And what about the "sealed train"? Lenin made no attempt to hide the fact that his journey to the Finland Station from exile in Switzerland went through Germany in a train provided by the German government. There were no commitments and no other way to get there. But Carmichael finds a hidden "logic" sufficient to convict Lenin of being an instrument of German imperialism: "if he accepted a train from Ludendorff, why should he not accept money?" Michael Pearson extends this "logic" to conclude that there must have been a conference between Lenin and German Foreign Office officials while the train passed through Berlin, and that Lenin's famous "April Theses" calling on the Russian workers to overthrow the Provisional Government were cooked up as a result of this interview. Once again, proof is considered superfluous.

Behind all the slimy innuendo and totally unsubstantiated charges is one of the main Big Lies of reactionaries everywhere: social disorder and revolutions are plots hatched by the enemies of "our country." The Paris communards were agents of Bismarck, Lenin was in the pay of the Kaiser, Trotsky was a tool of the Mikado, etc. The best answer to such drivel was provided by the Russian Revolution itself and the untiring efforts of the Bolshevik party under Lenin and Trotsky to spark a revolution in Germany. As Trotsky put it in a speech on 17 July 1917:

> "Lenin has fought thirty years for the revolution. I have fought twenty years against the oppression of the people. And we cannot but cherish hatred for German militarism.... A suspicion against us in that direction could be expressed only by those who do not know what a revolutionist is."

For a Citywide Strike Against Layoffs!

(continued from page 12)

employees given union seniority rights.)

When the pressure mounts from the union's ranks on whose political support and dues the labor bureaucracy rests, even the conservative labor leadership is forced into taking some kind of action thus Gothaum's "labor boycott" of Citibank. After caving in to the city in December, Gothaum announced he was joining the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee to "work to make good men like Paul O'Dwyer understand the human suffering the crisis is causing." Now that Gothaum has been successful—O'Dwyer pulled his personal savings out of Citibank—presumably the crisis is solved! The program of social democracy is to pressure the bourgeoisie for reforms; in bad times like the current depression this class collaboration is translated into *giving up* gains won in the past. The role that Victor Gotbaum will surely play this time around was already demonstrated in his leadership of the farcical 1971 bridge tenders' strike, which he called off after two days, losing every demand in order to avoid a fight with city hall.

Cops are Workers' Enemies

AFSCME's Gotbaum after announcing he was through with making contractual concessions turned around and said that "the unions have to give up some of the crap they got at the bargaining table. They never should have got some of it" (*New York Times*, 23 May). In response Kenneth McFeeley, president of the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association, said: "If his workers are happy to give up anything, I'm happy for him. But I won't concede any part of my contract nor will I ask my membership to do so."

In the past six months it has been only the head of the PBA who has even put a credible front of opposition to Beame, rejecting plans for cuts in benefits and hours which the unions accepted. The total subservience of the union leaders may have deluded many workers into believing that McFeeley and the PBA will be the strongest defenders of the unions. The opposite is true. Soaring crime rates which accompany economic slumps mean that more than ever the capitalist class needs armed bodies of men to protect its property and to prevent social unrest. It is the PBA's ability to exploit this situation which accounts for its present "militancy." The gains of the police "union" will never benefit organized labor, but will be used instead to smash it.

Since December the PBA has been fighting to abolish the city's wage-parity scale (under which firemen receive the same pay as cops, and sanitation workers get 90 percent of "parity"), insisting that police alone should get higher pay. And during the 1974 Baltimore city workers' strike, cops who are in the same union—AFSCME—arrested sanitation men who were defending the picket line from scabs! The police, the direct arm of the capitalist class are not part of the working class and should be kicked out of the unions and all labor organizations!

Cancel the Debt, Expropriate the Banks

Victor Gotbaum's "discovery" that the banks write the songs the politicians sing is itself an old populist tune. But the current New York City financial crisis is more than just a shell game or a Rockefeller-masterminded conspiracy. Crackpot populist schemes to boycott or tax the banks can never make them change their policies for the bankers are capitalists, and function largely irrespective of an individual's will. Faced with the need to make profits or go bankrupt, the logic of their own situation in an economic crisis means the capitalists can only respond by trying to slash labor costs and prevent social unrest through cracking down on the unions, controlling them and ultimately smashing them if necessary.

Similarly, suggestions for cutting down on the military budget and re-allocating it to New York as proposed by the Communist Party (as if the military budget to oppress the working masses of the world would be okay if New York wasn't broke) —or the old Labor Committee slogan, now adopted by the Socialist Workers Party, for a debt moratorium—leave the capitalist system untouched. Lest anyone should fear that the ex-Trotskyist SWP is trying to sneak in an attack on the profit system leading to the seizure of power, these reformists made sure their call for a debt moratorium specified *when the moratorium would end*!

> "This much is obvious: the starting point for solving the crisis of the cities cannot be the payment of bank profits. It has to be improving the communities themselves and providing jobs. Until there are viable programs to answer these needs, there should be a complete moratorium on bank debts."
>
> —*Militant*, 30 May

For 1975 the city owes the banks $1.8 billion dollars in debt service, almost twice the amount of the cash flow deficit being used to justify the threatened 67,000 layoffs. Instead of "solutions" which would allow banks to continue their exploitation once the crunch is eased, the debt should be cancelled in its entirety. The banks cannot be reformed or pressured. The only way out of the financial crisis is the expropriation of the banks and all major industry, without compensation—not as an attack merely on the Republicans, or as part of a giant "anti-monopoly coalition" containing everybody including the mayor, but as part of the program for the overthrow of the capitalist system by a workers government.

For a City-Wide Strike Against Layoffs

As Gotbaum should have learned on last month's March on Washington, the very act of mobilizing the labor movement brings with it an explosive potential which constantly threatens to rush beyond its leaders' limited aims. Thus the AFL/CIO was forced to halt its own rally when angry unionists shouted down the capitalist politicians Hubert Humphrey and Bella Abzug. But despite the clear appetite for struggle visible in Washington, without a clear program and leadership it could go nowhere (except a few times around second base).

The social democrats and the Stalinists must be replaced by a leadership based on methods of militant class struggle and a program to break the unions' political ties with the Democratic Party through the independent mobilization of labor in its own party. The main obstacle in this struggle is the misleaders such as Gotbaum who today stand at the head of the unions. The key focus now is for the organizing of a general strike of all city workers against the layoffs. In addition a class-struggle leadership would fight for massive programs of public works at union scale and under control of the labor movement; for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay to open up significant numbers of new jobs; for unlimited, unconditional unemployment compensation for all at union wages; and for amalgamating welfare, unemployment and social security programs into a single fund at the highest rates.

—Cancel the Debt—Expropriate the Banks, No Compensation!

—For a City-Wide General Strike Against Layoffs!

—Break with the Democrats and Republicans—Build a Workers Party Based on the Unions to Fight for a Workers Government!

Pathet Lao ...

(continued from page 1)

nam began to desert the sinking Thieu regime, carefully hoarded Vietnamese gold had to be exchanged for more easily transportable U.S. dollars. The Laotian thieves jumped at the chance to clean up through speculating in gold and began to funnel every available U.S. dollar out of the country and into Vietnam. As a result, the kip (the Laotian unit of currency) was tremendously devalued and an already skyrocketing rate of inflation was multiplied in a matter of days. The angry masses responded with intensified demonstrations like the one in Vientiane while the barges and ferries laden with businessmen, generals and feudalists and their loot began to stream across the Mekong River into Thailand.

From Coalition to Coalition

The Laotian struggle against U.S. and French imperialism has shared a parallel and often combined course with that of the Vietnamese workers and peasants. As in Vietnam resistance developed under Japanese occupation. Again following the path of Ho Chi Minh, the provisional government set up by Souvanna Phouma and his "communist" half-brother Prince Souphanouvong to maintain independence after the war—placed no obstacle in the path of the reoccupying French Army in 1946.

When fighting resumed in 1948 the royal half-brothers had gone their occasionally separate paths, Souvanna Phouma having capitulated to French rule while Souphanouvong took up the gun in alliance with the Viet Minh. The Pathet Lao military campaign was so successful that in 1953 it threatened to take the royal capital (Luang Prabang). Their position weakening both in Laos and Vietnam, the French amassed their forces on the border at Dienbienphu—a tactical error which led to their immediate defeat at the hands of the Viet Minh.

Following the 1954 Geneva Accords and some amount of jockeying for power, Souvanna Phouma became premier in 1956. He then had to face the dismal reality which was to be his "burden" on and off for the next 20 years. The Neo Lao Haksat (the Laotian Patriotic Front, formed in 1956 and usually referred to in the U.S. press as Pathet Lao) clearly had political hegemony in the country and was militarily impregnable in the provinces they controlled along the North Vietnamese border. The venal feudal princes and the greedy merchants (many of whom were either Indian or Chinese) had neither the power, the unity of interests nor the appetite to "fight communism." In the interest of sustaining bourgeois rule the premier moved toward a coalition government with his half-brother; Souphanouvong, armed with Stalin's schema of a "bloc of four classes," gratefully accepted the role as co-protector of "national democracy."

However, when elections to the National Assembly were held in 1958 the Pathet Lao made the blunder of roundly defeating its opposition, whereupon Souvanna Phouma yielded the premiership to Phoui Sananikone, a right-winger. This new regime "requested" that the Pathet Lao turn over its guns to the government. When the guerrillas refused, the reactionaries staged a coup d'état with full American and CIA backing, arresting Souphanouvong among others. (The "red prince" escaped from jail two years later.) Eight coups later, two of which had taken Souvanna Phouma in and out of power again, the half-brothers reforged their "anti-imperialist united front" while the oft-times premier was in Sihanouk's Cambodia during the latter part of 1960.

Back to Geneva

Within a year the reborn alliance threatened to sweep the country causing President Kennedy to threaten armed American intervention unless "those who support a truly neutral Laos...consider their response." Nikita Krushchev dutifully complied, assisting in summoning a conference on the Laos question at Geneva. The conference dragged on until mid 1962 when Kennedy accelerated the "negotiations" by landing 5,000 American troops in Thailand.

Souphanouvong duly agreed to participate in the resultant coalition government, but it was not quite a year before assassinations aimed at the left began and the coalition disintegrated, the Pathet Lao delegation trekking its way back to Sam Neua (their capital). Souvanna Phouma's response was to call for American air reconnaissance in 1964 and to O.K. American bombing a year later—a bombing of unprecedented intensity and savagery (more tons of explosives than against either North or South Vietnam) which continued unabated for the next eight years.

It was as part of the backwash of another robbers' peace, the Paris Peace Treaty, that the preparations for the third "bloc of four classes" began in 1973. Six months after the ceasefire the right wing predictably attempted what was to be its final coup. By this time, however, the U.S. ruling class had responded to the war-weariness at home and the stubborn resistance of the Indochinese worker and peasant fighters by opting to abandon a military strategy, relying instead on "diplomacy." Souphanouvong persevered in the coalition nonetheless. It remained the task of the turncoat Laotian comprador bourgeoisie to thrust power into the insurgents' hands.

No doubt the Maoist apologists of the *Guardian*, October League and Revolutionary Union will sing paeans to the clever and inscrutable machinations of this "red prince" who so cleverly manipulated the imperialists and their local allies into handing him state power. Unmentioned will be the 60,000 to 100,000 Laotian lives (equivalent to 4 to 7 million deaths in the U.S.) sacrificed since the mid 1950's—when, by all accounts, the Pathet Lao could have controlled the country in the services of this "marvelous" Stalinist strategy of class-collaborationist coalitionism.

Nor will these fakers point out that the history of the Indochinese revolution at every step repudiates Mao's version of Stalin's "bloc of four classes"—most dramatically in Laos where the program of the Vietnamese National Liberation Front was put into practice, not once, but *three* separate times—each time save the last with disastrous results.

Permanent Revolution

In contrast, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution explains that the weak bourgeoisies of the economically backward countries are, because of their dependence upon imperialism and domestic feudal reaction, *incapable* of carrying out the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution. The peasantry, socially atomized and lacking a coherent class interest, is also unable to provide independent revolutionary leadership. It is only the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, that can achieve these tasks by establishing its own class rule.

This lesson was confirmed by the Russian Revolution of 1917, where agrarian revolution was possible only after the working class seized power, and has been negatively verified by the repeated failure of bourgeois nationalists from Chiang Kai-shek to Mujibur Rahman to achieve national emancipation, the overturn of feudal production relations, or any of the other tasks of the bourgeois revolution.

The Laotian ruling class is only an extreme caricature of its counterparts elsewhere in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The cringing merchants beholden to U.S. "aid" programs and the underworld opium syndicate are not merely indifferent but actively hostile to breaking with imperialism. Likewise the feudalists of southern Laos, and the rightist generals who are frequently members of the same clans, can hardly be enthusiastic about an agrarian revolution to give "land to the tiller." Yet these are the elements with which the "anti-imperialist" Pathet Lao has made repeated coalitions!

After years of conciliating the most venal and socially impotent reactionaries, the Stalinist Neo Lao Haksat is now taking over in Laos. This process, which directly contradicts the Vientiane Agreements setting up a tripartite coalition government, is taking place only because of the power vacuum created by the massive flight of the country's exploiting classes (and in the absence of a proletariat fighting for its own class rule). The Pathet Lao have, in fact, tried to continue the coalition but have been unable to find willing "progressive" rightists with whom to do so.

With the deep and continuing undermining of the economic bases of bourgeois-landlord rule, the disarray in state apparatus (officers being deposed by the troops, a purge of leading officials in the ministries) and the decisive military predominance of the Pathet Lao forces, only the unlikely events of massive imperialist intervention or a new sellout at the international bargaining tables can reverse the Stalinist-led insurgents' consolidating of state power.

Because of its extreme economic backwardness, with large sections of the country in pre-feudal tribal economy, a Stalinist-ruled Laos would tend to lean on and take on the social character of the neighboring more advanced Chinese and Vietnamese deformed workers states. Whatever the fate of the coalition form and the tempo of nationalizations, the Stalinists as in Cambodia and Vietnam will be forced to create collectivized property forms in order to consolidate and defend their rule. What the Stalinists will not and cannot do is establish democratic organs of working-class rule; rather, they can at most create a bureaucratically deformed workers state. In order to go forward to socialism and extend the revolution internationally a workers political revolution, led by a Trotskyist vanguard party, is necessary.

- U.S. Imperialism Out of Southeast Asia! Unconditional Military Defense of the Deformed Workers States Against Imperialism!
- Down with the Vientiane Agreements—No Confidence in the Pathet Lao! Extend the Indochinese Revolution—For Soviet Forms of Proletarian Democracy—All Indochina Must Go Communist!
- For the Creation of Trotskyist Parties in Indochina—Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Neue Zurcher Zeitung

"General" Vang Pao, head of CIA-financed "secret army" in 1960's. Along with the bulk of Laotian ruling class, he has fled to Thailand.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

70

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

Beame Threatens Mass Firings in NYC

For a Citywide Strike Against Layoffs!

JUNE 1—Behind Victor Gotbaum's call for the June 4 city worker rally and the labor boycott of First National City Bank is a recognition that the bourgeoisie is hardening in its determination to have it out with the unions and make the serious inroads on labor contracts it considers necessary in the coming period. Every city union in New York faces layoffs which, while they may not add up to Mayor Beame's worst doomsday figures, will nonetheless cut deep. Already the city government has announced it is sending out 16,590 dismissal notices by the end of this month. Yet even while AFSCME leader Gotbaum is announcing that the chorus sung by the politicians was composed in a memo from the banks and is calling Citibank labor's main enemy, he is on the road to capitulation and has publicly stated that he is prepared to accept layoffs and contractual concessions.

It is now clear that the showdown over the "cash flow crunch" represents a decision of the capitalist class from Ford/Rockefeller on down that it can no longer delay the process of cracking a hard union town. This confrontation must be met by a general strike of city workers. But the degenerate class-collaborationist labor bureaucracy has not said one word about militant labor action. When Beame announced a possible total of 67,000 layoffs, from Shanker, Vizzini, DeLury and Gotbaum came only the hollow mutterings that (while they would assure control over organized labor) they could not guarantee the reaction of enraged residents to the cuts in hospitals, schools, and garbage collection.

New York City AFSCME members at April 26 jobs rally in Washington, D.C. WV photo

The Crunch

New York's "cash flow" crisis is one faced by many large cities whose revenue sources are drying up with the migration of employed workers to the suburbs and rising unemployment rates, while they are simultaneously faced with increased demand for welfare and social services. Faced with the prospect of social breakdown through strikes and riots brought on by its own inability to pay salaries and provide necessary services, the ruling class at a certain point must inevitably go on the offensive against the unions.

New York has been a particular irritant to the bourgeoisie because of the relatively high salaries and benefits won by the municipal unions in the late 1960's and the free-tuition, open-admissions college program, a by-product of the civil rights movement. In recent months the virulently anti-labor *New York Times* has been hammering away at Beame to carry out his previously announced layoffs, complaining that the labyrinthine city hall bureaucracy enabled the mayor to play shell games, switching workers from one payroll to another instead of getting rid of them. In fact, while it is useful to Beame to be able to blame the "Republican pincers movement" in Washington for the need to lay off, and for Gotbaum to focus on the Rockefeller banks thereby avoiding having to fight his employer, the Democrats have been moving steadily since last November on a course toward showdown with the unions.

Victor Gotbaum WV photo

Beame's announcement last month that he needed to come up with $1 billion before June 30 to meet labor costs and operating expenses brought matters to a head. The response was Gerald Ford's "Dear Abe" letter flatly and categorically denying federal aid which "would only postpone for the coming period coming to grips with the problem." Treasury secretary William E. Simon was quoted by the *New York Times* (15 May) saying that Ford's letter should be a signal to the city that "it take the extremely difficult political actions it must to put its fiscal and financial house in order." The line was clear, and implicitly racist as well, with congressional leaders talking about "sin city...beset by crime," suggesting the city is a bottomless pit of nothing but criminals, black people on welfare and undocumented Latin Americans. From Ford and Simon who themselves are running a federal deficit of $68.8 *billion* came paternalistic homilies that New York had to learn how to balance its budget once and for all!

More Than One Shell Game

Abe Beame's shell game is not the only one in town—far more treacherous for the working class is the one being played by Victor Gotbaum. Last December when the city was gearing up to go after the unions, Gotbaum threatened that Beame would find out he was sitting on a "tinderbox" if he tried anything. At the same time Gotbaum, after trying to horse-trade the forced retirements of older workers, ceded without a fight a week of shorter summer hours and several months of benefits for new employees which were important contractual concessions. In subsequent months he has simply turned his back on significant numbers of layoffs.

The December negotiations were just a warm-up. Deputy Mayor Cavanaugh said the "purpose of the negotiations was not the money-saving arrangements themselves but the precedent of the city's re-entering an existing labor contract and taking back fringe hours that had been previously agreed" (*New York Times*, 22 May). Now the real onslaught is beginning. From Beame's very first hints, Gotbaum was announcing he would accept 38,000 layoffs instead of a four-day week, and has stated flatly he will not fight to save the jobs of provisional employees although they are union members. (The civil service, a phony system set up to go around the unions to "protect" workers actually jeopardizes them by denying provisionals any seniority rights although many have more years in than do many permanents. The civil service must be abolished with all

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 71 20 June 1975

After U.S. Rout in Indochina...

Imperialists Retrench

JUNE 15—What will be the worldwide impact of recent imperialist defeats in Indochina? Will the dominoes in Southeast Asia start falling? Is South Korea next on the agenda? Could the taking of Phnom Penh and Saigon signal the start of a Soviet offensive in Europe? These questions have reverberated through Western capitals during the last month.

The destruction of capitalist rule in Vietnam and Cambodia must be hailed by all class-conscious working people. There is no doubt that the imperialists have suffered a major setback with this victory of the Indochinese workers and peasants. The ongoing Pathet Lao takeover in Vientiane is a direct consequence of the decisive events to the south, and throughout the region former U.S. allies are scurrying to Peking to get Mao's blessing while there is still time.

In Europe imperialist rulers are no less upset than in Washington at the dramatic turn of events in Indochina. The unexpectedly sudden collapse of the U.S.-backed puppet regimes has turned attention toward NATO, the main Western military alliance, which is seriously weakened on its southern flank. Britain's economic difficulties are forcing a cutback of its Mediterranean fleet. Simultaneously, last summer's blow-up between Greece and Turkey over Cyprus has called into question the participation of both of these former NATO mainstays and the availability of bases on Cyprus itself. As a result, the U.S. Sixth Fleet currently has no port of supply east of Italy, which could hamper it greatly in another Israel-Arab war.

But while imperialist forces are experiencing significant difficulties, it would be dangerous to mistake setbacks for chaos or collapse. In addition to U.S. efforts to restore its military "credibility" (as with the spectacular display of firepower in the Mayagüez incident), the May 29-30 NATO summit meeting in Brussels showed almost no dissension on the central aims of the anti-Communist alliance. Not only Ford, who spoke of Portugal as a "Trojan horse," but many European heads of government lectured Portuguese premier General Vasco Gonçalves, making it clear that a "Communist-dominated" government in Lisbon would not be tolerated.

In terms of global military strategy, the U.S. has had to retreat to a "one and a half war" posture (capability of simultaneously fighting a major war in Europe and a "minor contingency" elsewhere) from its previous "two and a half wars" stance. But this in no way signifies a lessening of Pentagon war-mongering. In a recent report to Congress, "Defense" Secretary Schlesinger explicitly stated American readiness to undertake a nuclear first strike in a "conventional" battle with Soviet bloc forces in Europe. Although supposedly to be done with "tactical" atomic weapons, "the attack should be delivered with sufficient shock and decisivenesss to forcibly change the perceptions of Warsaw Pact leaders," Schlesinger commented (*New York Times*, 30 May). So much for Kennedy's "flexible response"—it's back to "massive retaliation."

Whatever Became of Détente?

Russian Communist Party leader Brezhnev claims that we are only experiencing a slight "zigzag" in détente, and that if good business sense would prevail political stability can be guaranteed. He certainly has lived up to his part of the "bargain." In return for a few nice words from Henry Kissinger the Paris "peace" accords provided a breathing space for the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes and an excuse for the U.S. to extricate itself from its losing war in Indochina.

Nixon and Ford have come across with exactly nothing. The trade agreements have been scotched thanks to Senator Jackson's sudden "concern" for Soviet Jews. The only recent "arms limitation" agreement, last December's Vladivostok pact, actually permitted both sides to drastically *increase* stockpiles of nuclear weaponry. The Pentagon, meanwhile, has decided to establish a new line of "defense" in the center of the Indian Ocean by building a huge naval base on the island of Diego Garcia. It is evident to everyone that—as we have been saying for years—détente is a hoax.

In Europe there has been a sharp rise of virulent anti-communism encompassing virtually the entire political spectrum to the right of the Stalinists. Social democrats in Portugal center their election campaign on combatting the danger of "communist dictatorship" and the conservative London *Economist* (5 April) wails that "communist parties in a number of European countries may be able to climb to power, and then be undislodgeable from it...." But West European CP's are no less committed to the pursuit of class collaboration than their Kremlin mentors. From the most "independent" (Italy) to the most Moscow-loyal (Portugal), every one of these abjectly reformist parties has declared that membership in NATO would be no obstacle to their participation in coalition governments.

With Brezhnev and his acolytes doggedly pursuing the chimera of détente, Mao, too, has been carrying out the Stalinist line of "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. The Chinese version is mainly aimed at lining up the capitalist powers against the Soviet Union. Peking shares with Washington the view that, "the main threat remains the imperialistic thrust of the Soviet Union" (*Wall Street Journal*, 21 May). To underscore the point, the Chinese ambassador to Belgium recently paid a "courtesy call" on that country's envoy to NATO.

On paper the Maoist bureaucracy is against both "superpowers." In practice, it "leans to one side," that is, toward the capitalist U.S. Japanese diplomats have reported that Chou En-lai encouraged them to "*strengthen* relations with the United States" (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 3 February). Mao & Co. are playing a dangerous game. Should imperialist counterrevolution demolish the historic economic conquests of the October Revolution (which remain intact despite the *political* counterrevolution which placed a self-serving Stalinist bureaucracy in control of the state apparatus), the

continued on page 8

NATO jets

Authenticated News International

Labour Lefts Lose in U.K. Referendum

Britain and the Common Market.....6

Ex-Panther Speaks on Black Struggle in U.S.

NEW YORK—At a Spartacist League forum here May 24 an audience of about 90 people heard SL spokesman and former Black Panther Party member Gerald Smith outline a strategy for defense of the black and working-class movements. The forum followed the African Liberation Day march, a once-popular black nationalist event which drew a markedly meagre turnout this year.

Pointing to a recent escalation of racist terror, from the stoning of black school children in Boston to rabid campaigns to deport Latin American immigrant workers, Smith noted that in the context of mass unemployment the ruling class tries to accentuate racial, sexual, ethnic and other divisions in order to keep the workers demobilized. "The defense of democratic rights of blacks, and of working-class organizations against right-wing attacks and government intervention, is going to be a paramount question in the coming period," he added.

To the reformists' treacherous reliance on the bosses' courts and troops, Smith counterposed the need for independent labor/black defense. He cited as an example of such effective action the defense guard recently organized in Chicago by UAW Local 6, which has been guarding a black union brother's home nightly against racist attack. The speaker compared this action to the efforts of the Louisiana Deacons for Defense, who protected SNCC workers against the Ku Klux Klan during the mid-1960's.

Revolutionary Integrationism

Smith also pointed out that the rise and initial enormous popularity of the Black Panther Party was due to its call for black self-defense against the police. Though the subsequent disintegration of the BPP has often been attributed solely to official repression, other parties have sustained such blows in the past, he noted. It is necessary to trace the Panthers' demise to their own programmatic failures, among them the view that the socially powerless lumpen proletariat is the revolutionary vanguard.

The Panthers had the mistaken view that blacks represent an internal colony, a nation within a nation. Smith pointed out: "We do not have a common area, unless you want to put a fence around Harlem. We do not have a common language, other than English—which everybody else in America speaks. We don't have our own economy—we work in the same places that white workers work. The black question in the U.S. is not only different from the national question, but is diametrically opposed to it. When the Maoists and others go around calling black people a nation, they liquidate the real question—the struggle for social equality."

The speaker emphasized that the historic thrust of the struggle of the black

WV photo

SL supporters at May 25 African Liberation Day March in NYC.

masses in the U.S. over the past 200 years has been against racial oppression and for integration. The periodic rise of nationalist sentiment has been in reaction to the defeats of integration struggles, as potentially revolutionary militants despair when faced with a seemingly eternal and unchanging racist capitalist system. The reverse is also true: Smith noted that Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement was wiped out by the upsurge of common struggles of black and white workers during the 1930's, especially due to the efforts of the CIO and the recruitment of several thousand militant blacks to the Communist Party.

The non-existence of a black nation has given the programs of American black nationalists a peculiar character. While their followers were dreaming of a separate state, the practical immediate programs of the nationalists could benefit only a small "black capitalist" stratum *whose development depended on the maintenance of segregation.* As an example, Smith pointed to the fact that black people in the South couldn't get life insurance, thus leaving an opening for black companies to develop.

This dependence on segregation is the reason why black nationalists in the U.S. have repeatedly capitulated to white supremacy. The speaker pointed to the classic case of Marcus Garvey's invitation to the Imperial Chief of the Ku Klux Klan to speak at the national gathering of his Universal Negro Improvement Association. "Why? Because the Klan was saying, in effect, 'don't bus 'em, boat 'em,' and Garvey wanted to boat everybody. So there was common agreement."

Many Panthers considered themselves Marxist-Leninists, Smith pointed out. He related an incident where Eldridge Cleaver came to New York and pistol-whipped a member who had put up the nationalist black-green-red flag in the BPP office. But nationalism was nonetheless a major component of the Black Panther ideology, expressed in such things as a call for self-determination of a non-existent black nation.

Panther Program

The BPP never had an explicitly anti-capitalist program—though it had plenty of socialist rhetoric—and at no point categorically opposed black capitalism. That the Panthers contained the most serious and often subjectively revolutionary layers of black militants was true *despite* their nationalism. Militants were attracted to the party above all because of its opposition to racial oppression and police terror, codified in the Panther slogan "Off the Pig!"

"We do not have a sincere-o-meter to tell if Huey Newton was really on the level," said Smith. But in any case, Marxists must judge a party by objective criteria. Isolated from the proletariat and oriented toward other class forces, the Panthers could neither challenge capitalist rule nor alter that pattern of racial oppression that is so much a part of it. Unable to programmatically link a struggle for social equality to the working-class struggle for socialism, the Panthers were caught in a blind alley. There was no way out: the right wing was ultimately absorbed into the Democratic Party and the left wing gravitated toward the suicidal terrorism of the Black Liberation Army.

RSL Windbags

During the discussion period, spokesmen for the semi-moribund Revolutionary Socialist League insisted on laying bare the aimless opportunism of their program. Ignoring the SL's fight for labor/black defense in Boston, its support to the UAW labor defense guard in Chicago, its history of support to the self-defense actions of the Deacons for Defense, the RSL accused the SL of not being committed to self-defense because we do not call specifically in all cases for *armed* self-defense.

Smith drew applause from the audience when he pointed out that the methods and tactics of self-defense depend on the situation and need not be telegraphed to the bourgeoisie in advance. This point is evident to serious revolutionists although organizations like the RSL, divorced from serious participation in the class struggle in any arena, might find it hard to comprehend.

The RSL then proceeded to present its main attack, denouncing the SL position of support to busing as a limited but real step toward integration. In response, speaker after speaker from the audience drove home the point that the RSL opposes busing out of capitulation to the most backward prejudices of white workers. What these posturing buffoons are really upset about is white workers' fears of their children going to black schools.

In summary, Smith reiterated the SL program for struggle for full social equality and against discrimination as an essential part of the revolutionary proletarian struggle. Only in this manner can the special oppression of racial minorities be eliminated, through common working-class struggle led by the single Trotskyist vanguard party.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Uncover the CIA!

U.S. government attempts to whitewash the CIA are not working. The Rockefeller Commission of former high-ranking government officials has done its blue-ribbon best to minimize the importance of the CIA's illegal domestic spying operation. Rockefeller said of the undeniably massive violations that they were "not major" and the report admonishes that the CIA must be given "the support necessary to protect our national security." For the rest, the Commission merely reported some of what was leaked to reporters months ago by disgruntled U.S. intelligence operatives. Far from pillorying the CIA criminals, the report recommends criminal sanctions for one "offense" only: divulging of classified information by employees or former employees to "unauthorized" persons (who might again blow the whistle on the spy agency).

Despite the Rockefeller Commission's expressed "trust" in the CIA, it was forced to officially confirm earlier published accounts of a huge domestic spying operation. Besides widespread illegal bugging and mail cover (affecting over 13,000 individuals), some 300,000 names of suspected antiwar activists, communists, blacks and labor militants were computerized for the CIA's Operation CHAOS with the help of leading universities. So if you thought your phone was bugged and your mail opened, it probably was.

No matter how delicately the commission stepped it could not avoid stumbling into the CIA stock-in-trade: assassination plots, education in torture, sealing a USSR "defector" in solitary confinement for three years and other atrocities. The section of the report dealing with the assassination plots against Castro and other foreign leaders has been suppressed by Gerald Ford as "incomplete." Aware of the political risks of either saying anything about or remaining silent on assassination allegations, Ford dropped this hot potato into the lap of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities headed by Frank Church. Thus Democrat-dominated congressional committees investigating U.S. intelligence operations must "complete" the investigation into charges that Democratic presidents Kennedy and Johnson were implicated in assassination plots. Already Church has defensively declared that no president has been involved "directly" in any such plots and that he intends to "relate the acts in a manner that will least injure the country" (quoted in the *New York Times*, 15 June).

Even this official whiff of the CIA's underground sewage system of spy-terror smelled putrid enough to arouse public opinion to flush it clean. But there is no such thing as a "clean" CIA; its very existence is predicated upon the demonstrated need of U.S. imperialism to have a covert military arm. It is not a question of better "watchdog" committees, or better managerial techniques as is suggested by the Rocke-

continued on page 11

Free the San Quentin Six!

"The only good thing that happened all day was that we got George Jackson, killed him. Shot him through the head." Coming from Associate Warden Park of San Quentin prison, minutes after the well-known Black Panther was shot down on 21 August 1971, these words give a good idea of the "impartial justice" meted out by the capitalist state. Jackson had already been in jail eleven years on a "one-year-to-life" sentence for a gas station robbery of $71. Continually in trouble with prison authorities, he became interested in radical politics. Following the killing of one of his close friends by a prison sharpshooter, Jackson was charged, along with two other inmates, with murdering a Soledad guard early in 1970. But with a flimsy case against him (the "Soledad Brothers" were eventually acquitted in 1972) and the prospect of massive public outcries against the hearings, another "solution" was found. Two days before the Soledad Brothers' trial was to begin, Jackson was shot "trying to escape."

But this did not end the story. Six fellow inmates of George Jackson are now on trial in Marin County, California, on murder and conspiracy charges in connection with the deaths of three prison guards and two inmate tier tenders killed at San Quentin the day Jackson was shot. While authorities claim there was an elaborate escape plan, the evidence clearly points to a government conspiracy to "get" Jackson and a subsequent railroading of the "San Quentin Six."

The six have been awaiting trial now for nearly four years. All the men—Fleeta Drumgo (one of the original Soledad Brothers), David Johnson, Hugo Pinell, Black Panther Johnny Larry Spain, Luis Talamantez and Willie Tate—have a history of resistance to the pervasive official harassment and terror of the prison system. Drumgo and Spain participated in political discussions organized by Jackson; Johnson and Tate made written statements denouncing the murder of a prisoner by San Quentin guards; others had been through previous frame-ups and were acquitted of charges of assaulting or murdering prison guards.

A recent affidavit filed by Frank J. Cox, Marin County's Chief Public Defender, denounces the judicial/police cover-up of the circumstances surrounding the killing of Jackson and that of his younger brother, Jonathan, who was shot during an attempt to spring George in the spectacular Marin Civic Center shootout of August 1970. Cox asserts that there is a conspiracy going far beyond the walls of San Quentin and requests that CIA, FBI, Los Angeles Police Department and California state criminal investigation bureau files be opened. The highlight of the affidavit is the statement that:

> "Two Los Angeles detectives had the plan of the Civic Center bloodbath down pat and told what was going to happen the day before it occurred Aug. 7, 1970.
> "[George] Jackson was set up for his attempted San Quentin break Aug. 21, 1971, in which he, two other convicts and three guards were killed, with phony explosives and a gun that wouldn't work."
> —quoted in San Francisco *Chronicle*, 28 March 1975

Cox also asserts that specific information exists "linking a correctional officer at San Quentin on August 21, 1971, with the smuggling of a gun into the Adjustment Center" where Jackson was being held. Since the damaging evidence in this document—corroborated by the report of a California State Bureau of Criminal Investigation and Identification criminologist—could greatly affect the outcome of the San Quentin Six trial, it is not surprising that Cox has met with determined official resistance.

The government report of the August 1971 San Quentin "escape attempt" has always raised suspicion. A book on the several related cases, *The Melancholy History of Soledad Prison*, by Min S. Yee, reports an affidavit by one of the main prosecution witnesses, white inmate Allan Mancino, stating in early 1971 that he had been asked by a Soledad prison official to kill Jackson. Moreover, the official version kept changing as "new evidence" was found to contradict "old evidence." The autopsy was drastically revised a month after its release. While the original claimed Jackson was shot in the head, the revised version claims the bullet "struck Jackson in the middle of his back, broke three ribs and coursed upward, breaking ribs, until it exited at the top of the skull." Inmates claim instead that Jackson was first shot in the back, then blasted again in the head when guards saw he wasn't dead, and that his body was repeatedly kicked following the shooting.

The prosecution story is filled with gaping holes. It charges, for instance, that lawyer Stephen Bingham—who disappeared the day of the murder and hasn't been heard from since—smuggled a gun to Jackson during a visit. Not only was he supposed to have passed the gun through the prison's metal detector, but Jackson supposedly hid the 8-1/2 inch long gun and two magazine clips in an afro wig where it was not detected by guards who searched him after the visit (as they had done many times before)! More contradictions: why should Jackson run into a courtyard in broad daylight when he knew tower guards were there and the walls were 25 feet high; and why should he attempt to escape two days before a trial where he could have had a courtroom forum to denounce his jailors?

The 26 Adjustment Center inmates were able to smuggle out an affidavit which not only "describes the vicious beatings and harassment which followed Jackson's murder, but also flatly contradicts the official version of the day's events:

> "We, the undersigned... state that Warden Louis S. Nelson and Associate Warden James W. L. Park through their agents did on August 21, 1971, kill one George Jackson and conspired to murder the undersigned who refused to join in the state's official conspiracy.
> "That officers Doe 1, Doe 2, and Doe 3 did open the cell gates and order the undersigned to come from their cells, thereafter gunshots went off and all went into their cells in the back of the same building to avoid being shot."
> —quoted in *People's World*, 29 March 1975

The official railroading has not been limited to prison officials. A 1973 grand jury indictment which charged the San Quentin Six was passed by the minimum vote of 12 and the conspiracy charge was tacked on in order to get those defendants who couldn't possibly be directly linked to the killings. Some grand jury members quit in protest and the initial hearing judge quashed the indictment on the grounds that the jury was hand-picked, systematically excluding blacks and poor people. (However, the state appellate court later overruled the judge.)

George Jackson

During the current pre-trial hearings which began in March, Marin County Superior Court Judge Henry Broderick has consistently sustained prosecution objections, sealed the Cox affidavit and denied a defense motion for access to official files. He also denied the defendants' request to move the trial because of inflammatory local press coverage, a motion to sever their case from that of the missing lawyer Bingham, and initial appeals to provide medical treatment for Spain (now undergoing hospital treatment chained to a bed and surrounded by four armed guards). During their court appearances the six prisoners are "restrained" by chains which bind the hands, pass under the crotch and then are locked to chairs (which are bolted to the floor). Judge Broderick tells prospective jurors disingenuously that "You must not infer guilt from the fact of these restraints."

The San Quentin Six have filed a civil rights suit which is expected to be ruled on this summer. The suit charges that conditions in the solitary confinement cells of San Quentin's Adjustment Center ("the hole") amount to unconstitutional cruel and unusual punishment. Violations of their Eighth Amendment rights include tear gassing of cells, capricious and arbitrary denial of visitation rights (even with their lawyers), exclusion from work and education programs, deprivation of exercise, mail, books and proper sanitary conditions. All of the six have spent nearly four years in solitary under these inhuman conditions.

Jury selection will take time, since by the end of May from 800 names called only three black jurors turned up. But no matter who constitutes the seated jury, the San Quentin Six will not receive justice from the capitalist courts. An arbitrary hostile judge, chains and shackles, defense witnesses fearful of beatings by the guards when they return to their cells, denial of access to government files—everything adds up to a vicious railroading of the defendants. Stop the official cover-up conspiracy! Drop the charges—Free the San Quentin Six and try the killers of George Jackson in their stead!■

The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, has stated its support of the San Quentin Six and sent a contribution to their defense committee to assist with legal fees. Readers of WORKERS VANGUARD are urged to send donations for the defense of these victims of bourgeois class "justice" to: The San Quentin Six Defense Committee, 3169—16th Street, San Francisco, CA 94103.

People's World

Fleeta Drumgo

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384
Box 51634, Main P.O.,
New Orleans, LA 70151

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 879-7623
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

A Letter to the *Old Mole*

Toronto
16 June 1975

To the *Old Mole*:

Last month's "May Day" issue of your irregular "monthly" newspaper contains an article on the second convention of the Revolutionary Marxist Group accompanied by a box announcing "BLT Expulsion." This insert is an elaborately contrived justification for the bureaucratic railroading of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency out of the RMG solely on the basis of our political views (no breach of discipline was even alleged). Its core is the following assertion:

> "But the revolutionary unity which democratic centralist norms seek to preserve presupposes agreement on more basic questions. The most elementary of these is agreement that the organization constitutes the revolutionary political instrument which must be built...."

In other words, according to the RMG a centrist organization is justified in dispensing with any pretense of democratic centralism when faced by revolutionary oppositionists! This is a blanket endorsement for purges of leftist oppositionists from the United Secretariat. For an example of the extent to which the USec will go, we point to the case of Comrade Lafitte, a member of the central committee of the French Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire, who was recently expelled from the LCR for the "crime" of asserting that the Fourth International must be reconstructed (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 69, 23 May for details).

Nowhere do you present evidence which proves, even on these Stalinist criteria, the assertion of the expulsion motion that we had made "a political declaration of split with the F.I." The motion baldly asserted that the BLT considered the USec "a pseudo-revolutionary obstacle to the building of some new international organization...." But as we pointed out at the convention and in a public statement afterwards, the BLT had made no such statement.

What the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency did say was that "the *politics* of *none* of the major tendencies within the United Secretariat can lay the basis for the construction of a democratic-centralist Trotskyist International," and that "we have not yet made a *definitive* assessment" of the international Spartacist tendency. Desperately searching for a justification, the *Old Mole* account cites our statement that "The Spartacist League has provided a correct and coherent analysis of the crisis within the United Secretariat." We challenge you to provide even one example where a Bolshevik organization has used such political statements as grounds for expulsion.

The convention article went on to assert: "The BLT carried politics that were identical in every respect to those of the Spartacist League. The debate on their rightist sectarian positions was quite peripheral to the central strategic discussion."

We certainly agree that the political positions of the BLT are identical to those of the Spartacist League. However, the next sentence is nothing but a preposterous attempt to slander our politics and thereby avoid a debate.

Do you really think you can get anyone to believe that the issues raised by the BLT were "peripheral to the central strategic discussion." To begin with, the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency was supported by 10 percent of the RMG nationally, whereas the ostensibly main opposition received 17 percent. And does the RMG maintain that the factional war that has raged within the USec for the last six years between the brazenly reformist "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" and the petty bourgeois centrists of the International Majority Tendency is "peripheral" to the organization?!

What were these "peripheral" issues raised by the BLT? We called for a break with the LTF, whose Argentine organization (the PST) supports bourgeois "institutionalization" and promises to "fight for the continuity" of the Peronist government. We called for a clear statement against the American SWP's call to bring in the capitalist army to "protect" blacks in Boston. But the IMT (which the RMG supports) prefers unity at all costs with the PST/SWP, even daring to characterize the latter as "revolutionary with right deviations"!

We also raised the issue of class collaborationist popular fronts in Chile and France. The IMT denies that Allende's Popular Unity government was a popular front, and its French supporters called for votes to the popular-front Union of the Left in the 1973 legislative elections. But although the Chilean popular front paved the way to the bloody massacre of more than 20,000 workers and leftists, the RMG leadership evidently considers this life-and-death question an academic debate. Trotsky had a different point of view: he wrote that "the popular front is the *main question of proletarian class strategy* for this epoch."

In practice, the RMG *does* consider these questions peripheral and secondary, since none of them were addressed by either majority or minority tendencies during the course of pre-convention discussion. In fact, the convention did not have a single session devoted to discussing international questions. Behind this apparent disinterest, of course, is your cowardly fear of confronting head-on the politics of the BLT within the organization, just as you have repeatedly shied from any political confrontation with the Spartacist tendency in public.

The article's assertion that the RMG is to the *left* of the Spartacists is downright laughable. Not only on international questions (such as Vietnam, where the Pabloist RMG applauds Ho Chi Minh while we denounce the murder of several thousand Trotskyists by Ho's followers in 1945-47) are there profound differences between the BLT and RMG, in which the RMG is clearly and consistently on the right.

For instance, the BLT called for communist work in the mass organizations of the proletariat, the trade unions, by constructing caucuses based on the Transitional Program. The RMG in the hope of capturing the eye of its "new mass vanguard" prefers trade-union work based on a program of simple labor militancy and democracy, spiced up from time to time with a demand or two ripped out of the Transitional Program. Not surprisingly, the supporters of the views of the *Old Mole* in the Post Office repeatedly capitulate to the union bureaucracy. Would you care to explain how this places you to the left of the BLT?

Another example: the BLT and Spartacists see the necessity for constructing a special section of the Leninist party to aid work amongst women. We reject the petty bourgeois notion of an "independent" women's movement, an obstacle preventing the winning of women to the path of proletarian revolution. The RMG, in contrast, feels that the struggle for women's liberation is *not* subordinate to the class struggle, and its co-thinkers in Quebec (the GMR) have recently issued a call for an "autonomous" women's movement. You reached a new low in adaptation to feminism with your chant at a recent Toronto demonstration, "Up from the Kitchens, Up from the Bedrooms, Up from Under, Women Unite!"

As for your charge that we are "sectarian," we will let Comrade Trotsky answer that one: "His shilly-shallying the centrist frequently covers up by reference to the danger of 'sectarianism,' by which he understands not abstract-propagandist passivity (of the Bordigist type) but an active concern for purity of principles, clarity of position, political consistency, organizational completeness" (from "Centrism and the Fourth International," March 1934).

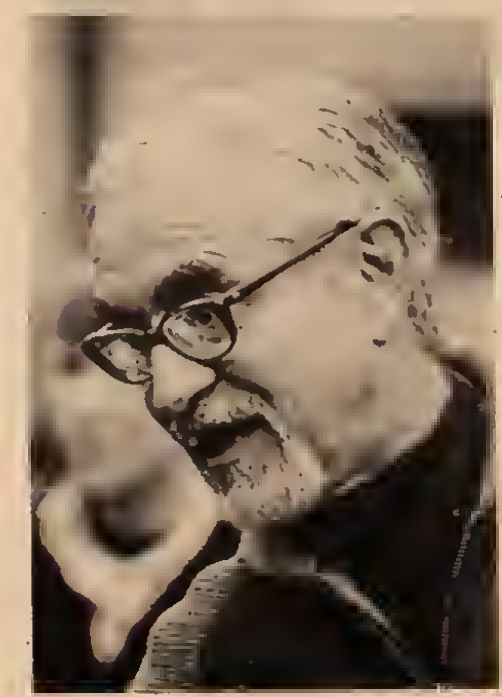
There is one final point that we would like to address. The disingenuous "explanation" of our expulsion states that, "Several BLT supporters who did not agree with their characterization of the Fourth International, while agreeing with their other political positions, remain within the RMG." Recently, two of these "other supporters" have resigned from the RMG in solidarity with the BLT, condemning your bureaucratic expulsion, both of London and of the BLT, from the organization. We welcome the resignation of these comrades and are now engaging in political discussion and joint activity with the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency.

FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency

CSL: Family Life Among the Trotskyoids

The inglorious demise of the minuscule Class Struggle League (CSL), predictable since its founding in 1973 as a rotten bloc of the most disparate elements, has effectively taken place with the departure of the so-called "Bolshevik Faction" (now "Trotskyist Organizing Committee") led by Harry Turner. Since its inception in a stillborn fusion between Turner's "Vanguard Newsletter" grouplet and part of the "Leninist Faction" of Vukovitch/Stein, the CSL encompassed virtually as many political divergences as it had members. Even their "freedom of criticism" formula, permitting public expression of internal differences, did not enable these homeless centrists to maintain their mockery of an organization. After two years of incessant squabbling Vukovitch/Stein and Turner have separately departed; left in the CSL are now perhaps a dozen members clustered around Turner's former cohort, Henry Platsky.



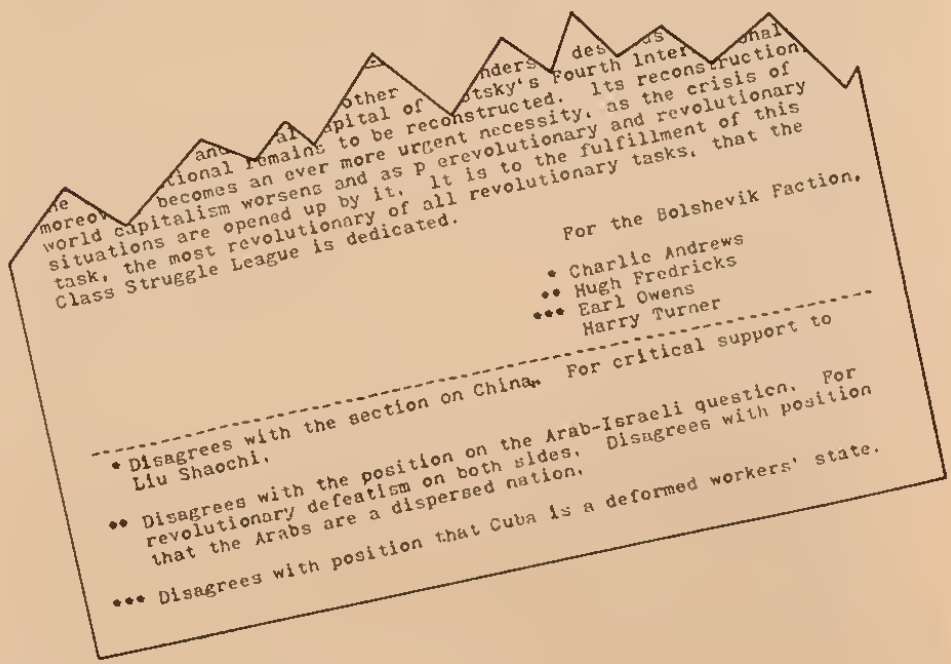
WV photo

Harry Turner

The CSL's Fred Ferguson aptly described the organization:

> "Comrades, I would contend that we have not *reached* the level of a propaganda group—let's be honest, we are still what Vanguard Newsletter was, a discussion group. Or rather three discussion groups tied together by a common newspaper."
>
> —"The Bolshevik Faction and the Standard of Conduct Expected of Comrades in a Bolshevik Organization"

Three discussion groups? Ferguson is too modest. At least one of the components which until lately constituted the CSL appears to have enough disagreements within itself to make for a very acrimonious "discussion"! Of course, the 41-page document of Turner's "Bolshevik Faction" piously proclaimed that "only in a 'monolithic' organization could all of [a faction's members] be expected to have complete agreement with every word and nuance." But a look at the concluding page, reproduced below, reveals what these shameless opportunists understand by a "nuance"! This penchant for unstable combinations is all that ever "united" the CSL; the component fragments can look forward only to further decomposition. ■



moreo[illegible] [illegible]ional remains to be reconstructed. Its reconstruction, world capitalism worsens and as p[illegible]erevolutionary and revolutionary situations are opened up by it, it is to the fulfillment of this task, the most revolutionary of all revolutionary tasks, that the Class Struggle League is dedicated.

For the Bolshevik Faction,

* Charlie Andrews
** Hugh Fredricks
*** Earl Owens
Harry Turner

---

* Disagrees with the section on China. For critical support to Liu Shaochi.

** Disagrees with the position on the Arab-Israeli question. For revolutionary defeatism on both sides. Disagrees with position that the Arabs are a dispersed nation.

*** Disagrees with position that Cuba is a deformed workers' state.

AT ISSUE:
Busing and Labor/Black Defense

Boston Teachers' Union Election

BOSTON—The deep-seated racism of the labor bureaucracy has nowhere been more clearly revealed than in the violent, protracted conflict over the desegregation of the Boston public school system. Most of the unions have maintained an ostrich-like neutrality on the busing question—an objectively racist policy when viewed in light of most unions' past positions of verbal support to desegregation. The Massachusetts State Labor Council let the cat out of the bag in October when it went to lengths to repudiate a mild pro-busing statement (based on existing state and national AFL-CIO resolutions) issued by its own civil rights committee. Other unions have been even more explicit in encouraging the lynch mob atmosphere created by the anti-busing forces. Teamsters Local 25 and the Boston Building and Construction Trades Council passed motions last fall totally opposing the court-ordered desegregation program.

One union which has stood at center stage over the past year has been the 5,000-member Boston Teachers' Union (BTU), Local 66 of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT). Its significant size—and the fact that it encompasses not only teachers but also the predominantly black and Hispanic transitional aides hired specifically for the implementation of busing—means the union's policies are a major factor in shaping the political climate in which the fight over busing takes place.

More importantly, the BTU's members deal every day with the students who ride the buses. The teachers' union could take the first crucial steps in organizing trade unionists and black community groups into an integrated defense force to deter the racist vigilantes who have upped the ante from marches and school boycotts to mob violence.

Instead, the BTU bureaucracy around outgoing President John Doherty and former Vice President (now President) Henry Robinson has moved step by step from a position of phony neutrality to actively joining forces with the racists. Last fall they were content to issue individual statements making clear their dissatisfaction with the busing plan while not putting the union on record against it. The official union position of "metropolitan integration" (i.e., busing black children to the suburbs) pre-dates the crisis and was implicitly presented not as an *extension* of the busing but as an abstract *alternative* to implementation of the desegregation plan for Boston schools—a slick cop-out.

This capitulationist policy was obviously approved by the national AFT leadership. In a widely reprinted article this winter, AFT President Albert Shanker refused to support the Boston busing plan, drawing numerous irrelevant distinctions between the "de jure" segregation of southern school systems in the 1960's and the "de facto" segregation of northern school systems in the 1970's.

When Judge Arthur Garrity issued an order for "one-to-one" hiring of minority teachers and transfers of teachers, ignoring seniority, to racially balance school faculties, Local 66 sought to reverse the order through a lawsuit. Instead of waging a fight for jobs for all unemployed teachers, black and white, and for union-controlled hiring and transfers with special programs to recruit and train minority teachers, the liberal Doherty/Robinson forces joined with overt racists who oppose forced transfers and quota hiring not because it could weaken the union through increased government intervention but because they oppose integration at all levels.

Throughout the year, while rocks flew through school bus windows and racists mobilized in the streets, courts and lobbies of Congress and the State House, the BTU leadership maintained its sham neutrality and paved the way for elements associated with the anti-busing movement to take the offensive in the union. When last November Doherty proposed a three-month "experiment" during which the new aides (whom the union was fighting for the right to organize) would hold separate meetings from the teachers (who are overwhelmingly white), reactionaries in the union advanced thinly veiled racist arguments that the "non-professional" aides ought to be in their own separate local. Although Doherty eventually failed to follow through on his proposal after the aides voted not to have a separate unit in the local, it is not surprising that the bureaucrats are somewhat worried by the first significant influx of blacks into the local.

While black children were the targets of racists on the streets, they were also special targets of administration discipline inside the schools. Although they are a minority of about 38 percent of the students in Boston schools—the racist school boycott has had a negligible effect except in certain schools during brief periods of the school year—black students were a majority of those suspended from school this year. While doing nothing to stop the mob attacks on black students, the BTU leadership used the issue of safety in the schools to campaign for increased disciplinary powers in the hands of teachers.

The logic of the spineless liberalism of Doherty and Robinson was played out in May when Local 66 passed a motion by Doherty calling for a year's delay in the implementation of Phase Two of the busing plan. Union lawyers then joined in the School Committee's last-ditch courtroom maneuvers to win a breathing spell

continued on page 10

UNC Backs Busing, Union Defense Guards

DETROIT, June 9—A one-day United National Caucus (UNC) conference on "The Crisis in the Auto Industry" ended here yesterday in a ragged division, replete with screaming personal invective, over the question of organizing defense guards based on trade-union, black and community groups to protect against racist assaults on school busing. (Court-ordered integration is expected to be a major issue in Detroit when schools reopen in the fall.) The "sense" of a motion for labor/black defense was adopted, but referred to the UNC's executive board for implementation. The question, which led to hours of acrimonious debate, was considered only as the meeting was about to end and due to the insistence of a non-member who considers the group too opportunist to join.

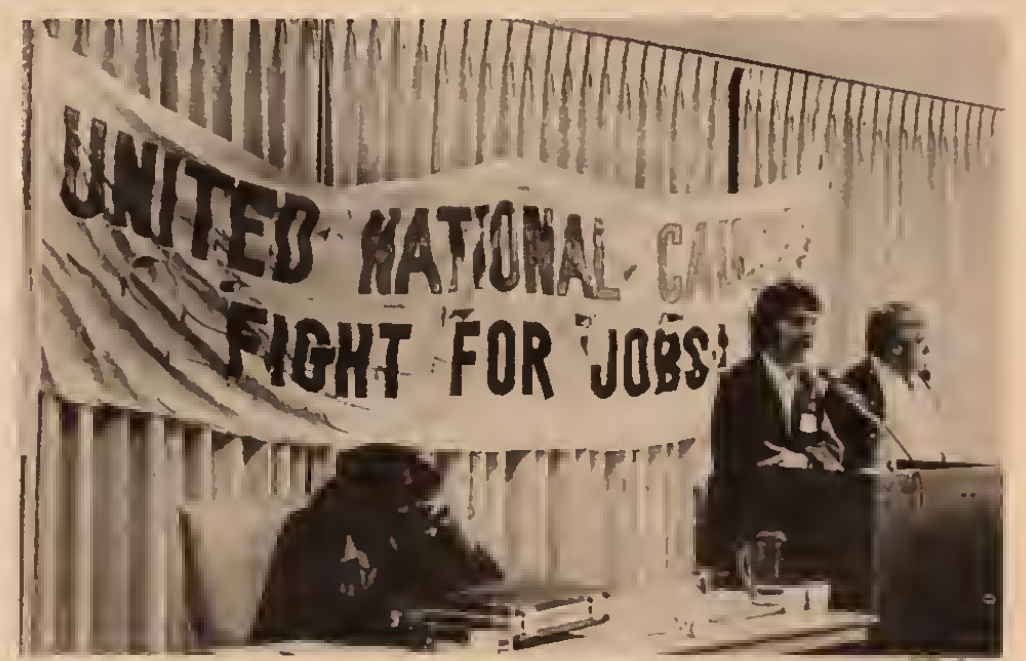
The United National Caucus originated in the skilled trades' rebellion in 1968 and is the anti-Woodcock opposition of a handful of lower-level United Auto Workers (UAW) officials who for various reasons oppose the union's International regime. The group has a formal program calling for nationalization of the industry, "30 for 40" and a labor party. However, UNC leaders such as Jordan Sims (president of Local 961), Edie Fox (Local 3), Pete Kelley (Local 160) and Al Gardner (just defeated in a bid for re-election as president of the Tool and Die Unit of Local 600, one of the group's original bases) invariably drop the paper program when they are running for office.

The UNC also contains a more radical faction of members in various locals around Detroit, which receives the backing of the left social-democratic International Socialists (IS). The UNC as a whole receives ever-so-slightly critical endorsement from *Workers' Power*, the IS newspaper. At yesterday's meeting it was these radicals, by and large, who voted for the motion which their bureaucratic friends considered an anathema to their careerist appetites.

The conference had earlier run into differences over another question concerning racial oppression and the unions: seniority vs. "super-seniority" for blacks, other minorities and women. "Super-seniority," or preferential layoffs, an attack on the unions' only existing form of job protection (seniority), is currently being pushed by various left groups such as the IS and the Maoist October League (OL). In effect calling for taking jobs away from older white male workers, this divisive scheme is a substitute for a united class-struggle fight against layoffs.

The trade-union bureaucracy, which unquestioningly accepts the companies' "right" to lay off thousands of workers in order to protect profits, opposes "super-seniority" in order to defend the status quo of special oppression of minorities and women, traditionally the "last hired and first fired." IS-supported elements, who have been doggedly seeking to keep the UNC amalgam of bureaucrats and radicals taped together despite numerous differences, would not have raised the issue at all, but a Maoist brought it up in a veiled form: a motion to defend the right of women and minorities to stay in the plants.

A member of the UNC correctly saw this as, in effect, a call for preferential layoffs, and objected strenuously. Though the group's leaders indicated they had been discussing the question for six months, they argued that it should be tabled to the executive board because of "complexities of the issue." What is "complex" is not the issue, but rather finding a palatable compromise satisfying both major factions of this unholy alliance.



WV photo

Keith Dodds, UAW Local 600 militant, at recent United National Caucus conference puts forward motion for black/labor defense. Looking on are UNC leaders Jordan Sims (left) and Pete Kelley.

Edie Fox led the attack for the bureaucratic compromisers, which resulted in tabling the motion; some of the IS-backed radicals drifted to her support. This embarrassed the other side in front of several new black UNC members present at the conference, who had been misled into supporting "super-seniority" as a program against racism. The radicals' acute embarrassment over this issue contributed to the near-split later, as they sought to redeem the UNC in the eyes of these blacks.

Even more important, however, was the issue of the reactionary anti-busing mobilization in Boston and spreading activities of small but vicious fascist-inspired groups around the country which have made the need for working-class defense against racist attacks impossible to ignore. The capitalist government protects the racists and seeks to keep the working class divided—it is incapable of implementing integration or

continued on page 10

EEC: Reactionary Utopia, Anti-Red Alliance

Britain and the Common Market

LONDON—On June 5 the first national referendum in British history was held on the issue of withdrawing from or staying in the European Economic Community (EEC), popularly termed the Common Market. With the leadership of all three major parties (Conservative, Liberal and Labour) and the mass media strongly pro-Market, one third of the voters nonetheless supported leaving.

The Common Market question has clearly polarized Britain along class lines. All significant sections of capital are today strongly, even hysterically, pro-EEC. On the British right only the marginal petty-bourgeois nationalist groups—the followers of Enoch Powell and the fascist-inspired National Front—are "anti-Europe." Naturally, ruling-class commitment to the Market has extended to the right wing of the Labour Party and the official Wilson/Callaghan leadership. The heart of the opposition to the EEC is the workers movement, the Trades Union Congress (TUC) and the Labour left.

There are, of course, differing reasons for opposing the Common Market. Among the Labourite masses anti-EEC sentiment reflects a mood of national isolationism, the particular disadvantages for British working people (e.g., higher food import prices) and a gut-level understanding that the Market is run by the international allies of Toryism.

It is important that revolutionaries oppose British membership in the Common Market, but no less vital that they do so for the right reasons. It is not enough to condemn the chauvinist opposition to "Europe," and it is necessary to go beyond the Labour lefts' argument based on the immediate economic disadvantages for British workers. For communists, opposition to the Common Market is a principled, not a conditional or empirical, question. We are no less opposed to German or French membership than to Britain's joining.

While fighting against the mass layoffs and cuts in living standards which the working masses are being forced to suffer in the interests of capitalist economic rationalization, and denouncing the utopian hoax of uniting Europe without toppling bourgeois rule, we oppose the Common Market fundamentally because it is an imperialist alliance essentially directed at the Soviet Union. (By the same token, Maoist China's enthusiastic support for the EEC stems from the understanding that a German-dominated European bloc must necessarily be anti-Russian.)

Origins and Purpose of the Common Market

Our opposition to the Common Market was well stated some sixty years ago by Lenin in rejecting the slogan of a "United States of Europe":

> "Of course, *temporary* agreements are possible between capitalists and states. In this sense a United States of Europe is possible as an agreement between *European* capitalists... but to what end? Only for the purpose of jointly suppressing socialism in Europe, of jointly protecting colonial booty *against* Japan and America...." [emphasis in original]
>
> —"On the Slogan for a United States of Europe," 1915

The EEC, an impotent effort at realizing this slogan, is an alliance directed primarily against the degenerated workers state of the USSR. Europe will be truly united only under proletarian rule, through social revolution in the West and workers political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states of the East.

Ever since Bismarck created a unified German state in the 1860's, the central dynamic of West European power politics has been the attempt by France to prevent German dominance, which is warranted by the latter's economic and demographic strength. Before World War I, the means was a French alliance with Czarist Russia; after 1918 it was the Entente, an alliance with the successor states of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire (e.g., Czechoslovakia). But with the resurgence of Germany under Hitler, France was forced to return to its traditional Eastern alliance, this time with Stalin's Russia in 1935.

The U.S. was also sensitive to German power, and the Morgenthau Plan which proposed to "transform Germany into a potato field" was the axis of Roosevelt's plans for post-war Europe. But when in the late 1940's American imperialism determined upon restoring a strong Germany as a bulwark against the USSR, one of its major problems was reconciling France. In 1949-50, France opposed U.S.-British plans to end the occupation government and permit the reconstitution of a German bourgeois state apparatus. Paris opposed rearming Germany under any guise and the European Defense Community was voted down in the French National Assembly in 1953.

But Truman and Eisenhower set up the Federal Republic and West Germany was rearmed. However, stability in West Europe required that the French bourgeoisie have a degree of control over German industry and a share of German wealth. This was and remains the purpose of the Common Market. Through the European Coal and Steel Community, the embryo of the EEC, France was given some control over the Ruhr coal-steel complex, the key to the German armaments industry and source of cheap fuel for the steel mills of northern France.

The 1957 Treaty of Rome, which established the Common Market, deepened French-German economic ties. France obtained a massive subsidy for its agriculture, the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), necessary to maintain the peasant electoral basis of the right-wing parties. In addition, Paris politicians insisted on keeping the EEC small and imposing stiff import duties against the rest of the world. German industrialists, represented by long-time Bonn economics minister Ludwig Erhard, objected to this "Little Europe" protectionism but were overruled by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, supported by Eisenhower and Dulles, for politico-strategic reasons.

Adenauer was not without bargaining power, however. In return for subsidizing French peasants and colonies, and limiting its trade with important markets like Britain and Scandinavia, Germany insisted on taking full advantage of its superior competitive strength within the EEC. Thus the Treaty of Rome is essentially a "liberal" capitalist agreement, preventing governments from seriously interfering with the free play of market forces.

For their part, U.S. leaders constantly stressed the importance of the Common Market as an integral part of the complex of alliances against the USSR. (In fact, it has recently been revealed that some of the early CIA-financed operations in Britain were organizations to promote the Common Market.) John F. Kennedy put the point clearly:

> "The success of our foreign policy depends in large measure upon the success of our foreign trade and our maintenance of Western political unity depends in equally large measure upon the degree of Western economic unity."
>
> quoted in Krause, ed., *The Common Market, Progress and Controversy*

Walter Hallstein, first head of the EEC Commission (after serving as Adenauer's foreign minister, responsible for diplomatically isolating East Germany until well into the 1960's), agreed: "European integration is at present limited to economic subject matter, but potentially is a major contribution to the strength of the Free World. That... is the true link between the EEC and NATO" (*ibid.*).

A Sclerotic Imperialism Faces Europe

The French-German EEC was based on strategic political aims going beyond (and capable of overriding) short-term economic considerations. In contrast, Britain's relation to the Common Market was essentially economic and governed by changing quantitative calculations. In this sense, the seemingly farcical haggling over the tariff on New Zealand cheddar cheese during the recent "renegotiations" truly reflected the Common Market debate in Britain.

Between the mid 1950's and 1971, three main factors contributed to anti-Market forces in Britain. Sections of the bourgeoisie wanted to retain a trading pattern centered on the old Empire. The trade-union bureaucracy and Labour left feared that the free competition regime of the EEC would limit state interventions needed to prevent large-scale technological unemployment. And both British capital and labor felt the CAP as a deadweight loss, since the U.K. is the world's largest net importer of food with a politically insignificant farm population.

The Commonwealth versus Common Market debate was won by the latter by default due to the catastrophic decline in strength of British capitalism during the 1960's. Even with Britain out of the Common Market, the expansion of the West European economy shifted British trade with the EEC from 14 percent in 1958 to 24 percent in 1971 (*Economist*, 1 January 1972). Particularly after the 1967 devaluation of the pound, the "sterling area" became a bad joke. British sterling, 23 percent of world currency reserves in 1948, dropped to only 8 percent in 1969 (*Banker*, October 1971). By the beginning of this decade all significant sections of British capital were for entry into the Common Market.

While the deterioration of the economy strengthened pro-Market sentiment in the capitalist class, it strengthened opposition to the EEC in the labor movement. In general, Britain's industrial plant is both technically obsolete and badly structured in terms of international comparative advantage. A free market cure for the "British disease" means large-scale technological unemployment (termed "redundancies" in the British labor movement). The union bureaucracy seeks to prevent redundancies through partial nationalizations, state subsidies and price manipulation/import duties (protectionism). The leading bodies of the EEC would certainly oppose this Labour reform program.

Wilson's Deceit

In 1962 Harold Wilson opposed EEC entry, arguing it was incompatible with socialist economic planning. In 1967, Wilson's government sought entry into the Common Market, failing only because of DeGaulle's veto. In 1972, Wilson denounced the Tory entry for sacrificing British sovereignty to the "multinationals." In 1975, the Wilson government supported, against a majority of the labor movement, Britain's remaining in the Market.

No one can believe that the Labour Party leader has actually changed his mind on the Common Market three times. The puzzle disappears when one realizes that in 1962 and 1972, Labour was in opposition. Wilson's anti-EEC stance was then both popular with the ranks and not the slightest obstacle to entry. The *real* policy of the Labour leadership, which is also the preferred policy of the British ruling class and the U.S. State Department, has for the past 15 years been pro-entry.

Even in 1972 it was evident that

Harold Wilson — Der Spiegel

Tony Benn — Marvin Lichtner

Wilson's opposition to joining was phony. That year he and Labour leftist Tony Benn maneuvered the Labour Party conference to simply come out for "renegotiation" of the terms. (The TUC voted for straight opposition, an indication not of differences between the politicians and union leaders but the fact that the labor bureaucracy does not administer government directly and can therefore be more generous with its "principles.") The renegotiations were a complete sham, their main achievement being a reduction of British contributions to the EEC budget by the insignificant sum of £125 million.

The core of the left Labour anti-Market line is stated in the Labour Party

France Nouvelle

1972 anti-Common Market demonstration.

research department's pamphlet, "The Common Market: In or Out?":

> "Freed from the restraints of the Rome Treaty and its competition policy we shall be able to extend public ownership and advance toward socialism at a pace determined solely by the British people and their parliamentary democracy."

It is here that national sovereignty and reformist socialism merge; here is where Tony Benn and Enoch Powell join hands in celebrating 300 years of British parliamentary rule.

The EEC bureaucracy will certainly seek to curb widespread nationalizations, just as Wilson is now using the pro-Market vote as the occasion to reduce the influence of the Labour lefts in the government and party (most notably by dropping anti-Marketeer Benn from the post of Secretary of Industry). But to paraphrase Stalin's remark on the Pope, how many divisions does the Brussels Commission have? The EEC bureaucracy is intrinsically impotent. DeGaulle wiped his shoes with Commission documents, though this takes a few ounces of political courage and capacity, items noticeably absent among the Labour lefts.

Of course the Benns do not really believe that the Common Market threatens parliamentary sovereignty (nor do they really believe in parliamentary sovereignty). While opposing a weak imperialist alliance like the Common Market, the Labour left firmly supports the most powerful of counterrevolutionary alliances, the "Atlantic Alliance" (NATO). The organizing center of capitalist reaction in Europe is indeed located in Belgium, in the Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Forces in Europe (SHAPE). In supporting NATO, the Labour left reveals its own counterrevolutionary policies and the hypocrisy of its talk of a British road to socialism.

Because of the parliamentary cretinism and general cowardice of the Labour Party left wing, Britain's membership in the EEC would indeed tend to limit nationalizations and other state intervention to prevent redundancies. But while the union bureaucracy and Labour Party left wingers oppose the Common Market for this reason, their campaign is firmly ensconced in the framework of U.S.-designed anti-communist alliances, both military and economic.

International Socialists: Professional Tailism

In evaluating the anti-Market campaigns of the so-called "revolutionary left" in Britain, we start with the International Socialists (IS), the largest group to the left of the pro-Moscow Communist Party. The main thrust of the IS anti-EEC propaganda is similar to that of the major British centrist groups claiming to be Trotskyist—among them the Mandelite International Marxist Group (IMG), Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), Ted Grant's *Militant* group.

The IS position on the Common Market has been, to say the least, inconsistent. To be more precise, it has been consistent only with the changing attitudes of the left Labourite masses. In the early 1960's, some IS leaders favored entry while others opposed it. Predictably, a compromise was worked out: abstention. When opposition to the EEC became a major theme of the Labour left in the late 1960's the IS opposed entry; but after Britain entered in 1973 the IS for some time failed to call for withdrawal.

These shifting positions indicate that the International Socialists regard British membership in the Common Market as neither a principled question nor particularly important. In fact, the main argument advanced by the IS is that the EEC is unpopular with the left wing of the labor movement:

> "A NO vote, that is to say a defeat for big business, Tory, Liberal and rightwing Labour on this issue is in our interests. We are part of the left. We can no more abstain in the confrontation than we could abstain in last year's elections."
> —*Socialist Worker*, 8 March

This abysmal tailism—the IS is mainly concerned about preserving its credentials as part of the left—is neither a principled nor an adequate reason to oppose British membership in the EEC. Moreover, it is no basis for any kind of serious attack on the Labour lefts. The only IS demand that exposes Tony Benn & Co. is the call for an end to common platforms with the Powellites and other Tories. This is correct and necessary. But what is primarily wrong with the Labour anti-Market campaign is not its "popular-front" tactics, but that it is fundamentally based on national parliamentary reformism and adherence to imperialist alliances. A genuinely revolutionary anti-Market campaign must aggressively link opposition to the EEC and all other imperialist alliances and expose the impotent reformism of the Labour left: "Out of the Common Market—Out of NATO! Expropriate the Bourgeoisie—For a Workers Government!"

Mandel's Common Market Fantasies

The International Marxist Group, British section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat, does recognize the NATO connection:

> "And for this very reason socialists must couple the demand for British withdrawal from the EEC with the demand that we get out of NATO and break off all such imperialist alliances."
> —"No to the Capitalists' Common Market, For a United Socialist Europe"

But while this statement appears in a pamphlet receiving only limited distribution, the IMG's public anti-Market campaign, featuring a tour by Ernest Mandel, ignored the issue of imperialist alliances. An article in *Inprecor* (24 April) on the EEC referendum and the IMG's intervention mentions neither NATO, the U.S. or the USSR. Like the IS, the IMG's main slogans were simply abstract socialist propaganda quite harmless to social-democratic Labourism (IS: "Yes to a Socialist United States of Europe!" IMG: "For a United Socialist Europe!").

The IMG's campaign was somewhat distinctive in incorporating Mandel's theory that the Common Market is the embryo of a European super-state, which supposedly must be aborted before it achieves maturity. The EEC Council and Commission, warns the IMG pamphlet quoted above, "can make legally binding regulations.... The logic of these developments leads toward the creation of a European super-state." Mandel's theory is actually derived from his theory of "neo-capitalism"; a European bourgeois state power is needed to coordinate Keynesian counter-cyclical policies across national boundaries:

> "As soon as the EEC finds itself in the grips of a general recession...'European' companies will therefore be forced to demand anti-recessionary policies on a 'European' scale. In other words, they will tend to demand that national governments lose their right to take decisions in critical areas of economic policy and hand these powers to the supranational authorities of the European Community."
> —*Europe vs. America*, 1970

But today it is obvious to everyone that the EEC has done nothing in the way of counter-cyclical measures to counter and reverse the present depression. Two and a half years ago, shortly after Britain, Ireland and Denmark entered the EEC, we predicted: "Such mergers will crumble along with the rest of Mandel's pipe dream... at the first general downturn, as all the European capitalists scurry back to their nation-states for self-protection from each other" ("Labor and the Common Market," *WV* No. 15, January 1973).

This prediction was fully vindicated in the sharp economic crisis of 1974 and early 1975. Italy and Denmark violated the most sacrosanct part of the Treaty of Rome by imposing tariffs on other Common Market members. France and Denmark are directly subsidizing their own farmers in direct violation of the CAP. France has recently physically stopped shipments of Italian wine. As Gaston Thorn, the premier of Luxemburg, put it: "What's left of the Community is an enlarged German customs union" (*Newsweek* [international edition], 23 September 1974).

Underlying Mandel's false prediction concerning the evolution of the EEC is an idealist conception of the state. State power is never simply an instrument carrying out the rational historic interests of the economically dominant class. It is composed of living men who defend their present power and privileges, even if this sometimes contradicts the historic interests of capitalism on a global scale.

Unification and subordination of competing bourgeois state apparatuses can be achieved only through force and threat of force. This was, after all, how the great national states were created in the nineteenth century. The objective need of the German, Italian and American bourgeoisies for a strong, centralized state was not realized through a gradual evolutionary process but through the wars of Bismarck, Cavour and Lincoln.

Where Mandel is wrong is not in believing there is an immanent tendency toward capitalist unification of Europe, but in believing that this can be realized by gradual, peaceful and bourgeois-democratic means. The tendency toward a unified European state power is nothing other than a tendency toward imperialist war, already experienced in 1914-18 and 1939-45. The creation of a capitalist European super-state can only be achieved through the methods of an Adolf Hitler, not those of a Paul Henri Spaak.

Against Abstention!

Two "Trotskyist" groups advocated absention in the referendum: Workers Fight (WF), which has been a left-critical supporter of the United Secretariat in the past, and the Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), which is distinguished by its peculiar theory of post-war capitalism and its academic orientation.

The main argument for abstention is that the Labourite anti-Market campaign is national-chauvinist. This view is summed up in the WF pamphlet, "The EEC: In or Out, The Fight Goes On": "The 'Get Britain Out' campaign has been fought in the way it was bound to be fought: boosting illusions in the importance of parliament...and boosting the kind of patriotic pride that would normally have brought hoots of laughter from a left wing audience."

The program of revolutionary Marxists is determined by the *objective historic interests* of world socialism, not by the attitude of a majority of the workers at any time. Frequently the masses support objectively retrogressive policies out of progressive motivation: for example, many among the Chilean masses who voted for Allende's popular front no doubt believed this was the road to socialism. The opposite also occurs, although less frequently, when mass support for a progressive measure partly reflects backward and even reactionary attitudes. But our policies must be based on objective considerations.

For example, would the WF have American revolutionists abstain on the

continued on page 10

NMU Chiefs Railroad Contract Deal

JUNE 17—Following the pattern of longshore automation pacts which for years have provided profit bonanzas to shipping companies, the leadership of the National Maritime Union (NMU)—representing about 14,000 unlicensed seamen mainly in East and Gulf Coast ports—has just signed a three-year contract that is certain to mean continued massive erosion of jobs in the industry. The reception from the membership has been far from enthusiastic, however. As we go to press, *WV* has learned that at least two ships arriving in the Port of New York have unanimously voted down the pact.

The terms include a 24 percent wage increase over three years, with half coming in the first year (obviously to induce the membership to approve the package), and for the first time there will be a cost-of-living escalator clause. However, the wage increase doesn't even make up for the ravages of inflation suffered by seamen during the life of the last contract (equivalent to a 25 percent pay cut). In addition, the c-o-l doesn't begin for a year and a half and provides for only two-thirds of the percentage increase in prices (calculated every six months). The ceiling on pensions is raised from $300 to $400, but the highest bracket is reserved for the most skilled "key ratings"; there is no improvement whatsoever for those with under 25 years' service. Inadequate improvements in medical benefits were also negotiated (while plans are afoot to close the Public Health Service marine hospitals).

A leaflet by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus (M-SC), a class-struggle opposition grouping in the union, points out that there are absolutely no provisions for job protection in the contract: "Not one word has been mentioned about *jobs* or *manning scales*! Items on *work rules* and *conditions* are totally omitted!" (*Beacon* supplement, 6 June). The Caucus also points out that all the "improvements" pale in comparison to soaring maritime company profits. Pointing to "the $200 billion trade record in 1974," shipping interests spokesman James Reynolds predicted a trade surplus in 1975 and "unprecedented financial opportunities for all of us in the U.S. shipping industry" (*Journal of Commerce*, 3 March).

The financial "soundness" of the maritime industry is based on tremendous technological innovations in recent years such as containerization, barge-carrying LASH ships, roll-on/roll-off ships and decreased travel time. As in longshore, this has led to dramatic increases in productivity, amounting to an average of 12 percent per year between 1965 and 1971 and predicted to go higher still in 1975.

But above all the shippers depend on the maritime labor leadership to prevent the kind of anti-capitalist struggle for more jobs and better wages and conditions at internationally uniform levels which alone could spread the benefits of productivity advances to the workers. It is little wonder that Reynolds attributed the shipping companies' good fortune to the "increasing cooperation of maritime labor."

The policy of the NMU bureaucracy under Joseph Curran and his hand-picked successor Shannon Wall has not been to fight for jobs but to beg for favors—persuading shippers not to "run away" to foreign-flag bases in low-wage countries such as Panama and Liberia and pleading with Congress to enact protectionist legislation such as the Oil Import Quota Bill in order to promote U.S.-flag shipping. As a sweetener, NMU chiefs offer the companies manning-scale reductions, thereby giving up the jobs they are supposedly saving! With some ships already manned by as few as 17 unlicensed seamen, plans are being laid for ships with as few as eight. As a result of the union leaders' impotent class-collaborationist policies some 22,000 shipboard jobs, almost twice the present NMU deep-sea membership, were lost between 1960 and 1972 (*AFL-CIO American Federationist*, April 1973).

The NMU brass has attempted to ram through the contract with as little discussion as possible. (Actually the union constitution does not even require membership approval, so that presumably even a heavy "no" vote could be ignored by the tops—at their peril.) In the Port of New York members were given less than 48 hours to study the terms. According to seamen interviewed afterwards by *WV*, the contract meeting itself was a "railroad job." As soon as one speaker from the Militant-Solidarity Caucus had spoken against the pact, discussion was cut off and a vote taken.

The M-SC, which is increasingly recognized by officials and members alike as the real opposition group in the union, has presented the only concerted opposition to the contract. The Caucus demands a one-year contract, the right to strike, and a struggle for jobs through the "four-watch" system (shortening hours at no loss in pay). The group is organized around a full class-struggle program, including a call for a workers party and a workers government. Unlike the social-democratic "reformer" James Morrissey, the M-SC opposes the bureaucracy's protectionism and demands international organizing to equalize wages and conditions of seamen worldwide, the only real answer to "runaways."

Following the vote in the New York union hiring hall (it "passed" with the aid of Wall's strong-arm tactics), official union "patrolmen" have raised the contract for a vote in the special meetings that are held aboard each ship when it arrives in port. These seamen have not heard anything about the pact when the patrolmen come on board, and a number of crews have been angered by the fact that the contract was already rammed through in the port meeting.

Generally union officials are able to get a desultory "yes" vote for their motions after one-sided presentations in such shipboard meetings. However, according to a *Beacon* supplement distributed this morning outside the union hall, in recent days M-SC oppositionists visited two ships before the contract vote was taken. Despite the fact that Caucus members were not present at the meetings (run by the NMU officials), *both* of these ships—the Mormac Altair and the LASH Italia—voted *unanimously* to *reject* the contract.

These votes are clear indications of what would happen if members were permitted to hear both sides and discuss the contract thoroughly. Not surprisingly, then, union officials have tried to squelch opposition by blatantly undemocratic means. Returning to the Altair and Italia after the voting, M-SC members were ordered off by ships' officers who had been summoned by the union patrolmen, despite requests by crew members that they be allowed to stay. The Caucus is vigorously protesting this use of company officers to "sanitize" internal union discussion by removing opponents of the bureaucracy.

The opportunist Morrissey has not even opened his mouth about the contract. He has never taken an interest in fighting inside the union, preferring the capitalist courts and the pages of anti-labor newspapers such as the *New York Times* as his "battlegrounds." Morrissey has reportedly not been seen since winning a court case against the union earlier this year in which he was awarded $303,500, of which $103,500 is payable to him directly from the union treasury. The M-SC denounces the use of the courts and government against the union as an attack on the independence of the workers movement from the class enemy and as being no different than the bureaucracy's reliance on management and cops against the opposition.

NMU seamen need not fight alone. The Seafarers International Union (SIU), representing an equal number of seamen and involved in merger talks with the Wall regime earlier this year, has just ratified a new contract; the West Coast ILWU longshoremen's contract expires just two weeks after the June 15 NMU deadline; Boston ILA longshoremen are still out in a local strike; and Canadian East Coast dockers have recently been forced back to work by government strikebreaking legislation. Yet none of these unions' misleaders have done anything to truly unite maritime workers in struggle against the companies.

The bureaucracies' automation deals have caused seamen and longshoremen to suffer some of the worst job losses of any industry in North America and the new NMU contract is one more step down the same road. Only the internationalist program of groups like the Militant-Solidarity Caucus points toward another road—to victory in the class struggle and the elimination of capitalist exploitation. ■

WV photo

Militant-Solidarity Caucus leafletting against bureaucrats' sellout contract at New York NMU hall this month.

Imperialists Retrench

(continued from page 1)

days of the Chinese deformed workers state would be numbered.

The East Is Not Quite Red

The servile treachery of the Stalinists of all stripes is not limited to licking the boots of powerful imperialists. Any two-bit dictator or pro-American "democrat" will do. And while the rout of the utterly rotten Thieu and Lon Nol regimes in Indochina could easily have resulted in a revolutionary upsurge throughout Southeast Asia, this is *not* occurring—thanks to the efforts of Peking and Hanoi to prove their utter lack of proletarian internationalism.

In Rangoon unrest has recently broken out among students and workers protesting against the Burmese military strongman Ne Win. This "anti-imperialist" petty tyrant is "building socialism" on the basis of anti-communism, extensive graft and the construction of golf courses (a game he greatly enjoys). He is, however, "open" to Peking, which in turn controls the Burmese Communist Party and the guerrilla movement it leads. The once-strong BCP has recently suffered repeated serious, if not fatal, defeats. In analyzing the causes of Ne Win's success, the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (23 May) concludes that the BCP's "one mistake was its subservience to a foreign power—China—from which it hoped to garner military aid."

In North Korea, meanwhile, the great exponent of *juche* (self-reliance), Kim Il Sung, is anxious to apply pressure against the despised and increasingly isolated Pak regime in the South. However, worried about the precarious position of its man in Seoul, the U.S. has been rattling its rockets frequently and loudly ("tactical" nuclear weapons are ready for use there against "northern invaders"). When the North Korean leader made a pilgrimage to see Chou En-lai this spring, in hopes of getting a guarantee of military backing against the U.S., he came back empty-handed. The *Economist* (24 May) reported that "the Chinese sent Mr. Kim home from Peking last month with the flea of 'peaceful unification' in his ear."

Even in the sugar republic of the Philippines the victories of Indochinese insurgents have made an impact, in combination with protests against corruption at home and a Moslem separatist movement. This has led the most servile of all American lackies, Ferdinand Marcos, to seek alliances with the USSR and China as a bulwark against social revolution. Both pro-Moscow and pro-Peking Stalinists have responded with declarations of undying friendship.

The pro-Moscow Philippine Communist Party and its guerrilla front, the Hukbalahap, have since last October liquidated all armed struggle for the first time in 30 years, thus permitting the government to focus its repressive actions exclusively on the Moslem rebels. As a result, the CP was granted legal status, in return for which it immediately offered to avoid "any personal anti-Marcos stance" since some features of his rule are now found to be "positive" and "worthy of support" (*Daily World*, 25 October 1974). Not to be outdone in this contest of seeing who can grovel the most ignominiously before whatever inconsequential imperialist stooge, Peking feted the entire Marcos family in the Great Hall of the People!

From the Authors of Chile and Indonesia

For every honeyed phrase of "détente" the working masses must pay with blood and tremendous suffering. When Moscow and Peking pushed through the 1954 Geneva agreement on Indochina—and Ho Chi Minh accepted it, despite the overwhelmingly favorable military situa-

tion of the Viet Minh—this meant literally *millions* of deaths of Vietnamese workers and peasants and another 20 years of struggle to expel the imperialists. Even scant hours before marching into Saigon and Phnom Penh the Stalinists were still trying to set up coalition governments in an effort to avoid taking power in their own name. But they found nobody to coalesce with, as the extremely weak and servile bourgeoisie preferred to flee with its imperialist masters.

There is nothing particularly new in all this. The current abject submission of the Portuguese CP to the Armed Forces Movement only mirrors the action of the French and Italian Stalinist leaders following World War II, when they entered governments of "national union" and ordered CP-led resistance movements to turn in their arms; when the bourgeoisie had sufficiently stabilized the situation, the Communists were unceremoniously dumped from the ruling coalitions.

Nor are there substantial differences between the several Stalinist bureaucracies. The pro-Moscow Communist Party paved the way for the bloody 1973 Chilean coup with its popular-front policies of confidence in the "democratic" bourgeoisie and "constitutionalist" officers. Fidel added his blessings to this "peaceful road to socialism," telling Chilean copper miners to work harder and demand less. While the Maoists generally posture to the left of Brezhnev's acolytes, by their policies of support for the nationalist Sukarno the Peking bureaucrats were instrumental in lulling the revolutionary will of the Indonesian masses and thereby preparing the massacre of hundreds of thousands of militant peasants and workers in 1965.

The imperialists have suffered an important defeat, but one battle is not the war. As inter-imperialist rivalries prepare the way to a new imperialist war, the bourgeoisie is still capable of plunging humanity into a nuclear holocaust in order to preserve its oppressive rule. The course of world history continues to hinge on the crisis of revolutionary leadership.

Repeatedly it has been shown that it is above all the class-collaborationist policy of the misleaders of the workers movement which permits a historically bankrupt social system to retrench. The urgent task of revolutionaries throughout the world is to forge a Trotskyist world party of socialist revolution, capable of defeating the Stalinist bureaucrats and mobilizing the proletarian masses for the conquest of power. Such a party must be steeled in the fight against all manner of reformist illusions and can only be built through relentless exposure of the betrayals perpetrated by the Brezhnevs, Maos, Ho Chi Minhs and Castros.

The fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," however, has exactly the opposite perspective. By tailing after such counterrevolutionary fakers, apologizing for and covering up their crimes, the USec hopes to bask in their popularity and seduce unwary left Stalinists. In Portugal this has meant supporting the Communist Party's drive to impose state control on the unions, voting for the CP despite its presence in a blatantly class-collaborationist coalition "government" and deepening illusions in the "progressive" wing of the Armed Forces Movement.

In Vietnam the USec (or at least its European majority, led by Ernest Mandel) goes even farther, labelling the Vietnamese Stalinists "revolutionaries" and hailing "the first victorious 'permanent revolution' since the victory of the Cuban revolution" (*Inprecor*, 8 May 1975). Nowhere do they even mention the massacre of thousands of Vietnamese Trotskyists by the followers of Ho Chi Minh in 1945-47!

The rout of the bourgeoisie in Indochina is attributed by Mandel & Co. to a "new rise of world revolution":

> "...the counterrevolution has shown itself incapable of halting the Indochinese revolution, notably as a result of the political autonomy of its leaderships, an autonomy that is itself conferred by the strength of the revolutionary upsurge of the masses."
>
> —"General Political Resolution" of the USec "Tenth World Congress," *Intercontinental Press*, 23 December 1974

In a recent commentary on the world situation following the taking of Saigon, USec gnome Pierre Frank goes even farther, alleging that "for the moment" a "shift in the worldwide relationship of forces between the classes, especially in the major imperialist countries themselves" has made it "*politically and socially* impossible for imperialism to take the initiative again" (*Inprecor*, 8 May).

This dangerous objectivism is nothing but an excuse for the USec's decisive abandonment of the Trotskyist perspective of building an authentic revolutionary leadership. It is the same reasoning which in the early 1950's led Mandel and Frank to conclude that European Stalinist parties could no longer betray, and that the job of revolutionists was therefore to make a "deep entry" into these parties in order to pressure them to the left. Though the sets change—from Tito to Castro to Ho Chi Minh—the script is the same: tailing after non-proletarian leaderships who because of a "new world reality" are miraculously able to substitute for the conscious Trotskyist vanguard.

This capitulationist policy led to the organizational destruction of the Fourth International and time and again has sacrificed the development of potential revolutionary militants for the fools' gold of a short-cut to achieving mass influence. Only by politically defeating such Pabloist liquidationism can the Fourth International be reforged and the road opened to extend the conquests of the anti-capitalist revolutions in Vietnam, Cambodia and elsewhere, through political revolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states and social revolution in the capitalist countries. ■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

U.S. Refuses to Admit Reds

Open the Borders to All Persecuted Chilean Refugees!

Workers' Power

Chacabuco, one of the main torture centers and concentration camps of the bloody Chilean junta.

The U.S. government has announced it is prepared to admit into the country political refugees from Chile. Having successfully relocated tens of thousands of Vietnamese reactionaries in a few weeks' time, the State Department has deigned to turn its attention to the question of asylum for victims of the Chilean military junta—a problem which has been "under discussion" since 1973! The reason for the delay, we are informed, is that the U.S. "did not wish to encumber its relations with the Santiago government" of General Pinochet. We can be sure that should the Chilean workers follow the example of the Indochinese masses and overthrow the reactionary butchers who rule in Santiago, asylum for the fugitives from a Chilean revolutionary regime would be far more speedily effected by the American government.

Lest domestic right-wingers should misunderstand, Assistant Secretary of State William D. Rogers, in "secret" testimony before the Senate Judiciary Committee, explained that "Chilean prisoners would be screened to assure that no Communists were admitted" (*New York Times*, 14 June). This little precaution is undoubtedly responsible for the fact that *only 19 Chileans* have been admitted into the U.S. since the coup! Chilean workers are, virtually to a man, associated with one or another "socialist" organization. Small wonder that among the many thousands of Chilean militants who have been savagely beaten, starved and tortured by the junta, only a handful can be found who are deemed worthy of asylum by the "humanitarians" of the U.S. government.

While the Hitler-lovers, opium dealers and black marketeers from Saigon are welcomed into the U.S. with open arms, our class brothers from Chile are to be refused refuge. For U.S. revolutionaries and class-conscious workers this cannot be a matter of indifference. Return the Vietnamese reactionaries to liberated Saigon—Open the borders to the persecuted victims of the Chilean junta!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

71

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues
☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

UNC Backs Busing...

(continued from page 5)

defending black people. An effective answer has, however, been provided by UAW Local 6, at an International Harvester plant outside Chicago, which set up a union defense guard to protect a black member's house that had been firebombed by racists.

The motion for labor/black defense in Local 6 was put forward by a class-struggle opposition group, the Labor Struggle Caucus (see *WV* No. 67, 25 April). However, a number of opportunist radical groups have tried to falsely take credit for the Local 6 action and cover up the action (or inaction) of their own supporters. The IS' *Workers' Power* (24 April-7 May) reprinted the entire LSC motion without indicating who put it forward. The June issue of the OL's *Call* blatantly lied, claiming that the Chicago Workers Solidarity Committee organized the defense guard and got the motion passed. Actually, this group has no supporters in the plant, had nothing to do with the resolution and has refused to deal with the Local committee in charge of the defense guard.

Consequently, when a motion for labor/black defense was raised at the end of yesterday's conference, Jack Weinberg, leader of the IS-backed wing and its representative on the UNC executive board, found it impossible to let the motion die for lack of support from a UNC member. To do so would have been too compromising even for these professional social-democratic compromisers.

It was not one of the UNC "radicals" who introduced the motion but Keith Dodds of the Dearborn Assembly Unit of Ford Local 600. Dodds was recently a candidate in Local elections, where he ran for unit president on a class-struggle program including support to busing and labor/black defense. Like the Labor Struggle Caucus of Local 6, which had an observer at the conference and presented a motion condemning the "Buy American" protectionism to which the UNC capitulates, Dodds is not a member of the UNC because, he says, it is "an unprincipled swamp" whose main aim is to put a new clique of bureaucrats in office.

Since the UNC executive board, to which the motion was referred, is dominated by the bureaucratic elements who tried to duck the issue, *Workers Vanguard* may be the only paper to print the motion for which the auto workers' group has nominally gone on record:

> "*Whereas* the racist right wing forces have made the anti-busing campaign their focal point seeking to drive back even the limited gains of black people, and
>
> "*Whereas* working class unity can be achieved only by the most militant defense of minorities' rights to equality in jobs, housing and education which can only be achieved by labor struggle for integration, and
>
> "*Whereas* busing represents at least a minimal step towards integration of the schools, and
>
> "*Whereas* the anti-working-class forces of repression—police, national guard, and federal troops—cannot be relied on to protect black people against vicious racist attacks,
>
> "*Therefore be it resolved* that this meeting of the UNC commits itself to a broad united front mobilization for: 1) defense of busing; 2) extension of busing to the relatively more privileged and largely white suburban schools; 3) a fight to make the UAW take leadership and responsibility for the formation of city-wide defense guards based on the UAW, other labor unions, black and community organizations to ward off and defeat racist violence against blacks and all school children."

Weinberg insisted that this motion be discussed and voted upon, although it could have been "safely" ignored. This sent the bureaucratic leaders into a frenzy, using every kind of underhanded argument and baiting against their radical "allies." Sims, who is black, race-baited Weinberg by claiming he was sick of guilty white liberals who "stick their noses halfway into our business." Calling Dodds a hypocrite for proposing a motion to a group he disagreed with, Sims castigated Weinberg for backing the motion of "that Johnny-come-lately from Ford's." "You make me sick, Jack," he raged at Weinberg. "You make me sick."

Fox, Sims and Kelley sought to prevent the motion from passing primarily by accusing Weinberg and his supporters of hypocrisy rather than by outright opposition. But it was the substance they objected to. A serious mobilization by the UNC to promote UAW-organized labor/black defense would endanger their bureaucratic positions, leading to an all-out battle with the gang in Solidarity House which the UNC is neither willing nor able to fight. The radical faction, on the other hand, is increasingly feeling pressure because the rightward drift of the UNC leadership is becoming more pronounced while the group's popularity stagnates or dwindles.

With such fundamental issues as seniority/preferential layoffs and labor/black defense wrenching apart the already tattered UNC coalition, official proposals coming from yesterday's conference, notably a campaign for a special UAW convention to combat unemployment, are doomed to limited life-expectancy. It remains to be seen if the fractured and squabbling UNC will use its position as the largest UAW opposition group in Detroit to implement the labor/black defense resolution it has so tenuously adopted. ■

Boston Teachers' Union Election

(continued from page 5)

during which it could plan further sabotage of desegregation.

In the BTU election held on June 4 the convergence of liberals and racists was underscored by the banal campaign statements of the candidates. While a number of candidates referred ominously to "challenges," "problems," "turmoil," and other synonyms for busing, none presented the semblance of a program or openly discussed their position in campaign literature. From George McGrimley, a successful Executive Board candidate who opposes busing unconditionally, to Robinson, the new President who favors "metropolitan integration" but wants to derail integration in Boston itself, all the candidates stood on various combinations of "integrity, experience, loyalty" and other modified versions of the Boy Scout oath.

The only notable exception to this pattern was a high school teacher named Robert Pearlman, who ran in several delegate elections. Pearlman has a good record of challenging the racist policies of the Local 66 leadership. He has introduced a number of motions over the year supporting busing as a minimal step toward equal education and calling for the formation of integrated defense committees based on the unions and black organizations (labor/black defense) to protect black school children. He also fought the BTU bureaucracy's complicity with city attempts to force a rotten contract on the union through foot-dragging arbitration and renegotiations to whittle down even the meager 9.5 percent salary increase recommended by government mediators. (Local 66 has gone through the entire year without signing a new contract.) This militant teacher was the only candidate to attack the insipid and racist "professionalism" of reactionaries who proposed segregating the aides in a separate unit of the union.

Pearlman's campaign for delegate to the Massachusetts Federation of Teachers; AFT and AFL-CIO conventions and the Greater Boston Labor Council centered on busing, the key question which all the other candidates sought to ignore, and on the social service cutbacks and projected layoffs of public employees. His election statement, which included a broad program for class-struggle unionism and independent political action, stressed the organic connection between the democratic rights of black people and the gains of organized labor:

> "The racist anti-busing ROAR forces must be defeated! While today that movement is directed against the rights of black people, tomorrow it will line up with their friends on the School Committee against the BTU and the entire labor movement. The anti-black, anti-semitic, anti-labor scum of the Nazis and the Klan have come to Boston to feed on and encourage this movement. It is the elementary duty of the BTU to defend the democratic rights of black people for equality in education, to defend citywide busing and its extension into the suburbs, and to initiate a defense of black school children against racist attacks.
>
> "...The BTU and AFT must forge ties of solidarity with state workers, welfare recipients, oppressed minorities and all sections of the labor movement—otherwise this union will find itself isolated and defenseless when our rights and livelihood come under attack."

Pearlman's program also opposed government intervention into union affairs, calling for union control of hiring and transfers, improved schools and desegregation implemented by worker-student-teacher committees. He called for dumping the class-collaborationist Shanker/Meany union bureaucracy and the building of a workers party, based on the trade unions, to fight for a workers government. While the BTU bureaucrats have clearly indicated their intention to allow layoffs of aides, provisional and non-tenured teachers (those with less than three years' seniority) in return for paper assurances against layoffs of tenured teachers, Pearlman's program called for strikes against layoffs and reduced class size and teacher load at full pay to provide jobs for all.

In an election where the new black union members, alienated by the policies of the bureaucrats, generally did not vote, Pearlman finished at or near the bottom of the list for the various delegate positions. He did succeed, however, in winning an average of 150 votes for each post, was elected delegate to the Massachusetts Federation of Teachers convention and came within eleven votes of election to the state AFL-CIO convention. This small block of votes in support of a clear anti-capitalist program is an important beginning. As the economic crisis eats away at all the past gains of the union and as the policies of the BTU leadership feed the racial conflicts that are tearing the Boston schools apart, a class-struggle opposition must be built in the union which is capable of giving the leadership and program for working-class unity that the present racist and defeatist bureaucracy is incapable of providing. ■

SUBSCRIBE

Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)

U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia

Britain and the Common Market

(continued from page 7)

question of Vietnamese refugees (accurately described by a State Department official as "the rich, prostitutes and killers") because much of the opposition to them reflected chauvinist prejudice and outright racism? The Spartacist League/U.S. did no such thing. We opposed asylum for Indochinese counterrevolutionaries, while criticizing the chauvinist component of the widespread opposition to Marshall Ky and his friends.

The other main argument for abstention is that the anti-Market campaign was a diversion from real class struggle. Thus the RCG writes: "A brief inspection of the left-reformists has shown that they *divert* the attention of the working-class away from the real issues facing it—issues such as unemployment and inflation—into the thoroughly bourgeois arena of the EEC 'debate'" (*Revolutionary Communist* No. 2). This view of the "real issues" facing the working class is thoroughly economist. Apparently Britain's imperialist alliances are purely a question for the bourgeoisie. Does even NATO qualify as a "real issue" for the RCG?

L'Express

British Tory leader Margaret Thatcher at pro-EEC rally.

To be sure, it might be preferable for the TUC and the left wing of the Labour Party to mobilize against the "social compact" (state wage control), for extensive nationalizations or for withdrawal of troops from Northern Ireland. But sometimes important class battles are fought over secondary, though principled, questions. Jules Guesde and his wing of the French Socialist Party (except for Paul Lafargue) considered the Dreyfus affair—the victimization of a Jewish officer of the general staff in the 1890's—to be a monstrous "diversion," and therefore abstained. But the Dreyfus "diversion" led to the brink of a rightist coup and possible civil war.

Communist tactics do not consist in waiting for the "perfect issue." On the contrary, Leninists seek to use every major political struggle to attack the ruling class and reformist misleaders of the workers movement. No one can deny that the EEC referendum was a major split between the capitalists and the workers movement, as well as between the right and left wings of the workers movement.

—Out of the Common Market—Out of NATO!

—Expropriate the Bourgeoisie—Toward a Socialist United States of Europe!

Portuguese Maoists...

(continued from page 12)

arrests was the discovery, by militants of the MRPP and soldiers sympathetic to it, of evidence that an official in the general staff of the armed forces was involved in the counterrevolutionary attempted coup on March 11. After interrogating a suspect (a marine) for two days, the Movement turned him over to soldiers of the First Light Artillery Regiment (RAL-1), also known as the "red regiment" because of the influence of the MRPP among its soldiers. (RAL-1 was the object of the reactionaries' military action on March 11 and one of its soldiers was killed by the plotters.) The regiment set up a commission of inquiry to try the suspect, but COPCON forces arrived to take him away by force (*Le Monde*, 6 June).

There is in fact considerable unrest among the rank-and-file Portuguese soldiers and sailors, who are without influence in the MFA. Far from representing in any way a body similar to the soldiers' committees in the Russian Revolution, the Armed Forces Movement represents the officer corps of a bourgeois army. No amount of "leftist" or "socialist" rhetoric will change its character as a *bourgeois* formation. One of the principal tasks of revolutionaries in Portugal, as we have insisted for over a year, is the formation of *soldiers committees* as a step toward the destruction of this military arm of the capitalist class. This, in turn, requires a sharp struggle against the MFA which must seek above all to maintain discipline in the ranks—its only source of power.

The tremendous popularity which this slogan could arouse was indicated by an incident last last year when cadets at an infantry school in the town of Mafra saw the Russian film "Battleship Potemkin." Following the film they drew up a list of demands for better food, freedom of assembly and discussion; when eight of the militants were arrested, 400 of the cadets went on strike. The "Mafra revolt" was violently condemned by the MFA as "a veritable crime against the esprit de corps, the cohesion and discipline" of the armed forces (*Rouge*, 10 January). Unfortunately, the MRPP (which reportedly has influence in some army and navy units) has not attempted to organize such soldiers committees, but rather seeks to build only cells of its sympathizers in the military.

More generally, the MRPP has been under attack by the MFA leaders because it is one of the few groups to declare openly that the Armed Forces Movement is a bourgeois enemy of the working masses.

> "The neo-revisionist grouplets, with their opportunist policy of 'being on the side of the MFA as long as the MFA sides with the people,' in addition to rejecting... the essence of Marxist theory—namely the scientific theory of the state and the role of the bourgeois armed forces—crawl on all fours in front of the 'progressive officers,' imploring them to provide leadership and reject... the Leninist thesis that the working class must exercise hegemony in the revolution."
>
> —*Luta Popular*, 23 May

Compared to groups like the Socialist Left Movement (MES), which is constantly explaining in its press that its slogans really are 100 percent in line with the MFA's program (even when they aren't), or the "Trotskyist" LCI which has called on the "progressive" officers to join the workers, this clear statement is a breath of fresh air. The MRPP is one of the few groups whose militants have not been educated in cowardly grovelling before the MFA's threats. Consequently it is frequently denounced by more "mainstream" Maoists (e.g., the *Guardian's* Wilfred Burchett) for sectarianism (*Guardian*, 30 April). To be sure, the MRPP is indeed sectarian (refusing to undertake joint demonstrations with other left groups, even in their own defense) and has engaged in many adventurist actions (such as kidnapping soldiers being sent to Africa last May). But the MRPP draws the ire of the *Guardian* at bottom, not for its mistakes, but for its leftist impulse to oppose the bourgeois MFA. And that is more than one can say of most of the Portuguese "far left."

But while the Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party is quite left within the Maoist spectrum—particularly these days, as these erstwhile "left" opponents of the pro-Moscow Stalinists dutifully fall into line behind NATO—it has nonetheless failed entirely to break with its Stalinist heritage. (The MRPP is, in fact, aggressively pro-Stalin, denying that he ever made *any* mistakes.) It claims that "revolution is on the order of the day" and the "dominant class is now unable to govern," but at the same time "the working class is not yet in a condition to take power."

> "In the case of Portugal, the actual phase of the revolution is the Democratic and Popular Revolution and not, as the Trotskyists and other opportunists would have it, already the phase of socialist revolution."
>
> —*Luta Popular*, 6 June 1974

With this line, the MRPP *cannot* provide a clear class opposition to the MFA. It is constrained by the "logic" of its politics to look for an alternative alliance with bourgeois forces for the first stage of the two-stage revolution. And while it is looking in vain, the lash of counterrevolution will fall on it and the class-conscious workers it *refuses* to organize for proletarian revolution. This is the road to abject defeat, comrades.

Right Maoists Capitulate to MFA

There are a number of right-Maoist groups in Portugal, among them the Party of Popular Unity (PUP) and the Popular Democratic Union (UDP), an electoral bloc of three smaller groups. Both the PUP and UDP campaign exclusively on "democratic" slogans, favor a broad unity for "Marxist-Leninists" and in general are in no way to the left of the Moscow-line Stalinists. Typical of the attitude of the right-Maoists toward the MFA was that taken by the UDP toward the pact endorsing the bonapartist role of the officers' movement. It was up to the MFA to choose: "...either you defend the interests of the proletariat fighting against the bourgeoisie or you defend the interests of capital fighting against the working masses.... Either you play on one side or another" (*Diario de Noticias*, 7 April).

The largest of the right-Maoist groups is the Portuguese Communist Party Marxist-Leninist (PCP-ML). Like the MRPP, the PCP-ML has run afoul of the MFA on several occasions, notably when several union leaders who are members of its labor front group, the Worker-Peasant Alliance (AOC), were arrested by COPCON troops in early March. The AOC was also thrown off the ballot in the April elections by the officers. Its reaction, however, has been exactly the opposite of the MRPP. In the elections the PCP-ML called for a vote to the social-democratic SP, and shortly afterwards the AOC, in a cravenly class-collaborationist move, announced it would request that the MFA let it sign the pact (*Diario de Noticias*, 28 April).

Another key issue in Portugal is the question of NATO. All the Maoist groups in one way or another denounce NATO, this being necessary in order to maintain any kind of credibility with the masses. The attitude of the Maoist bureaucracy in Peking is quite different, however. "We support the efforts of West European countries to get united in this struggle" against "superpower control" said Chou En-lai to the Chinese National People's Congress earlier this year (*New York Times*, 8 February).

In Portugal the group which has hewed most closely to this Chinese line of de facto support for NATO is the PCP-ML, which states: "German imperialism is interested in guaranteeing that Portugal does not fall into the social-imperialist camp. And here the working class has interests which coincide with those of German imperialism..." (*Unidade Popular*, 16 January 1975). This is interesting in light of the recent trip to China by leaders of the MRPP and the PCP-ML, to negotiate over who should get the official Maoist franchise for Portugal. Apparently the PCP-ML got the nod, for *Hsinhua Weekly* of 19 May reprints excerpts from *Unidade Popular* which "urges the European countries and people to get prepared against a war which the two superpowers may unleash." This is the first time that the Chinese have mentioned any Portuguese group in their news agency dispatches.

For a Trotskyist Party in Portugal

The Portuguese Maoists are caught in a dead-end. Every move to the left of the PCP must bring them into conflict with the Armed Forces Movement. The MRPP responds with impotent adventurism and sectarianism; the PCP-ML and the rest of the right-Maoist coterie respond by capitulating to the MFA's threats. Neither are able to mobilize the mass of the militant workers around their class interests because this does not fit into the class-collaborationist schema of "popular-democratic revolution."

The Maoists can denounce the MFA as a representative of imperialist interests, but so long as they are tied to the interests of the parasitic bureaucracy which commands the Chinese deformed workers state, they will be unable to separate themselves from the imperialists. To take a simple case in point: not one Portuguese Maoist organization has demanded independence for the colony of Macao. The reason is simple: when MFA officials visited Peking last month, the Chinese *opposed* the return of this center of the international opium trade to China, just as they have consistently favored the maintenance of the British "crown colony" of Hong Kong. Submitting to the dictates of such narrow, nationalist bureaucracies means to renounce all pretense of proletarian internationalism.

To find a way out of this dead-end, aspiring revolutionists among the Maoist groups must directly confront the Trotskyist bogey they fear so much. Without the Trotskyist perspective for proletarian revolution they cannot hope to prepare class-conscious workers to defeat the attacks by the military.

—Down with Press Censorship! Down with the Anti-Strike Law! Down with the Trade-Union Regulation Law! Down with the Anti-Democratic Laws of Associations and Parties!

—Immediate Independence for Angola! Portugal Out of NATO!

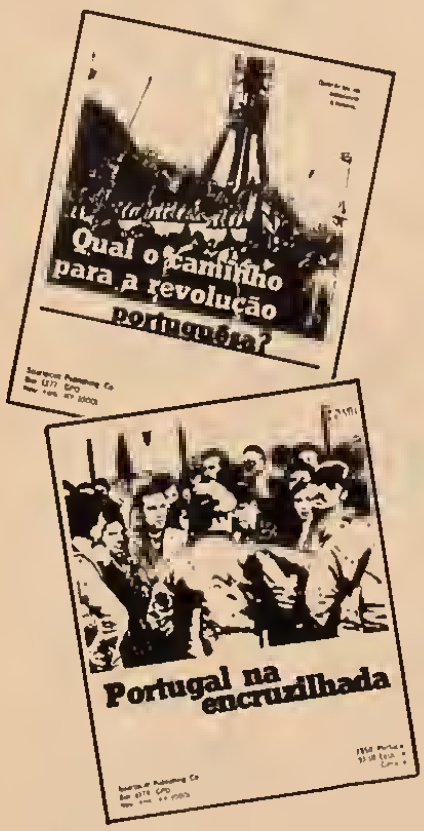
—For the Formation of Democratically Elected Factory Committees! For Soldiers Committees in the Army and Navy! Toward a National Council of Workers Commissions, Factory Committees and Soldiers Committees!

—Expropriate Industry, Finance and Large Landholdings—No Compensation!

—Break with the Bourgeois Parties and the MFA—For a PCP/SP Government! Toward a Workers Government Based on Democratically Elected Workers Councils (Soviets)!

—Break with Maoist Class Collaboration! Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

acoba de salir



2$50 Portugal
$0,10 EEUU e Canada

ordena de:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, New York 10001
EEUU

CIA...

(continued from page 2)

feller report. It is a question of imperialism itself.

All the congressional committees like the Rockefeller Commission have one objective—to streamline the CIA in order to avoid further exposures. So the CIA's important friends have begun an anti-red campaign hoping to protect it from more exposure and claiming the spy agency is needed to defend against the "Communist bloc." Some members of the House investigative committee are now trying to scuttle its work on the grounds that the committee has been "taken over" by those unconcerned with "national security," etc. Averell Harriman said that the Soviet intelligence and secret police outfit, the KGB, must be "dancing with glee." To the extent that exposures of the CIA make it more difficult for the CIA to carry out its filthy work, revolutionaries the world over can also applaud.

Capitalist politicians certainly will not fully expose—much less dismantle—the murderous, anti-communist covert operations required by the imperialist foreign policy they shape and administer. Fostering no illusions in the present three-ring cover-up, communists demand a ruthless, thorough investigation including those areas which never seem to be examined: We demand to know the full story of the assassination of Malcolm X, the counterrevolutionary terror campaigns in Indochina and U.S. subversion of trade unions around the world. We demand that all "classified" CIA/FBI/Pentagon documents and files be disclosed fully in open televised hearings and that all criminals thus exposed be prosecuted.

Only the victorious proletarian revolution which smashes the capitalist state can sweep away the CIA, a justly despised instrument of imperialist tyranny. ■

SUBSCRIBE TO

Young Spartacus

monthly paper of the
Spartacus Youth League,
youth section of the Spartacist League

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____

$2 / 11 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.,
Box B25 Canal St. P.O., New York,
N.Y. 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Free the MRPP 500!

Dead End for Portuguese Maoists

Luta Popular

MRPP militants and soldier supporters demonstrate at Light Artillery Regiment No. 1 in Lisbon following defeat of March 11 reactionary putsch.

JUNE 16 Following sham elections for a phony "constitutent assembly" on April 25, the first anniversary of the overthrow of the rightist Salazar/Caetano dictatorship, the political situation in Portugal remains chaotic and without direction. The leftist leaders of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) want to play a role "above" the classes, arbitrating between competing political factions while imposing order and discipline. But there is not the slightest consensus among the officers on what policies to impose. The MFA continues to oscillate sharply in its day-to-day conduct, first attacking and then conciliating the Socialists, at one moment nationalizing various important trusts and on the day after guaranteeing private property. In the prevailing atmosphere of confusion, a new right-wing coup attempt from within the armed forces is possible at any moment.

The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) has banked everything on being the most unconditional supporter of the MFA, yet it is under heavy pressure from its proletarian base to move against the bourgeoisie. Their weak electoral strength clearly shown in the elections (where the PCP received 13.9 percent and its petty-bourgeois satellite, the MDP, won 4.3 percent of the total vote), the Stalinists must repeatedly take to the streets to demonstrate their continued ability to mobilize masses of workers at crucial moments. At the same time, the PCP has sought to use the state against its left opponents, having Maoists arrested and militant unions put under military control. On several occasions it has itself directly assumed the role of cop and strikebreaker.

Above all, there is in Portugal today no clear-sighted Marxist leadership capable of exposing the PCP's treacherous role as the guardian of capitalism and of drawing to its banners the most advanced elements of the several tens of thousands of class-conscious militants who place themselves to the left of the PCP. Widespread syndicalist sentiment in the factories is reinforced by workerist groups, while the Maoists wander aimlessly, unable to unite due to bureaucratic organizational squabbles and incapable, because of their Stalinist ideology, of taking a consistent class stand against the bourgeois MFA.

Diario de Noticias

Portuguese President General Costa Gomes greets U.S. Admiral Ralph Cousins, supreme commander of air and naval forces of NATO. The "Supreme Council of the Revolution" awarded Cousins a medal late last month.

While the situation cries out for an aggressive policy of revolutionary regroupment through putting forward a sharp programmatic alternative to the treacheries of the present misleaders and the lack of a coherent perspective on the part of the many smaller leftist groups the main "Trotskyist" organization in Portugal, the Internationalist Communist League (LCI, a sympathizing group of the "United Secretariat"), insists on acting as a totally impotent and inconsequential left cover for the PCP and "progressive officers."

Institutionalizing Bonapartism

The April 25 elections only demonstrated the existence of a confused "moderate" majority. The largest vote totals were received by the Socialist Party (SP), the most right-wing of the workers parties, with 41.5 percent, and the "liberal" capitalist People's Democratic Party (PPD), with 28.8 percent. (Both the SP and PPD refer to themselves as social-democratic and work as a mini-coalition.) Two left-socialist groups, the FSP and MES, together received 2.4 percent; three right-Maoist groups won 88,000 votes, or 2.1 percent, between them; and the LCI got 13,000 votes or about 0.3 percent (*Diario de Noticias*, 28 April).

Ignoring the election results, the MFA is continuing its attempt to institutionalize a bonapartist position for itself. The main content of the "constitution" to be worked out by the "constituent assembly"—conceding power to the officers for a "transition period" of three to five years—was already laid down in the so-called MFA/parties pact signed in early April. Some of the more "militant" MFA leaders, however, are now talking of junking the parties altogether and setting up "Cuban-style" committees for the defense of the revolution directly linking the masses to the armed forces.

An important confrontation over the role of the parties and Armed Forces Movement came with the closing of the newspaper *Republica* in late May. A bourgeois paper with an SP editor, *Republica* was originally shut down by its CP-led printers who objected to an article concerning confrontations between the Socialists and Communists on May Day. The MFA then moved in, occupied the premises and officially closed the paper pending court settlement of the "labor dispute." Marxists must oppose such arbitrary restrictions of freedom of the press by the bourgeois state, even if the newspaper in question is a capitalist paper. The same laws used to repress bourgeois opposition (even when it is more rightist than a left-leaning regime), will be used against socialists and the workers movement with infinitely greater ferocity. (As a result of protests by the SP, *Republica* was reopened earlier this month.)

The most dramatic expression of the MFA's determination to preserve capitalist "law and order," however, came with the massive arrests of 500 militants of the left-Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party (MRPP), the largest political party in the country to the left of the PCP. In coordinated nationwide raids before dawn on May 29, troops of the Continental Operations Command (COPCON)—an elite unit of shock troops loyal to leftist leaders of the MFA—struck at the central and neighborhood MRPP offices, arresting all present and confiscating files and equipment. The Maoist militants are currently being held at the same Caixas prison where many of them spent time as political prisoners under the Salazarist regime.

RALLY AND PICKET LINE

Free the MRPP Political Prisoners!

Full Democratic Rights for the Portuguese Workers Movement!

Saturday, June 21
12 noon

PORTUGUESE CONSULATE
3298 Washington Street
SAN FRANCISCO

Sponsor:
Committee to Free the MRPP 500

MRPP Under the Gun

The military authorities have given several explanations for their action. One report speaks of MRPP "assassination plans," others speak of "criminal aggression against the public order" and still others raise the need to prevent embarrassing anti-NATO demonstrations planned for May 31 when U.S. president Ford visited Spain. Clearly all of these are pretexts. The immediate cause of the

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 72 4 July 1975

India in Crisis

JUNE 30—Indira Gandhi has ignited a short fuse in India, the political powderkeg of Asia. Last year civil disorder racked the state of Bihar and in Gujarat the government was brought down by a state-wide general strike. Last year's national railway strike—the longest and most costly in the country's history—was savagely crushed by the government. In recent months, as government repression mounted to quell spreading food riots, Prime Minister Gandhi was caught at a low ebb of popular support. Her "New" Congress Party was routed by an opposition coalition in Gujarat elections a few weeks ago and simultaneously she was convicted by a lower court of corrupt election practices. Now the regime has abandoned all pretense to democratic rule, arresting hundreds of political opponents to its left and right, muzzling the press, suspending civil liberties and plunging the nation into its most severe constitutional and political crisis since the end of British colonial rule in 1947.

The issue of political corruption is socially explosive in India. Although clean government is the rallying cry of moralist social uplifters like the recently arrested Jaya Prakash Narayan, anti-corruption protests (which have mobilized hundreds of thousands in mass demonstrations) are not simply a matter of moral outrage. The vast poverty and mass starvation which permeate Indian life are set in a framework of government procurement and distribution of grain and other essential commodities. Petty functionaries and political big-wigs of the ruling Congress Party have for years hoarded and profiteered on the black market with the supplies that mean the difference between life and death for millions. Whereas in the U.S. charges of political swindling are most often buried by ineffectual investigating committees, in India they frequently lead to mass attacks on the state granaries and the fall of local governments. Now it is the national government itself that is threatened.

Faced with the prospect of a nationwide anti-corruption, anti-Indira campaign that could topple her government, Gandhi has abandoned the image of "respected mother" and taken the road of bonapartist police-state rule. For patrician-populists like the Prime Minister or her father Jawaharlal Nehru to be stripped of their bourgeois-democratic veneer is an important political exposure. For a quarter of a century these phony "anti-imperialists" have intoned in the haughtiest Oxford English that it is

Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi

AP

preferable by far to starve in "democratic" India that to eat in "totalitarian" China. Though she speaks often of Joan of Arc, Indira Gandhi's 1975 New Year's message sounds more like a "third world" Marie Antoinette:

> "Some totalitarian systems, it is true, have put all their people to work, have eliminated flies and also dissenters—we deliberately chose the democratic system although we knew it was slower in its ways."

The bourgeois press has been filled with facile comparisons to Watergate, but the situations are divided by more than the fact that charges of corruption have far greater impact among the Indian masses. The Indian bourgeoisie is far from stable, and the country is too hungry to be consistently administered by parliamentary means. Gandhi's landslide electoral victory in 1971, which provided her with unchallenged political dominance at the national level, came in the flush of chauvinist hysteria triggered by the India-Pakistan war. Her slogan then was "Abolish Poverty," but far from eliminating hunger India has become steadily poorer. While Indira Gandhi and Richard Nixon both have appetites to bonapartism, it is in India that these appetites are being realized on a massive scale.

One comparison with Watergate is valid. The bourgeois opponents of Gandhi and Nixon never indicted them for their real and monstrous crimes against the working people of the world. The repression that has just hit the "respectable" politicians in India has gone on against the left and labor movement for

continued on page 2

New York Times/Bernard Weinraub

Street in Calcutta last September, where 200,000 people were reported to be homeless.

UPI

Jaya Prakash Narayan, an opposition leader, addressing rally in New Delhi before he was arrested.

North Vietnamese tank crew in Saigon.

Paris Match

After the Imperialist Defeat

Indochina

DEFORMED REVOLUTION

Page 6

India

(continued from page 1)

years. In the states of West Bengal and Orissa tens of thousands of "Naxalite" leftists have been rounded up, tortured and imprisoned since 1969. Only last year during the railway strike Gandhi arrested 50,000 workers and detained them without trial; another 16,000 were fired and 12,000 evicted from their government-owned hovels. Her crimes against the oppressed of India, Pakistan and Bangladesh far surpass mere election law violations!

Typically, Gandhi orchestrated her bid for bonapartist powers in the tones of a "democratic-socialist" populist. The day after the "state of emergency" was decreed and mass arrests began she spoke on all-India radio of the need to save democracy from "the deep and widespread conspiracy which has been brewing ever since I began to introduce certain progressive measures of benefit to the common man and woman of India." Her chorus in this effort continues to be the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), always ready to defend such a "progressive nationalist" from the spectre of CIA and domestic counterrevolutionary plots. Last year the Stalinists' main contributions in this field consisted of an attempt to keep the hopelessly corrupt Congress government of Gujarat in power and scabbing on the rail strike.

While the rightist reactionaries are undoubtedly gaining in strength by cynical expressions of support for the classless anti-corruption movement—even though they are themselves some of the most notoriously venal and black-marketeering elements—there are tremendous possibilities of a massive outbreak of plebian anger in the form of food riots directed against the exploitative regime. As the political fortunes of the New Congress Party have waned in recent months, the reactionary communalist Jan Sangh Party has held a number of giant rallies. But its ability to pose as a defender of the poor and oppressed is due solely to the absence of a revolutionary leadership which by leading the key sectors of the proletariat in militant struggle against the Gandhi regime would be able to win to its side the masses of petty-bourgeois peasants, urban and rural unemployed and specially oppressed castes in the fight to overthrow capitalist rule.

Food riot in New Delhi

Workers Press

India represents the most dramatic confirmation of the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution, that it is only the proletariat, supported by the peasantry—not the atomized peasantry itself or the weak bourgeoisie—that can achieve bourgeois-democratic tasks by establishing its own class dictatorship. Although parading with "socialist" airs, the Indian bourgeoisie has been completely unable to carry out even the most minimal agricultural reforms, much less the vast agrarian revolution necessary to free the exploited peasantry from the burden of remnants of feudalism. Its phony "anti-imperialism" was exposed by Nehru's 1959 attack on China in conjunction with a CIA-financed and organized "revolt" by the Tibetan feudal rulers.

The impoverished toiling masses of India are in desperate need of a revolutionary Trotskyist party which, basing itself on the proletariat, leads the fight for land to the tiller, expropriation of the bourgeoisie and a workers and peasants government which alone can lead India out of the mire of poverty and grinding social oppression. ■

Save Joan Little from Death Row!

Jill Krementz

Joan Little goes on trial for her life July 14 in Raleigh, North Carolina. This 20-year-old black woman, while waiting in jail on appeal of a breaking-and-entering charge, fought against being raped by a 62-year-old white jailer. She fled in fear after the early morning struggle, leaving the ice-pick wielding attacker in her cell—pants off, covered with semen and stabbed with his own weapon. Aware that under a draconian North Carolina statute escaped prisoners can be legally shot on sight, Little turned herself in to the State Bureau of Investigation, accompanied by her lawyers, when she learned her attacker was dead.

Although it is a clear case of justified self-defense, Little was indicted for first-degree murder by a grand jury in September of last year. Her lawyers charge that the jury was selected on a discriminatory basis and that this hand-picked body was denied important evidence (e.g., that the body of the dead jailer was naked below the waist and that he was stabbed on the legs yet there were no stab marks on his trousers which were found in the corridor). A motion to dismiss the indictment was denied, but defense lawyers have succeeded in moving the trial from Beauford County, the jailer's home, to Raleigh.

After the Supreme Court struck down "capricious" and "arbitrary" death sentences in 1972, North Carolina and 32 other states rewrote their murder laws in order to retain capital punishment. North Carolina currently has 72 convicts on death row, the highest number of any state in the country. Socialists and labor militants must oppose the death penalty in the bloody hands of the capitalist class. The murder charge against Little must be dropped!

The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, supports Joan Little against the state's outrageous and vindictive murder charge and has sent a contribution to assist with legal fees. For additional information on this case, contact: Southern Poverty Law Center (Julian Bond), 119 South McDonough, Montgomery, Alabama 36101.

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

538 So. Wabash
Room 206
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

CORRECTIONS

There are some minor factual errors which require correction in two recent *WV* articles on Portugal. The short note "Protest Portugal MRPP Ban" (*WV* No. 70, 6 June) states that "In more than 50 issues of *Peking Review* since the dictatorial Caetano regime was toppled in Lisbon last April, not one word has appeared on Portugal." It should have said that there was no mention of internal events in Portugal (Portuguese imperialism was mentioned several times in *Peking Review* in relation to Africa).

The article "Dead End for Portuguese Maoists" (*WV* No. 71, 20 June) mentions an article from the 19 May *Hsinhua Weekly* on the Portuguese Communist Party Marxist-Leninist, stating that "This is the first time that the Chinese have mentioned any Portuguese group in their news agency dispatches." We have subsequently learned that the daily *Hsinhua News Bulletin* of 5 April published an article entitled "Delegation of Portuguese Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist) Feted in Peking." This confirms our earlier inference that the rightest PCP-ML had won the favor of the Chinese bureaucracy over the more militant MRPP.

Also in this article, the wrong picture was placed over a caption reading "MRPP militants and soldier supporters demonstrate...." The published photo shows the presentation of MRPP candidates for the "constituent assembly" at a Lisbon rally in March. Finally, the article incorrectly states that *República* was reopened. Rather, the government had declared its willingness to let the newspaper resume publication under its Socialist Party editor. However, when it attempted to reopen the premises on June 17 there was a confrontation between SP supporters and the printers, who are supporters of the Communist Party. As of June 25 the paper remains closed.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

At Local 6 Convention:

ILWU Bureaucrats Push Pay Cuts

SAN FRANCISCO—The annual convention of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 6, held here on June 7, was dominated by sharp clashes between the incumbent leadership headed by President Curtis McClain and a combative oppositional grouping, the Militant Caucus (MC). The tone was set early on when three resolutions proposing renegotiation of the contract were submitted to the convention. The leadership simply relegated all contract matters to the last point on the agenda and quickly crushed an attempt by an MC delegate to raise the contract as the first order of business. Thus, even though more than a quarter of the delegates voted to consider contract issues immediately (and a petition was circulated bearing the signatures of over 500 warehousemen in Teamsters Local 583 demanding a reopener of the northern California master warehouse contract), the crucial issue of how to fight the economic depression was never discussed.

Instead of solutions to their problems, all the delegates got was an officers' report saying that Local 6 and the rest of the labor movement are in deep trouble, something not even George Meany would deny. According to McClain, they should trust the leadership, who "...did a good job of policing our contracts and servicing the membership." But the 10 percent of the Local membership unemployed due to plant closures or the workers at Thrifty Drugs suspended for a strike against production quotas imposed in violation of the contract doubtless have a different perspective on the "services" of McClain & Co. The Militant Caucus countered the bureaucracy's platitudes with a concrete strategy for reversing union losses: reopening the contract in order to fight layoffs through a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, a full cost-of-living escalator clause and a joint struggle for jobs together with Teamster warehousemen and the clerical and longshore sections of the ILWU.

Although the Local 6 leadership successfully derailed the fight over renegotiations through their stacked agenda, the question of unemployment and a shorter workweek resurfaced several times. At one point a resolution proposing a "30 for 40" Committee was introduced by a supporter of the Progressive Labor-backed Workers Action Movement (WAM). Although the proposed committee did not propose action beyond educating the public, Keith Eickman, the Local's secretary-treasurer, felt compelled to amend the resolution by renaming it the Shorter Work Week Committee.

Behind the change in name was the no-win approach of the bureaucrats. Eickman proceeded to argue for a seven hour day *at seven hours' pay*, a call for a *12.5 percent pay cut*!! In the 13 June issue of the *Dispatcher*, International President Harry Bridges chimed in: "I sure do not line up with those that come to the working ranks hollering slogans such as 30 hours' a week with 40 hours' pay." No, indeed!

The delegates weren't buying the leadership's song-and-dance about the virtues of "7 for 7." A motion was introduced by Warehouse Victory, an opposition group supported by the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU), which read in part: "We oppose any bosses' schemes to share the burden and the poverty of a shorter work week with a pay cut." Although the officers opposed this motion, it was passed by the delegates.

Calling for a reduction in wages is clearly not the most popular proposal these days, so in addition to their usual steamroller tactics the other main weapon of the ILWU tops at the Local 6 convention was Stalinist-style red-baiting. The star in this department was a business agent from San Francisco, Al Lannon. Lannon prepared a written statement denouncing the Militant Caucus—whose members were the prime movers in mobilizing the membership in defense of the KNC Glass strike in January—saying its members belonged

WV Photo

ILWU Local President Curtis McClain

on the CIA payroll if they weren't there already. While such vile slanders from sellout artists like Lannon (who tried to table the motion against a pay cut) carry little or no credibility, the red-baiting binge (joined by Bridges in his speech to the meeting) did disgust a number of delegates, many of whom left after the fight over the contract.

In the discussion on the officers' report, the Militant Caucus challenged McClain to take a position on the escalating racist violence and attacks on the democratic rights of non-whites and immigrant workers—key questions facing the entire labor movement. Although the union is heavily black and Spanish-speaking and these workers face everything from Operation Zebra to mass roundups of "illegal aliens" by the Immigration Department (including raids on ILWU warehouses), McClain said nothing about the issue.

The Militant Caucus, however, submitted resolutions calling for labor defense of busing and opposing deportations. The key section of the latter resolution said, "If necessary the ILWU will protect its members and other foreign born workers with strikes against deportation and with flying squads to defend against immigration raids." The bureaucrats' position was contained in a resolution passed by the International convention in April and introduced at the Local 6 meeting by business agent Abba Ramos. It petitions the federal government to stop harassing foreign workers already in the country while taking steps to "devise more effective means of preventing illegal entry." This resolution for more border guards was defeated through the efforts of the MC and other oppositionists.

Although the Militant Caucus motion was prevented from coming to a vote by the usual parliamentary tricks, another motion (submitted by Warehouse Victory) was eventually passed calling for the union to bar government Immigration agents from union property and warehouses where Local 6 members worked. This resolution was supportable, but lacked the organizational means to implement it, i.e., the flying squads and strikes against deportations proposed by the MC.

The Militant Caucus proposed additional motions on a broad range of issues facing the union and its membership. A resolution calling for Spanish translations of all official union literature was mysteriously lost by the bureaucrats. An MC motion calling for "no asylum to Indochinese war criminals" and "open the border to Chilean refugees" was gutted of its clear class line by the bureaucrats' chauvinist amendment that Vietnamese refugees should not get welfare until every needy American receives government assistance. One motion which drew particular opposition from the leadership was for a rank-and-file strike support committee. As the ILWU tops' sabotage of the bitter Boron strike last year demonstrated, they are deathly afraid of a militant mobilization of the ranks. (The distrust is mutual, as the membership demonstrated after the convention when they voted down a $2 dues increase.) Still another Militant Caucus resolution called on the union to break with the Democrats and fight for a workers party and a workers government.

While the Militant Caucus presented resolutions encompassing the major issues facing the working class and pointing the way to decisive victory, this was not true of the other opposition groups which preferred to stay only one step removed from the incumbent bureaucrats. The lone WAM supporter confined his efforts to the "30 for 40" committee. For its part, Warehouse Victory showed its true colors by *abstaining* on the crucial agenda fight to let motions for reopening the contract onto the floor. This was no isolated slip, as during the discussions Warehouse Victory supporters remained silent on the officers' report, the dues increase, Vietnamese refugees, and the workers party/workers government motion, while failing to clearly denounce the vicious red-baiting and slanders hurled at the Militant Caucus throughout the day. In a revealing statement, Warehouse Victory leader Vern Bown distinguished himself from the Militant Caucus by remarking that, "Of course, I have no program to stop layoffs or runaways." This "program" of cowardly silence and reformist capitulation may make life more comfortable for pseudo-militants and deflect the bureaucrats' attack toward those who present a consistent class-struggle policy. But it will never provide the kind of leadership necessary to put the union on the road to victory, whether in the Thrifty strike or the fight to put an end to the exploitation of capitalist rule.■

Bridges Orders Dockers to Work Without Contract

SAN FRANCISCO, June 29—ILWU President Harry Bridges has just informed all West Coast longshore locals that they will continue on the job after their contract expires on July 1. This means working with no contract, no Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP), no paid holidays and no employers' contribution to the health and welfare fund.

Bridges has been trying to ram through a sellout contract ever since he started negotiations six months early in December. The proposed contract would do nothing to stop the drastic decline of longshore jobs, which have dropped from 26,000 in 1948 to 11,700 today.

Unable to get the required two-thirds vote from the membership or to amend the ratification procedure through the Coast Caucus, Bridges has decided to starve the dockers into submission. This is a logical step for a phony "leader" who can't sweet-talk the hard-nosed negotiators of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) out of another nickel and is completely unwilling to lead the militant strike required for victory on the basic issues of jobs, hours, wages and manning scales.

While longshoremen will be forced to subsist on short-time pay or unemployment, the bosses have never had it so good. As tonnage and productivity go up, the PMA can sweat even greater profits out of their workforce if they don't have to pay the PGP, welfare or holiday pay. In a depression the companies hold the whip hand and are unwilling to settle even for the status quo. The PMA is so emboldened by Bridges' spineless capitulation that rumors are already circulating of a lockout to force still greater concessions from the union.

Bridges' union-wrecking course is rapidly becoming clear to many longshoremen who remember how the International sabotaged the lengthy 1971 strike by giving in to government injunctions, permitting cargo to be diverted through Canadian and Mexican ILWU ports and forcing the strikers to handle perishable goods and military cargo. In fact, this bitter experience has immobilized much of the rank and file, who oppose the sellout contract but are fearful of the prospect of a strike run by Bridges.

The only way out of this dead-end is a *militant* strike run on the basis of class-struggle principles. A group of oppositionists in Local 10 who publish the *Longshore Militant* call for an immediate strike vote and an elected strike committee to take direction of the strike and negotiations out of Bridges' hands. They have raised a set of contract demands centering on six hours' work for eight hours' pay, higher wages, full cost-of-living escalators, "A" registration for all "B" men, unconditional right to strike, elimination of the "steady men" practices and full union control over hiring, skill training and manning scales. They call for a coast-wide strike, international solidarity and no capitulation to the government or military shipping demands. These militants put forward the only program which points the way in the struggle against the employers' attacks and Bridges' betrayals.

Appeal from "Committee to Defend Worker and Sailor Prisoners in Chile"

Release Class-War Prisoners from Junta's Jails!

Gamma

Prisoners of the military junta at Chile's National Stadium in Santiago, September 1973.

The harsh reality which the great majority of the imprisoned comrades in Chile are experiencing is the truth which the communications media do not tell. The bloody and implacable persecution unleashed upon the working class has not been halted. Behind the bars, torture, death, hunger and cold assault comrades who best express the will of the proletariat. For them there is no recourse to aid, not even the slightest legal attention, neither appeals nor trials. There is even less possibility of inclusion in the deportation lists. For them there is no economic aid or medical attention, no visits from international organizations. They are not permitted to receive family visitors or carry on correspondence. Their fate does not depend on influential friends because their strenuous, anonymous efforts were always carried out in the ranks, together with their own people during the most difficult times.

> **"The Communists are further reproached with desiring to abolish countries and nationality. The working men have no country. We cannot take from them what they have not got."**
> —Marx and Engels, Manifesto of the Communist Party

It is because they are proletarian leaders, union officials, founders of the *cordones industriales*, the core of the miners' councils, peasants' councils and communal (slum) councils as well as militant fighters within the armed forces that they are singled out as the principal enemies of the bourgeois Military Junta. The tens of thousands of our class who have already been massacred and the present desperate blows render the situation of the imprisoned comrades extremely dangerous.

The dramatic starvation not only affects their families but the entire country, allowing the cruel capitalist executioners to eliminate ever more comrades, silently and with impunity.

The most class-conscious leaders of the proletariat today are in need of true internationalist solidarity. Their lives and future are now in the hands of their comrades in struggle who understand the magnitude of the injustice they suffer.

The sailors who have been tortured since July of 1973, with Sergeant Cardenas at their head, must be saved: their combative example in opposing the military coup, their revolutionary loyalty in defense of their class, their sacrifice inside the most reactionary sector of the Armed Forces, the navy, must receive the response of solidarity they deserve. They underwent ferocious torture from July to September of 1973 and have suffered even worse since then. Defenseless, these men were experimented on by the butchers using fascist methods which were later generalized.

Every electric shock, each fingernail extracted, every sexual organ destroyed, every rape in front of children, every bloody beating, all the mental and physical disabilities which result, every death under torture is a direct outrage to the working class as a whole: a lesson which must never be forgotten.

These Chilean political prisoners represent the historically indestructible working class. Although after the defeat they are persecuted, cheated, betrayed and beaten today, tomorrow they will be able to draw the lessons and advance more consciously and with greater determination toward decisive victory in the future.

The bourgeoisie is also becoming aware of this. Its military police-state regime in Chile is increasing repression, despite what its fascist-like demagogic propaganda pretends.

It is the duty of every proletarian party, of every trade union, of every individual worker, as well as of every human-rights organization, to provide support in this emergency. This initial list includes the names of some of those who have been located. Many others remain. Organizations can assume the defense of one or more of the comrades and apply pressure so that they may leave the country. In order for some of them to appear on the deportation lists it is indispensable that a jurist with international support manages to reach them and take charge of their cases. After that a government willing to receive the prisoner is necessary. In general a job offer is necessary to open the borders of certain countries. Only in this manner will the doors of asylum be opened, together with the arms of their class comrades in struggle who await them in exile.

Paris Match

The Chilean army passes in review before butcher Pinochet after September 1973 coup.

We must remember that every imprisoned working-class leader represents many comrades who are concerned for his fate. Every jailed activist represents thousands of affected comrades, every barbaric torture concerns the entire proletarian movement. Every death of a working-class militant signifies a danger and a lesson. Every consistent proletarian fighter thus saved is a step toward socialism.

THE PROLETARIAT OF ALL COUNTRIES WILL ANSWER THIS CHALLENGE!!!

FOR THE UNITY OF THE CHILEAN WORKING CLASS!!!

FOR UNITED ACTION BY THE WORLD PROLETARIAT!!!

* * * * *

OSCAR ALEXIS SILVA VIDAL—miner (ENAMI), 30 years old, arrested 16 September 1973; in the Santiago Penitentiary.

JOSE ANTONIO ALVAREZ RIFFO—miner (ENAMI), 29 years old.

ADOLFO OLVARES HEVIA—construction worker, 53 years old; prisoner in Chacabuco concentration camp.

PABLO MUÑIZ LEDEZMA—union leader, member of the Socialist Party, 26 years old.

LEANDRO ESPINOZA—working-class leader, arrested in March 1975.

ERMINA GEORGINA CONCHA GALVEZ—worker, 35 years old, arrested in December 1973; being held in the Santiago Women's Prison.

VICTOR CALDERON—leader of the FTR (trade-union group led by the MIR) at Valparaiso customs house, arrested in Santiago in November 1974.

DOMINGO SEPULVEDA—leader of SOOUIMICH (chemical workers' union), 52 years old.

RUBEN ALCAIDE—port worker, arrested 11 September 1973; in the Valparaiso jail.

LUIS LOPETEGUI—worker, arrested in San Fernando in September 1973, 19 years old.

CARLOS MORALES CUBILLOS—elementary school teacher, 50 years old; moved from Chacabuco to the hospital of the Santiago Jail.

VICTOR TORO—slum leader, member of the Political Bureau of the MIR.

SERGIO LIDID CESPEDES—Spanish teacher, leader of SUTE in Los Angeles (Chile), 32 years old, arrested 13 September 1973; being held in Chacabuco.

FRANCISCO MORENO—journalist, arrested 11 September 1973.

HUGO LENNI—administrator at Valparaiso Gas Company, 60 years old, being held at Valparaiso Jail together with his three sons since before 11 September 1973, for violating the Arms Control Law of the Popular Unity government.

DOMINA CHELEN ROJA.

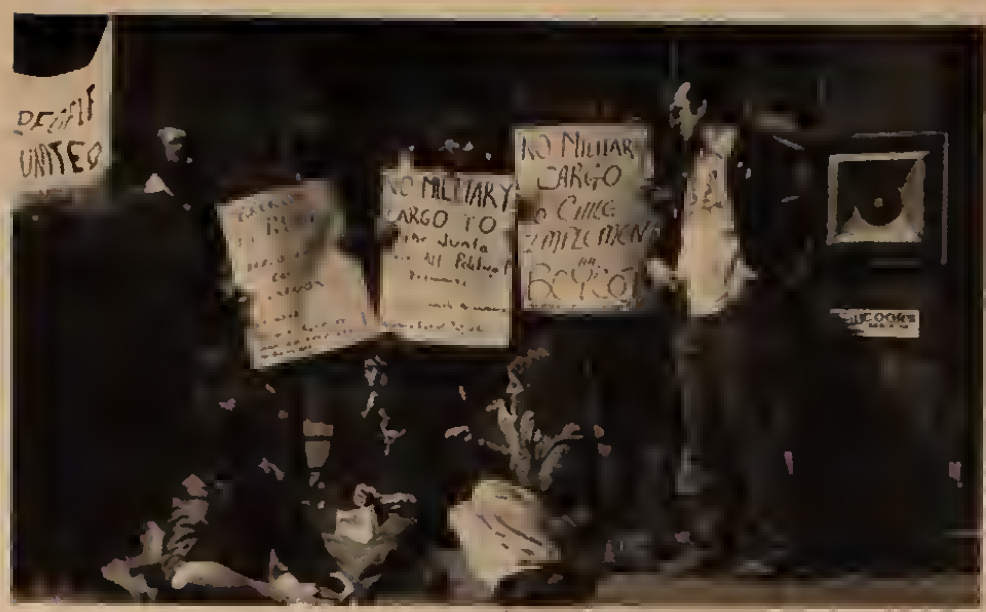
JUAN CARDENAS—sergeant of the navy, arrested in July 1973.

ERNESTO SUENZEN—sergeant of the navy, arrested in July 1973.

JUAN RAMIREZ—corporal of the navy, arrested in July 1973.

Comrades Cardenas, Suenzen and Ramirez are being held together with at least thirty sailors arrested in July 1973; the Law of Internal Security was used against them by the government of that time for opposing an attempted coup d'état.

COMMITTEE TO DEFEND THE WORKER AND SAILOR PRISONERS IN CHILE
For additional information, write:
Guillermo Weinklmeir, Poste Restante Bureau 30,
Paris 75012, France



ILWU militants at September 21, 1974 Chile rally in Bay Area, where they were excluded from speaking by the Stalinists. These unionists were responsible for insuring the enforcement of a two-day boycott of Chilean cargo called by the International Transport Workers Federation.

Stalinists Fume When Democrat Goes Home

Militants Polarize Labor Conference on Chile

SAN FRANCISCO—Over the past 20 months hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the world have protested against the barbaric atrocities committed by jackbooted butchers of the Chilean junta (more than 20,000 left/labor militants murdered, four times that many jailed and tortured in concentration camps, all workers parties and the CUT union federation outlawed, etc.). While there has been a regrettable lull in Chile defense actions lately, the spirit of proletarian international solidarity is far from dead. This was demonstrated at a recent Bay Area Trade Union Conference on Chile where a substantial minority of the official delegates opposed the class-collaborationist "moderation" and undemocratic obstructionism of the Stalinist/labor bureaucrat coalition which ran the meeting.

The June 14 conference was heavily advertised in *People's World*, West Coast newspaper of the reformist Communist Party (CP), and endorsed by numerous unions and labor bodies including the Labor Councils of San Mateo, Contra Costa and Santa Clara counties and the San Francisco Building Trades Council. About 150 trade unionists attended, including 60 official voting delegates representing locals of the United Auto Workers (UAW), Machinists (IAM), Steelworkers (USW), Longshoremen's (ILWU), Teamsters, Transit Workers, Retail Clerks, Printing Trades and other unions.

The conference was coordinated by Archie Brown, a member of ILWU Local 10 and the Communist Party's most prominent trade-union supporter in the Bay Area. It was cemented largely by the financial backing and political support of the ILWU bureaucracy and may, in fact, have been the price of ILWU President Harry Bridges' recent trip to the USSR. Although most of the delegates were lower-level union officials whose reformist outlook generally coincided with the proposals of Brown and about five of his supporters, over a dozen delegates fought for real international solidarity actions.

From the very opening of the conference the line was sharply drawn between a significant minority supporting independent labor action and the dominant bureaucrat/Stalinist combination preaching reliance on the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. Congressman Leo Ryan, a Democrat and so-called "friend of labor," was scheduled to make a keynote introductory speech. However, Bob Mandel, a delegate from ILWU Local 6 and a member of the Militant Caucus of that union, moved that Ryan be excluded since representatives of the bosses' parties have no place at labor conferences, and more particularly because the Democratic Party regularly votes money to the CIA which helped finance and organize the coup in Chile.

The chairman of the meeting, San Mateo County Labor Council President Toy Smith, ruled the amendment to the agenda out of order. When Mandel appealed, Smith (after whispered instructions from Archie Brown) refused to let the delegates vote. After Mandel insisted on the body's right to set its own agenda, Frank Brown (Archie's brother) grabbed him, with the sergeant-at-arms and several of Brown's supporters joining in the attack. But this Stalinist thug attack was quickly repulsed as outraged delegates from half a dozen union locals rose to defend Mandel.

While the frustrated goons murmured threats ("in the '30's we used to kill people like you"), Archie Brown called off the attack and stepped down from the podium along with Smith. The president of the S.F. retail clerks union was selected as new chairman, and from that point on the conference was conducted according to democratic norms. Before Mandel's motion was ever voted, however, it was announced that Congressman Ryan had left. He may well have recalled the spectacle of California's Governor Brown's being shouted down by angry militants at an AFL-CIO jobs rally in Sacramento this spring.

The CP was infuriated by this resistance to its attempts to railroad the conference. The 25 June *Daily World* brayed that "A small, vocal group of ultra-leftists periodically disrupted the conference, demanding an immediate labor boycott of ships to and from Chile and raising points that were not on the agenda," i.e., the exclusion of capitalist politicians. Who the real disrupters were was clearly shown by the delegates' physical defense of Mandel and their demand for a democratic chairman in place of the ham-fisted maneuvers of Smith and Brown.

The *Daily World* account underlined the importance of Ryan's presence as part of the Stalinists' attempt to whip up support for a class-collaborationist "people's coalition." A CP-supported speaker at a rally later that evening was quoted as saying that "the strength needed to free the people of Chile lies in the kind of united front which was overthrown there in the first place." As militant delegates pointed out in opposing the Democratic Party speaker, the Allende coalition was not a united front for joint action by the workers movement but a popular front which prepared the way for the bloody coup by tying the proletariat to the class enemy.

Of the three scheduled workshops, the one on labor action attracted an overwhelming majority of conference participants. A motion was raised by a delegate from ILWU Local 34 (clerks) to initiate immediate informational picket lines at all ships to and from Chile and to distribute literature denouncing the crimes of the junta to all passengers, longshoremen and sailors. ILWU delegates who support the Militant Caucus of Local 6 (warehouse) and the *Longshore Militant*, an oppositional newsletter in Local 10, proposed an amendment calling for "immediate action by all unions in the U.S. and internationally to stop any and all military shipments to the junta," for specific commercial embargoes with limited aims (such as freeing political prisoners), and a total labor boycott in the event of a further massive assault against the Chilean workers.

The delegates from Local 34, who are politically heterogeneous but serious in their efforts to aid persecuted Chilean class brothers and sisters, joined with the militant delegates from Locals 10 and 6 in jointly fighting for the amended motion. These same militants worked closely together last September to ensure that the ILWU in the Bay Area enforced a two-day boycott of Chilean cargo called by the International Transport Workers Federation. Archie Brown, who had originally authored a motion in Local 10 for "hot-cargoing" goods to and from the junta, was nowhere to be seen on the docks during those days, and his Stalinist co-thinkers actually refused to let the brothers responsible for the success of the boycott speak at a Chile defense rally a few days later.

Completely ignoring last year's worldwide boycott, Brown supported his purposely vague motion at the June 14 conference by listing all the "reasons" why labor boycotts won't work. With typical bureaucratic cynicism and buck-passing, he predicted that longshoremen would never stop Chilean cargoes because that would violate the contract and the ranks were afraid to risk their weekly pay guarantee! This disgusting speech totally exposed the hollowness of Brown's multi-faceted do-nothing motion, which combined impotent consumer boycotts with a hint of labor action (as long as it's legal and doesn't violate the contract, of course).

The labor action workshop was soon polarized by another motion. Members of the Committee for a Militant UAW from the Fremont General Motors plant presented a motion calling for the restoration of freedom of the press in Portugal and the release of 500 members of the Maoist MRPP who had been arrested a few days earlier. Archie Brown's friends in the audience, who don't like criticisms of the Portuguese military government and its Communist Party supporters, repeatedly shouted and made so many phony points of order that it took the chair half an hour to create enough order for the UAW delegate to read the motion all the way through. The Stalinists had some difficulty explaining why repression of left and labor militants by the military junta is bad in Chile but good in Portugal. Although the motion failed, it received a third of the votes in the workshop.

When the plenary session reconvened, reports from the different workshops were heard. The legislative workshop reported out a motion to send a letter of apology to Congressman Ryan. Militant delegates from the ILWU and other unions fought this, pointing out that such an apology was tantamount to a vote of confidence in the Democratic Party and its subsidies to the CIA, its intervention in Vietnam and the Dominican Republic, its anti-labor laws like the one used to break the last longshore strike, etc. About 20 delegates out of 60 voted against this cringing apology.

Although providing little concrete aid to the Chilean working class, the June 14 conference did serve to expose the pretensions of the Stalinists, who are driven to a bureaucratic frenzy whenever their bankrupt policy of crawling to the Democrats is challenged. No less important, the call for working-class independence from the capitalist parties and for concrete actions of international labor solidarity put forward by militant delegates at the conference showed that there is a real alternative of class struggle to counter the defeatism and inaction of the reformists.■

Labor News

Stalinist goon attack on ILWU militant at recent Bay Area Trade Union Conference on Chile.

After the Imperialist Defeat

Indochina: Deformed Revolution

For half a century the workers and peasants of Indochina have fought tenaciously to break the stranglehold of imperialism. Their heroic will to struggle has been proven by incredible endurance in the face of years of the most barbaric repression and annihilation bombing. The victory signalled by the entry of troops of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and the National Liberation Front (NLF) of South Vietnam into Saigon on April 30 belongs to the Indochinese working masses. Yet today it is not the proletariat that holds political power in Vietnam, governing through democratic soviets, but a parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy that rules.

With the panicked flight of the Saigon bourgeoisie and the clear military victory by North Vietnamese armed forces, Vietnam has been wrenched from the orbit of imperialism and capitalist rule has been toppled. Similarly, a social revolution triumphed in Cambodia a few weeks earlier with the entry of the Khmer Rouge into Phnom Penh.

Does this mean, then, that the Vietnamese and Cambodian "Communists" are the iron-willed revolutionaries portrayed by the capitalist and Stalinist press throughout the world? Does this mean that peasant-based armies can usurp the role of revolutionary vanguard which Marxism has always ascribed to the proletariat? Does this mean that the Stalinist program of "two-stage" revolution is no longer a strategy of betrayal, as Trotskyists have maintained, but only a more "realistic" program for eventual victory?

By no means. The Vietnamese Stalinists, led by Ho Chi Minh, have repeatedly compromised and sold out the militant struggle of the working masses in the vain hope of achieving "peaceful coexistence" with the imperialists. The cost: millions of dead as the battle has been needlessly drawn out for decades.

- In the 1930's the Indochinese Communist Party abandoned the struggle for national independence, instead calling for support to the popular-front government of French imperialism. In 1939, Stalinist representatives on the Saigon municipal council voted for war credits.
- In 1945 the Stalinist-led Viet Minh welcomed British and French colonial troops into Saigon. In March 1946 Ho Chi Minh signed an agreement for limited independence within the French Union and for the reintroduction of French troops. Six months later the French bombed and shelled Haiphong.
- In 1954 the Viet Minh agreed at Geneva (under pressure from Moscow and Peking) to abandon everything below the 17th parallel, although it controlled 85 percent of the country at the time. While the puppet Diem regime in Saigon proceeded to execute thousands of peasants, Ho refused to give substantial aid to southern insurgents until 1960.
- Following the signing of the 1973 Paris "Peace" Accords, the DRV/NLF subordinated all military considerations to the achievement of a class-collaborationist coalition government. Only the wretchedness of the Saigon regime, hopelessly corrupt and slavishly dependent upon U.S. imperialism, prevented the consolidation of such a capitalist coalition government.

Indochina and the Permanent Revolution

But if the Vietnamese Stalinists are as treacherous as ever, how can the overthrow of capitalist rule in Saigon be explained by the theory of permanent revolution? Among ostensible Trotskyists there has been a wide variety of responses to this question. Some, such as the grovelling reformists of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) simply close their eyes to reality. In a statement on the taking of Saigon the SWP declared: "... the possibility now exists for achieving the long-strived-for goal of national unification and self-determination of Vietnam. The objective conditions also exist for a social revolution to abolish the entire system of exploitation for private profit" (*Militant*, 9 May). Lots of possibilities, it seems, but nothing of historical significance accomplished!

On the other hand, the SWP's factional opponents in the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" capitulate to the popularity of Ho Chi Minh and the NLF by declaring them to be "revolutionaries." An editorial in the 27 March *Inprecor*, the organ of the USec majority, states that "the struggle of the Indochinese peoples" has for 30 years been "a road for the struggles of the workers of the world that is an alternative to the reformist sidetrack. It is the alternative of revolutionary combat." With the taking of Saigon they announce "the first victorious 'permanent revolution' since the victory of the Cuban revolution" (*Inprecor*, 8 May).

The international Spartacist tendency has been unique in recognizing that capitalist rule has been overthrown in Vietnam and Cambodia while refusing to hide the crimes of Ho Chi Minh and his successors (such as the murder of several thousand Vietnamese Trotskyists following World War II). Calling for unconditional military defense of the deformed workers states of Indochina against imperialism, we also warn the Vietnamese working masses that they must place no confidence in their leaders, whose narrow nationalism is an obstacle to the only real defense of the gains of the Vietnamese revolution: its international extension and the ultimate obliteration of capitalism throughout the world. In order to take the revolution forward it is necessary to carry out a political revolution to overthrow Stalinist bureaucratic rule.

The establishment of deformed workers states in South Vietnam and Cambodia has come under exceptional historical circumstances. The options of U.S. imperialism were severely limited by the extreme unpopularity of renewed military intervention, the discrediting of the government in the wake of Watergate and CIA scandals, and the fact that decisive sectors of the American bourgeoisie had written off Indochina as a lost cause. Local bourgeois forces in Indochina were almost totally disorganized, unable even to rid themselves of the Thieu and Lon Nol cliques until it was too late. The decisive factor enabling the Stalinists to assume power in Indochina was the absence of a class-conscious proletariat fighting in its own interests.

The First Days of Stalinist Rule in Saigon

News reports of events in South Vietnam during the two months since the military victory of the DRV/NLF fully confirm our analysis and program. On the one hand, it is clear that there has been no "first stage" of alliance with "democratic, anti-imperialist" bourgeois forces. A general of the North Vietnamese army heads the "Military Management Committee" which administers Saigon, and no coalition government was formed. The real situation was accurately portrayed in the reported remark of the DRV officer who removed General Duong Van Minh from the South Vietnamese presidential palace after refusing to accept a formal transfer of power from the "third force" leader: "The revolution has seized complete power. The former Administration has been overthrown. No one can hand over what they have lost" (*New York Times*, 3 May).

Far Eastern Economic Review

Victory rally at Saigon Presidential Palace in May.

In the succeeding days the "third force" has played no more of a role than it did on April 30. Asked about whether such groups will be represented in an eventual South Vietnamese government, the leader of the "People's Organization for the Application of the Paris Agreements," Tran Ngoc Lien, replied: "The victors are the PRG people. Our contribution has been quite small" (*Le Monde*, 23 May). A week later, one of the main "third force" organizations, the "Women's Movement for the Right to Life," dissolved in order to join the South Vietnam Liberation Women's Association, according to the official newspaper *Sai Gon Giai Phong* ("Liberated Saigon").

Concerning the question of nationalizations, the new authorities have issued contradictory statements. All abandoned properties (the majority of the industrial and major commercial establishments) have been expropriated. So, too, have the banks. On the other hand, a number of substantial French-owned businesses have been officially informed that they may stay on indefinitely, including Michelin and other major rubber plantations and the main brewery (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 6 June 1975). This, however, is not decisive in determining the class character of a state. The Bolsheviks did not begin widespread nationalizations until mid-1918, although the soviets seized power nine months earlier, and privately owned industry was not finally eliminated until the mid-1920's.

The fundamental question is what class interests the state power serves. Although many "reeducated" civil servants may eventually serve in the new administration (just as a former economics minister is reportedly aiding the new authorities in reviving the economy), it is clear that the old capitalist state apparatus has been totally destroyed. This is particularly true of the former Saigon army, which melted away in a matter of hours.

For Workers Soviets, Not Bureaucratic Rule

The organizational framework of the new state power has not yet been decided. It is clear that, while for a time there will be a separate South Vietnam, rapid reunification is being sought. All references to the "People's Revolutionary Party" (which supposedly was the core of the NLF) have now been dropped, and a leading South Vietnamese official, Pham Hung, was recently officially described as a "member of the Vietnam Workers Party Central Committee Political Bureau and secretary of the South Vietnam party organization" (*New York Times*, 20 May). A North Vietnamese radio broadcast reportedly announced that the DRV National Assembly had urged that Hanoi be the capital of the reunited country.

But while the capitalist state has been decisively smashed, and the remaining bourgeois forces have been politically atomized so that they are presently incapable of acting as a coherent force,

the dictatorship of the exploiters has not been replaced by the democratic rule of the exploited through soviets such as existed in Russia at the time Lenin and Trotsky headed the Communist Party.

In a recent article entitled "Permanent Revolution in Vietnam" (*Inprecor*, 22 May), the USec majority's "Indochina expert" Pierre Rousset tries to mask this crucial fact by giving a distorted picture of the DRV/NLF takeover in Da Nang. After referring to "clandestine urban military actions; popular insurrectional movements; mass demonstrations" he concludes, "The new administration grows out of revolutionary action, and not primarily military action."

The USec is now willing to admit to the existence of certain "bureaucratic deformations" in North Vietnam, and even that the "revolutionary" Vietnamese leaders have "a programmatic adaptation...to the political heritage of the Stalinized Third International" which "continues to limit the conception that the Vietnamese CP has of the place in the workers state of structures of the Soviet type." But clearly this is only a minor omission in their eyes, which could be easily rectified by inviting Ernest Mandel to give speeches to the bureaucrats in Hanoi and Saigon as he used to do in Havana.

In fact, the DRV/NLF victory was one of military occupation of the cities and there were no generalized urban uprisings by the working class. Nor are there any democratic organs through which the proletariat can determine government policy. It was precisely such soviet-type organs which were set up 30 years ago in Saigon at the initiative of the Trotskyist International Communist League and which were the organizing centers of the mass insurrection against the reinvading colonial troops after the end of World War II. Just as the Viet Minh opposed the "people's committees" (To Chuc Uy Banh Hanh Dong), first opposing and then sabotaging the Saigon insurrection of 1945, so today the Vietnamese Stalinsits would quickly suppress any attempt by the working masses to set up political organs independent of bureaucratic control.

As for the "revolutionary people's committees" reportedly being established at the neighborhood level in the major cities, their relation to workers democracy is accurately expressed in the ceremonies in which these previously unknown "leaders" are "presented" to the population (for a description, see *Le Monde*, 16 May).

Bureaucratic Depopulation of Cambodian Towns

In sharp contrast to the halting nationalizations of the South Vietnamese Stalinists, the victorious Cambodian Khmer Rouge has had no reluctance to expropriate the remnants of capitalist property. All imperialist investments and enterprises, including the important rubber plantations, have been taken over (*Le Monde*, 12 June). The Cambodian leadership has, however, moved just as swiftly in acts of bureaucratic stupidity and cruelty. The contradictory character of Stalinism was nowhere more graphically revealed than in the actions of the victorious Cambodian peasant army marching into Phnom Penh not to liberate the poor and working people but rather to brutally impose an immediate and total depopulation of the city.

For the bourgeois press, the gun-point depopulation was an anti-Communist propaganda bonanza. Sydney Schanberg's powerful and believable eyewitness account described how "Hospitals jammed with wounded were emptied right down to the last patient. They went limping, crawling on crutches..." (*New York Times*, 9 May). It was an easy opportunity for professional cold warriors to characterize Communism as "anti-civilization." Liberals pontificated about Communists revelling in "inhumanity" and even Henry Kissinger (!) felt he could label this a "major atrocity."

For Stalinist cheerleaders of peasant-based guerrillaism these were simply cleansing actions in the "re-education" of urban dwellers. At the height of Stalin's bureaucratic forced-draft collectivization (which even Russian authorities now admit cost the lives of several million peasants) similar disingenuous apologies for bureaucratic arbitrariness were proferred by one Anna Louise Strong. Trotsky, of course, had called for collectivization (long before Stalin finally carried it out), but through the voluntary choice of the peasants.

In Cambodia some urban depopulation was indeed called for. The towns had become unmanageably swollen with refugees from the countryside, most driven there by U.S. saturation bombing. But Phnom Penh, which had already

continued on page 11

The Document the USec Majority Refuses to Print:

Appeal of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Vietnam

The following letter was sent to last year's "Tenth World Congress" of the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." This poignant appeal is itself a devastating comment on the liquidationist consequences of the USec's capitulation to Vietnamese Stalinism. If, as USec leaders allege, the "Vietnamese Communist Party" is "empirically revolutionary," and the "Vietnamese leadership as a whole has assimilated the decisive implications of the permanent revolution for colonial and semi-colonial countries" (Pierre Rousset, Le Parti Communiste Vietnamien*), what interest can Ernest Mandel & Co. have in building a Vietnamese Trotskyist party?*

It is small wonder, then, that to this day the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Vietnam has received "no help whatsoever from the International or from the Ligue Communiste." Not only does the BLVG's letter remain unanswered, but the top leadership of the French Ligue (now LCR), the USec majority's star section, has refused to "publicize" the existence of the Vietnamese group even by publishing this letter in its internal bulletin or discussing the matter in its Central Committee!

The BLVG asks pointedly, "Should the International concern itself with a Vietnemese Trotskyist group" loyal to the USec under difficult conditions? And "Should we work towards the creation of a section of the Fourth International in Vietnam?" Following the taking of Saigon, the professional tailists of this fake-Trotskyist fake International have in effect responded to the questions of their Vietnamese comrades...in the negative.

In articles and statements celebrating the military victory of DRV/NLF troops over the puppet Thieu regime, neither the guerrillaist majority nor the orthodox-posturing reformists of the minority "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" have seen fit to even mention the assassination of several thousand Vietnamese Trotskyists by the followers of Ho Chi Minh in 1945-47. USec majorityites actually apologize for the Stalinist butchers and now hail the overthrow of capitalist rule in South Vietnam as "the first victorious 'permanent revolution' since the victory of the Cuban revolution" (Inprecor, *8 May 1975).*

It has been left to the international Spartacist tendency to uphold the struggle of our martyred Vietnamese comrades and call for the formation of authentic Trotskyist parties in Indochina as part of a reborn Fourth International. While unconditionally defending the new deformed workers states of South Vietnam and Cambodia egeinst imperialism, we have called for extending the revolutionary conquests and opening the road to socialism by politicel revolution to replece Stalinist bureaucratic rule with the democratic rule of the working class (supported by the exploited peasantry) through soviets.

Dear Comrades,

The Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Vietnam (BLV), sends you its fraternal greetings and wishes the Congress great success in keeping with our great hopes.

We know that serious subjects are presently being discussed in the International, especially the Vietnamese problem. We deeply regret that for material reasons (date of the Congress became known too late, passports, visas...) the BLV is absent from your debates. We regret it all the more because our group does not have the same position as the International nor the comrades of the opposition. We could contribute original ideas as Vietnamese Trotskyists, having been able to read many Vietnamese documents hardly known outside of the country.

Our BLV group was constituted as a section of the International in 1947, by joining the International. It has a long history behind it. It was our group that had successfully led, during the 1946-1953 period, the movement of 20,000 emigrant workers in France.... Our group was able to resist the most brutal repression of French imperialism during the first war in Vietnam.

...a small group remains in France and carries on in spite of a thousand difficulties. It is the present defender of Vietnamese Trotskyist traditions and ideas.

Although for tactical reasons we don't officially identify ourselves in our press as Trotskyists, all the Vietnamese political circles in France know of our existence, especially the North Vietnamese ruling circles. We are seeking to constantly intervene in the struggle against American imperialism through all sorts of actions taking many different forms.

In the very special historical conditions in Vietnam, where the enormous weight of the VCP ["Vietnamese Communist Party"] crushes all the organisations to its left, maintaining a Trotskyist group, even a propaganda group, is an extremely difficult task. We have been able to do this during these last years with no help whatsoever from the International or from the Ligue Communiste.

In the political debate now unfolding in the International, we note two opposite errors. The first consists of prettying up the VCP to the point of labelling it a Revolutionary Party, thus forgetting the entire past historical development of this party, and not taking into account its present opportunistic and empirical policy which could cause serious setbacks for the Vietnamese Revolution. The second error is wanting at all costs to stick to the old schemas and refusing to see the evolution of this party in the new conditions and the fact that it has successfully led the national liberation struggle.

The BLV group is constantly careful to not fall into either of the two errors. It constantly attempts to keep in touch with reality, to understand it and to draw the lessons from it for action, never losing sight of the fundamental principles of Trotskyism and Leninism.

Comrades,

We request that you make our existence known to the sections and that you debate out the following questions.

1) Should the International concern itself with a Vietnamese Trotskyist group which has remained loyal to the International and which has carried on against great obstacles, in the most difficult of conditions?

2) Should we work towards the creation of a section of the Fourth International in Vietnam?

An answer to these two questions would already resolve half the debate under way on the Vietnamese problem.

Our very fraternal greetings,

the BLVG
February 5, 1974

900 Suspended in Montreal P.O.

Trudeau Assault on Postal Unions

Globe and Mail [Toronto]

Postal employees picket main P.O. in Montreal after walking out over contract this April.

TORONTO—Emboldened by the success of Quebec provincial authorities in recently placing four construction unions in receivership (under the time-worn guise of "fighting corruption"), and the capitulation of both East and West Coast longshore unions to federal strikebreaking back-to-work orders in April/May, the Canadian government has launched a full-scale offensive against the postal unions. The focal point is Montreal, where militant "posties" last year sparked a cross-Canada wildcat against government attempts to slash wages in conjunction with the introduction of automated sorting (see "Canadian Postal Strike Sellout," *WV* No. 44, 10 May 1974).

With disputes over automation continuing and contract negotiations going on with the two main postal unions, post office management moved to break the Montreal locals by firing 47 militants and handing out more than *900* suspensions. But, as happened last year and repeatedly in the past, both local and national union bureaucrats are capitulating to the government, leaving postal workers defenseless in the face of this brutal anti-labour assault. The Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) which represents 16,000 letter carriers and postal truck drivers settled separately for a sellout contract in late May, while the 22,000-member Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) continues to negotiate.

Postal workers in Canada are governed by the repressive Public Service Staff Relations Act (PSSRA) which specifies that technological change, job classification and hiring and firing cannot be negotiated by the unions. While the government offers paltry, inadequate wage increases, workers are expected to swallow without protest the implementation of massive automation of the entire postal system (known as the MAPP Plan) which guarantees wide-scale layoffs, speedup and increased harassment.

In preparation for the move to automated MAPP facilities, the Post Office has begun to hire large numbers of non-union "casual" labour, thus providing a sizable pool of potential strikebreakers. The massive firings and suspensions in Montreal were a management attempt to crush a union campaign of slowdowns and partial work stoppages against this hiring of casuals. In response to a one-day "sick-in" on May 26 by the Montreal CUPW local to protest the victimizations, federal Postmaster-General Bryce Mackasey brought in *one thousand* scabs, most of them reportedly students (*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 30 May). Mackasey had been threatening for several months to conduct a wholesale attack on CUPW in Montreal to "weed out hoodlum elements" (union militants).

The key to protecting postal workers against threatened massive layoffs lies in militant struggle against the PSSRA and the government's union-busting offensive. This fight demands united action of the LCUC and CUPW, a unity which the bureaucrats of both unions have consistently opposed. Instead they have sought to limit contract negotiations to the "legal" issue of wages, and last fall they dissolved the joint bargaining council in an orgy of bureaucratic backstabbing. The wholesale sacking of Montreal CUPW militants demanded a swift nationwide response in solidarity with their victimized fellow union members. But CUPW national bureaucrats responded by admonishing postal workers in the rest of Canada not to be "provoked" into taking defensive strike action, thus giving the government a blank check to chew up the most militant sector of the union.

In the contract negotiations LCUC bureaucrats ignored entirely the question of MAPP and "recommended" that their membership adopt the federal conciliation board's inadequate wage offer of a $1.70 per hour increase spread over two and a half years along with a partial cost-of-living escalator clause. A variety of cynical ploys was used to demoralize and confuse the ranks into accepting this sellout deal.

In mid-April the LCUC leadership announced that it had reached a "tentative" agreement with the government but stalled ratification meetings and even publication of the proposed settlement for almost a month. In the interim it launched a series of one-day rotating strikes, ostensibly to put heat on the government to settle but in fact intended only to let the ranks blow off steam. To ensure that these token strikes did not develop into a national walkout, the CUPW and LCUC leaderships negotiated a criminally divisive *agreement to scab* on each other's strikes.

Despite such disgusting manoeuvres, a number of local bureaucrats—headed by Guy Morrissette, president of the 2,500-member Montreal local—opposed the contract. The response of the LCUC national office was to promptly slap Montreal under trusteeship. This heavy-handed move backfired, however, when a mass meeting of Montreal LCUC members launched a three-day strike against the national. Morrissette, who simply wanted to sell out at a higher price, took this opportunity to viciously attack his own union by immediately filing an injunction against the trusteeship in the bourgeois courts.

The Montreal bureaucrats were unsuccessful in their attempt to turn down the settlement. The results of the national ratification vote announced May 26 were 82 percent in favour of the conciliation board's proposal.

The CUPW brass is pursuing a different tack in its contract negotiations by putting forward a series of "radical" demands—a $3.26 per hour raise in a one-year contract, increased numbers of holidays and 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay (which CUPW president Joe Davidson "shrugs off... with a shade of embarrassment," according to the 2 April *Globe and Mail*). Obviously, the CUPW bureaucrats have no intention of fighting for these demands and are merely using them as a cover for their real activity around the contract—impotent parliamentary lobbying to obtain a change in the legal status of the Post Office from a government department to a Crown Corporation. This change in designation is intended to put postal workers outside the jurisdiction of the PSSRA and thus make it "legal" for CUPW to negotiate over automation.

The response to the cynical betrayals of the bureaucratic scum—afraid to take action for fear of upsetting back-scratching relationships with the capitalists and their government—must be to throw out these traitors through a fight for a class-struggle leadership. Instead of depending on dead-end legalistic manoeuvring, such a leadership would base its strength on the independent mobilization of the ranks, leading them forward on a transitional program of militant demands and intransigent opposition to the class enemy.

There are several supposedly revolutionary groups backing oppositionists in the postal unions who pretend to be a militant alternative to the present sellout bureaucracies. But in the hopes of easily winning mass influence through reformist gimmicks and tailing after militant-posturing bureaucrats, most of these groups end up apologizing for abject betrayals by the LCUC/CUPW brass. The fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group, for example, absolves the bureaucrats of their failure to defend victimized Montreal militants by asserting that "It is true that a national strike isn't possible yet." Instead, "pickets, demonstrations, slow-downs and cafeteria study sessions are possible" (*Old Mole*, June 1975).

The only organized oppositional grouping in the post office is the reformist Postal Action Committee (PAC) which is supported by the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour, co-thinkers of the U.S. Progressive Labor Party. PAC has a two-point program for postal workers: "more militancy" and 30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay. (The May issue of PAC's *Newsletter* carried the headline "'30 for 40'—Better than Mom's Apple Pie"!) Instead of drawing the lesson that a minimal program limited to a few reforms can easily be adopted by any left-talking bureaucrat, the CPL chooses to interpret CUPW leader Davidson's adoption of "30 for 40" as proof of its influence in the working class. PAC's only criticism of the bureaucracy's contract proposal is that it demands too much! It would be more "realistic" to focus on two contract demands—"30 for 40" and the 70 percent pay increase (PAC *Newsletter*, May 1975).

The folksy reformists of PAC have more to worry about than just having their program stolen by the bureaucracy. They are obviously feeling considerable heat as a result of their scabbing on the PSAC (Public Service Alliance of Canada) postal workers' strike in February, as well as their thug attack on a *Workers Vanguard* reporter who saw them crossing the picket line. The 22 March *Worker* carried a story claiming that "In front of Terminal A 3 Trots jumped a union member and a member of PAC." This is a lie, as all those PAC members and unionists present well know. What happened was that several PAC supporters jumped one *WV* photographer and attempted to take the camera he was using to take pictures of PAC members crossing the PSAC lines (see "Solidarity and Betrayal in Canadian Government Employees' Strike," *WV* No. 64, 14 March 1975).

The 5 April *Worker* then carried an apologetic letter from Peter Liebowitz, a leading PAC member, which "explains" that "Many members of the union weren't happy" about the union's decision to scab, "but we felt that if only a handful didn't cross then the boss could easily pick us off." The CPL followed up this shameless defense of strikebreaking with a string of hysterical anti-Trotskyist slanders in its press. Obviously they are acutely embarrassed by the fact that the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency (and even the opportunist RMG) advised CUPW members to honour the picket lines which the PAC crossed. No amount of "militant" huffing and puffing or lying can hide this betrayal.

The Postal Action Committee has no alternative to the trade-union reformism of the existing bureaucrats. Militant postal workers must seek to build a class-struggle leadership which has a program going beyond simple trade unionism, clearly posing the necessity for the revolutionary transformation of society based on the principle of production for use rather than profit. Under working-class rule the advance of technology and introduction of automation would benefit all workers instead of driving thousands onto the unemployment lines and welfare rolls in order to satisfy the profit hunger of the tiny minority of exploiters.

—For a national strike to defend the Montreal militants!

—No government intervention in the unions—smash the PSSRA!

—For a democratic merger of the LCUC and CUPW!

—Oust the bureaucrats—for a class-struggle leadership in the postal unions!

—Forward to a workers government!

"National Bargaining" Disputed at CWA Convention

SAN DIEGO The Communications Workers of America (CWA) held its 37th annual convention here in mid-June, managing to avoid any discussion whatsoever of the main threat to phone workers layoffs. The meeting—which served as a sounding board for nervous local presidents trying to combine loyalty to the International with a facade of independence for consumption by the ranks did, however, see the eruption of substantial opposition to the worst features of the bureaucratic "national bargaining" scheme. This legacy of the Beirne regime railroaded through last year's convention eliminates ratification of the contract by the locals and puts bargaining in the hands of a few national officials.

The convention also soundly defeated an attempt by the leadership of Local 9410 (San Francisco) to attach a reactionary catch-all anti-dissent amendment to Article 19 of the International constitution. While a leadership-backed proposal to extend the period between conventions to 18 months was voted down, the show of independence by the delegates (a symptom of the lack of authority of the new president Glen Watts) was not all laudable. A motion to establish women's committees (in locals where "appropriate") and a lukewarm motion for prison reform, both of which had the International's support, were defeated with demagogic arguments.

If a United Auto Workers convention resembles a slightly raucus New Year's Eve party, CWA conventions are more like a Rotary Club reunion—relatively sedate, complete with "in" rituals, and almost entirely white. The only major battle, on the question of bargaining, was introduced at the very beginning of the convention and was at times heated. However, the opposition oozed "good will" and carefully confined its protests within the strict limits of loyalty to the International bureaucracy.

Opposition to aspects of "national bargaining" centered on motions originally introduced in District 10, a southern region including Louisiana and Kentucky. The District 10 motions were passed overwhelmingly by a number of other units before the convention, including by Western Electric Installation and Long Lines National. Among the demands were an end to the news blackout around national bargaining, a completed strike vote two weeks before the contract expiration date, no work without a contract, and no national agreement which is injurious to critical local bargaining negotiations. Not included, however, is local-by-local ratification of the contract.

The International's response to these proposals was to shunt them off to a committee to "study" the problems and report back to the 1976 convention. About 30-40 percent of the delegates supported the District 10 motions in a vote which was close enough to require a physical division of the house. The opposition, however, was unable to lead a real fight against the CWA tops' maneuver because they themselves declared their loyalty to the International leadership. Jerico Fernandez, president of the New Orleans local, concluded his presentation by saying to the delegates "accept the leadership," and that far from taking power from the International officers, the District 10 motions "will put the power of all the delegates behind the leadership." Such servile declarations could only defuse opposition. If the leaders should be faithfully supported, then why not trust their committee to "study" the questions?

The Southern delegations, which generally favored more militancy, showed the contradictory character of simple trade unionism by opposing a mild prison reform motion and vigorously defending Governor George Wallace, despite the fact that this supposed "friend of the little guy" runs a viciously racist, anti-labor, low-wage open-shop state.

The defeat of the Article 19 amendment was a setback for Local 9410 President Kirkpatrick's virulent red-baiting campaign. His amendment was to permit bringing of charges against members who distribute any "unauthorized material" that would "tend to create a breakdown in the confidence, morale or unity of the rank and file." President Watts affirmed that even local officials could be tried under such a sweeping provision, a prospect which did not please the assembly. But although the International bureaucracy opposed the amendment, it should not be thought that they have no sympathy for Kirkpatrick. The report of the Constitutional Committee stated that "We are aware of the existence of problems in the Local from which this proposal was received." The committee felt there was already ample weaponry in the existing constitution to crush dissent.

In his speech to the convention Kirkpatrick said that militant oppositionists, far from being a local problem, are the concern of the whole "free labor movement," and went on to praise "Operation South America" (i.e., the CIA- and company-backed "American Institute for Free Labor Development").

WV photo

CWA convention in San Diego last month.

Watts also went out of his way to back the AIFLD, saying the CWA assists "free" unions "but not in either rightist or leftist countries." An example of this CIA brand of "unionism" was provided in Chile, where the AIFLD helped organize and finance a right-wing movement to topple the Allende government. After the military junta overthrew the elected government, outlawed the CUT union federation and jailed, tortured and killed thousands of workers and labor leaders, the generals arranged a meeting in January 1974 to form a new federation of 26 AIFLD-backed "unions."

Among the "problems" which Kirkpatrick and the Constitutional Committee referred to is the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Oakland and San Francisco. The Local 9410 tops are concerned about growing support for the MAC, which two years ago was instrumental in building a united front that defeated a similar Article 19 amendment. This spring, Jane Margolis, MAC candidate for convention delegate in 9410, received 230 votes, only 35 short of election.

Of the various oppositional groupings present at the convention, the MAC was the only one with a serious intervention. United Action, supported by the left social-democratic International Socialists (IS), barely managed to distribute its newsletter *Long Distance*, which simply enthused over the District 10 motions as an "important step." The group remained essentially invisible and offered no motions to the delegates. The Workers Action Movement (WAM) predictably was pushing its favorite gimmick, petitioning George Meany for "30 for 40."

The MAC, in contrast, offers a real break with the pro-capitalist policies of the CWA bureaucracy. In a special convention issue of its newspaper *Militant Action* it presented several resolutions to the delegates, the first being for a mobilization of the membership to fight layoffs by "initiation of all necessary union action, up to and including a national strike to fight for a shorter work week *with no loss in pay* to create jobs for all." In addition, this resolution called for reopening the contract to throw out the "needs of service" clause and all other sections allowing layoffs and harassment.

On the important issue of racial and sexual discrimination, notorious throughout the Bell System, a MAC resolution declared that using the courts and government agencies against the unions weakens labor; that "affirmative action programs" and other schemes for "preferential" hiring, firing, etc. are no solution to discrimination and open the door to union-busting; and called for the CWA to fight for equality for all by demanding a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, union control of hiring and upgrading, and full child care at company expense.

Further MAC resolutions were presented calling for the International to reopen the case of the nine fired members of Local 9410 whom Kirkpatrick has refused to defend; for labor/black defense of housing; for the CWA to break all ties with the AIFLD and the CIA; against the deportation of so-called "illegal aliens"—for full citizenship rights for all foreign workers; and against asylum for Indochinese war criminals—open the borders to Chilean refugees. MAC also called for the building of an independent political party of labor to fight the twin parties of capital—a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

Because the MAC stood out as the real potential militant leadership at the convention, it is not accidental that Watts singled it out in his closing remarks. He appealed to groups like MAC to "join together" instead of trying to "tear down." But it is those like Watts, not the MAC, who are the enemies of strong unions and whose policies of support for the companies and the capitalist government are the real obstacles to unity of the workers. As attacks on the CWA membership intensify this will become clear to more and more of the ranks. Thus the need for a national opposition in the CWA, with a class-struggle program such as that of the MAC, has never been more urgent. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 879-7623
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

I.S. Launches "Agitational" Turn

The left social democratic International Socialists group is being prodded by its leadership into a "turn." The watchwords are "bolshevization" and "agitation." The expectation is of rapid, not to say phenomenal, growth, justified by the elevation of opportunism to the level of highest principle: "over the years we have developed a set of politics that fits the times...we are swimming with the tide."

The new orientation is set forth in two hastily drafted internal documents presented by the IS leadership in May, "For a Workers' Combat Organization—The Bolshevization of the IS" and "The IS, the Revolutionary Party and Democratic Centralism." Leaving aside the stirring exhortations to the membership which constitute the bulk of the documents (one subhead is entitled "For a Serious and Dedicated Organization"), the thrust of the new policy appears to be an attempt to pull in new recruits on the basis of minimal political agreement and a related effort to contain the differences which are bound to develop through imposing more rigid norms of internal party life.

Unlike some of the more recent entrants on the pseudo-Trotskyist scene, the IS has carved out for itself a comfortable niche as the virulently Stalinophobic variant of left reformism. In this incarnation it has been possible to recruit modest numbers of middle-class radicals drawn to the IS by its lack of seriousness, workerism and willingness to adapt to whatever is popular. But the IS now wishes to emulate the currently more flamboyantly successful operation of the International Socialists of Great Britain, whose temporary place in the sun is, however, facilitated by the much more highly advanced level of class consciousness among British workers as well as by the political bankruptcy of the entire British "far left."

Modelling itself on the success of its British affiliate, the IS now sets itself the task of "opening the gates to the workers." The turn toward "bolshevization" is a reflection of the simple realization that serious proletarian militants can only be repelled by the IS environment of dilettantism and inveterate in-fighting. The IS leadership itself, smug in the conviction that the new agitational turn will automatically dispose of the old garbage, describes the history of the IS from 1970-73 as "the star system of bourgeois individualism, the leadership of personalities, of individual stars with their own personal bases, clienteles, cliques and eventually factions.... Coming out of the universities we had individual leaders [who]...competed against one another, had personal clienteles who they serviced or represented, spread information and gossip to their bases...." The responsibility for this situation is conveniently foisted off on the elements of the old IS leadership which in 1973 left to form the Revolutionary Socialist League.

The documents extol the IS's version of "democratic centralism"—a much-abused phrase which, not for the first time, is being invoked by these left reformists to conceal the attempt to suppress internal political differentiation. Sandwiched in between reams of the IS's usual super-democratic rhetoric are a few ominous indications of the bureaucratic perversion of Leninist organizational functioning expounded by the IS leadership. The documents blithely assert that "the expulsion of the RSL was, correctly, not for explicit overt acts, but mainly for views...which could only lead to a systematic effort to wreck the IS." The Stalinophobic IS is apparently not ashamed to borrow from the arsenal of Stalinism the practice of political expulsions! Lest this threat should not prove a sufficient deterrent to potential oppositions, the IS leadership also proposes to keep the ranks uninformed of disputes within the leadership through an organizational innovation proudly labelled "voluntary discipline" of members of leading bodies in not taking differences to the membership.

"Basic Training"

It is clear from the documents that the IS intends to undertake a recruitment drive aimed at workers who presumably can be attracted by the organization's new-found "agitational" activity, with very little regard for the level of political agreement. The example of this "short-cut" which immediately comes to mind is the experience of the now moribund Workers League over the past several years. The IS leadership must be aware of this similarity, but rationalizes that this time "the period" will make it possible.

Of course this is a challenging and fruitful period for revolutionary activity. Of course U.S. workers can increasingly be won to commit their lives to a Leninist organization. The experience of the Spartacist League confirms that this is already taking place on a small scale. But it is absurd to expect to build a stable cadre organization out of recruits with little political knowledge drawn to the IS on the basis of its promises of "agitation."

Lest anyone doubt that this is precisely what the IS intends, the documents are quite clear. "... there must be an absolute end to any bourgeois academic concepts of what a person needs to know (usually needs to have read) before they are 'eligible' for membership. Workers who are involved in a fight to the finish with their own boss or trade union bureaucracy don't have to prove anything to us except that they are willing to fight more effectively by joining our organization." And further: "Workers who join us are doing so not to change us by talk about their own pet-notions on points where they differ with us, as so many intellectuals want to, but to be more effective class fighters." This notion is deeply contemptuous of the working class. Far from being uninterested in ideas (dismissed by the IS as "pet notions"), class-conscious workers recognize perfectly well that putting forward a principled class-struggle program is the key to being an "effective class fighter."

The IS's disdain for its hoped-for recruits shines through all the adulation it heaps on the working class. Even the choice of terminology is revealing. The IS writes, "we talk about training and not abstract education.... Our training will be broader than our education ever was," the very phrase unwittingly suggesting the "vocational training" the bourgeoisie confers upon working-class youth, whose aim is to provide a minimum of education and a maximum of exploitable skills. The documents go so far as to promise a new "Basic Training Program," unfortunately conjuring up images of Uncle Sam's indoctrination sessions. And what could be more condescending than the promise that "we will teach our new members how to sell Workers Power and in the course of it convince them that the paper's fundamental role is as an organizer"?

The IS proposes to recruit workers "not on the basis of selecting us as one political tendency among many in the movement." A National Committee proposal "For a Worker Membership Campaign" indicates how the IS intends to deal with the danger of its new recruits' belatedly discovering the existence of other tendencies: an ambitious plan for "impressive," "showpiece" rallies specifies the intention of "excluding known Sparts and calling (for questions only, not discussion) only on workers who are close to the IS to speak from the floor" (*IS National Report*, Vol. III No. 18, 1-16 May 1975).

Neither its "basic training" scheme nor the isolation of new recruits from opponent political tendencies—which means isolation from the real world—will bring the IS any lasting success in its get-rich-quick plan to recruit workers. Whatever members the IS does recruit in this manner will experience a rapid turnover with the accompanying demoralization. The IS leadership would do well to examine the horrible example of the Workers League. But if history shows anything, it is that opportunists are incapable of learning from history.

"Pressure Groups"

As part of its new image, the IS appears to want to strike out a bit independently of the sleazy crew of out-bureaucrats the IS has christened "rank-and-file leaders." Here the aspiring social democrats of the IS are caught in a bind. As they recognize, whatever appearance of influence they possess is due to their role as "advisors, pushers from behind" to the likes of Pete Kelley, Jordan Sims and Edith Fox of the United National Caucus of the UAW and similar "pressure groups" in other unions. At the same time the IS feels the need to present a somewhat more leftist posture than these nakedly careerist bureaucratic elements—but "without in any sense breaking with or abandoning them." (For an account of the gyrations of IS trade-union supporters attempting to walk this tightrope, see "UNC Backs Busing, Union Defense Guards," *WV* No. 71, 20 June 1975). The IS does not want to place all its chips on groupings like the UNC, not out of any sudden attack of vestigial principles, but out of the nagging (and thoroughly justified) fear that an upsurge of working-class militancy will sweep the UNC onto the garbage heap where it belongs. Without the UNC and similar outfits the IS could not posture as being in the "big time."

This desire for a more "independent" face does not constitute any sort of left turn. The IS has been drawn deeper and deeper into trade-union opportunism. In fact, it hides some of its most flagrant tailist excesses from the readership of *Workers Power* and does not publicize them even among its own ranks. In UAW Local 6 near Chicago, IS-influenced Local members heavily backed a so-called "Rank-and-File Coalition" whose doings the IS press reported uncritically. What the IS failed to mention was that this new "rank-and-file" outfit was headed up by Norm Roth, then-president of the Local, who supported the "Woodcock Team" at the last UAW Convention. *Workers Power* also devoted front-page coverage to the formation of a union defense guard for the home of a black Local 6 member, but neglected to mention that the motion which it printed in full was put forward by an oppositional grouping in Local 6—the Labor Struggle Caucus—which the IS does not support, preferring instead to suck up to the likes of Roth.

In a similar incident, when some genuine trade-union militants were mistakenly invited to participate in an IS panel in the Bay Area and took the opportunity to sharply criticize the IS's brand of union work, the IS failed to report it not only in *Workers Power* but even in its own internal report of the conference (see "Longshore Militants Confront I.S. at 'Rank and File' Conference," *WV* No. 60, 17 January 1975).

It is certainly amusing to expose the cheap falsifications of these self-appointed champions of "anti-elitism," but there is also a message here. Whatever their pretensions to "agitation," the IS does not have and cannot acquire the hegemonic position on the ostensibly revolutionary left which would permit it to shield its hoped-for proletarian recruits from contact with unpleasant realities, such as the example of principled trade-union activity undertaken by real class-struggle militants. All the stage-managed rallies in the world will not provide a short-cut to winning, developing and holding a cohesive cadre of committed communist workers. While the IS puffs itself up with opportunist gimmicks, the Spartacist League will continue to show that principles are not a hindrance to building a revolutionary Marxist party, but the only way.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

72

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

SUBSCRIBE

Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)

U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia

Gotbaum...

(continued from page 12)

guardians of Carey, Beame and the bankers' class rule!

Gotbaum's plan to "fight" layoffs also plays directly into a possible race polarization. The "plan" is to have laid-off city workers hired under the federally-financed Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) *at the expense of those presently employed under the program*, who happen to be mainly minority-group ghetto residents! An incredulous delegate at the DC 37 delegates' meeting pointed out that CETA jobs only last a year. Gotbaum's response was that CETA was a depression program and therefore would be extended to the end of the depression, at which point jobs will reappear and workers will be rehired! Gotbaum plans to get work for 10,000 to 15,000 laid-off city workers (only half the number he himself predicted would be laid off) with such fairy tails, while any militant trade unionist knows that without a serious fight against layoffs, the jobs can be kissed goodbye forever.

The SWP's "Turn" to the Labor Movement

In addition to isolated strike votes, demonstrations and wildcats, rank-and-file frustration and pressure produced one ostensibly pan-union meeting on June 18, open to students and community groups as well, to plan for a march which was held yesterday. The meeting and march were built by supporters of the reformist views of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), who circulated an "action proposal" in various unions and corralled two local union presidents subject to pressure from the ranks—Pat Knight of SSEU and David Beasely of the library workers—to sponsor the event.

The SWP-backed proposal at the June 18 meeting, which was presented from the podium and voted up before the several counterproposals could be debated (a slick bureaucratic maneuver by Knight, who was chairing), was a study in the mildest reformism designed to appeal to disgruntled city officials, Democratic Party politicians and petty-bourgeois elements who might be enticed by the SWP into a "broad" pressure bloc "to turn around priorities." Its operative paragraph read:

> "To begin this crucial process of uniting against these attacks, and of building the kind of strong social movement it will take to turn around the priorities in this city, we—the undersigned— are proposing a march on City Hall, to begin at noon from Union Square, Saturday, June 28, of all those affected by the city crisis, demanding 1) No Layoffs! and 2) No Cutbacks!"

To reassure the ruling class of its thoroughly non-revolutionary intentions, the SWP buried its own organizational presence at both the meeting and yesterday's march. Furthermore, members of the SWP-dominated National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) spoke from the floor *against* any form of strike action to achieve the objectives, thus ensuring that the bloc would remain firmly within the bounds of capitalist politics and help to prevent mass mobilization of the workers and poor. One unidentified NSCAR supporter intoned, "These people who are calling for a strike are nothing but sectarians"! But at least three city unions—including the two sponsoring the meeting and march—had already voted (only on paper, to be sure) for strike action! The "action proposal" was little more than a way for Knight and Beasely to look militant without actually doing anything more than Gotbaum himself, and for the SWP to initiate one more reformist "movement," this time as a way of maneuvering itself into the good graces of left-talking trade-union bureaucrats.

The SWP's reformism knows no bounds. It not only sought to build a "broad" reformist movement with Knight and Beasely, but was, until the pink slips came, completely uncritical of Gotbaum in its paper, the *Militant*! The SWP was evidently completely satisfied with Gotbaum's participation in the impotent and farcical march in Washington on April 26th and with his support for petty-bourgeois community groups in New York School District 1 in bureaucratic maneuvering to oppose teachers' union president Shanker, who supports their racist school board opponents. Matching the SWP's reformism at the June 18 meeting was the crackpot National Caucus of Labor Committees (NCLC)-"U.S. Labor Party," which advocated merely a "debt moratorium" (a demand also supported by the SWP).

For a City-Wide General Strike!

Some of the many counterproposals and speakers from the floor at the meeting reflected sentiment for strike action, although most allowed themselves to be dismissed as adventurist, such as the Progressive Labor Party's usual mindless "strike, sit-down, walk out" agitation. The most cynically adventurist proposal was made by Dennis Cribbens—an SSEU delegate and long-time supporter of the views of the Workers League, a pseudo-Trotskyist sect—who was recognized for the first counterproposal by Knight. While the Workers League calls in its propaganda and paper, the *Bulletin*, for a general strike, Cribbens' proposal downplayed this goal. Instead, predicting the refusals of Gotbaum, Knight and Beasley to call strikes, he called for occupations of individual welfare centers by case workers! At most, one or two centers where Cribbens' dwindling Committee for a New Leadership has a member or two would be affected by such a call. Nothing would be accomplished, since case workers are hardly the most strategic sector of city workers.

Incredibly, while calling for nationalization of the banks, the WL is *against* calling for cancellation of the debt because this might "precipitate a banking panic that would bring down the entire world credit structure" (*Bulletin*, 3 June). This concern for the financial health of the banking industry is touching, but more appropriate in the pages of the *Wall Street Journal* than a socialist newspaper.

A general strike must be led by city workers in key sectors such as transit, bridges, phone, sanitation, etc. Other workers and community groups should be drawn into strike and support actions. Elected strike committees would be necessary in order to permit the ranks to effectively oppose a sellout by the treacherous union bureaucrats and strengthen the strike by aiding the mobilization of the mass of workers. Only the Spartacist League presented a proposal to the June 18 meeting which pointed in the direction of a general strike without calling for isolated, impotent and adventurist actions:

> "RESOLVED that this conference take steps to initiate a united-front demonstration for working-class action calling on their respective trade unions and organizations for such a demonstration based on the following demands:
>
> 1. For a city-wide general strike against cut-backs and layoffs.
>
> 2. Cancel the debt, expropriate the banks without compensation."

The motion was also supported from the floor by a spokesman of the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the National Maritime Union, who pointed out that the calss-collaborationist trade-union bureaucracy is the main obstacle to its implementation, and that the unions must break from the Democratic Party to form a workers party to fight for a workers government.

It is noteworthy that the Spartacist League in its proposal and speakers was the only tendency to mention the cops and the need to break with these enemies of the working class. The supporters of the SWP-backed "action proposal," while noting the need for unity across racial lines, nevertheless called for *everybody* affected by the crisis to unite, failing to exclude the cops. The Workers League and Committee for a New Leadership in SSEU are strangely silent on the cops now when by their past views they should be *demanding that the cops lead the workers*: in 1971 the WL called for a general strike to support a brief New York police strike, and the CNL demanded that welfare cops be supported in their demands, which were mainly aimed at being allowed to carry guns! Thus all tendencies except the SL are playing into the hands of Gotbaum, who passes off the PBA as part of the labor movement and uses it as an excuse for not striking "alone" (i.e., without the "solidarity" of the PBA).

After a futile debate on 12 counterproposals following the passage of the "action proposal" (which, as Knight made clear, made debate on other proposals purely academic) the meeting degenerated into bedlam and total confusion. In protest against the bureaucratism and cynical maneuvering of the chair and the SWP, which had rendered the meeting a completely unserious farce, the SL withdrew its proposal.

The march turned out to be something less than the SWP's hoped for recrudescence of the "broad" reformist antiwar marches of the 1960's: less than 300 people showed up. The spiritless marchers chanted such puerile slogans as "Abe Beame, you liar, we'll set your ass on fire." The SWP did not put up a speaker, and only one of the Democratic nonentities it had lined up showed. The rally ended with a minister singing "We Shall Not Be Moved." The Spartacist League, while not supporting the demonstration (or the "action proposal" which spawned it) was present, and was the only group to raise a banner calling for a city-wide general strike.

For municipal workers there is only one answer—a city-wide general strike to stop layoffs, cutbacks, and to cancel the debt and expropriate the banks. Such a program requires a break with the cops and capitalist politicians, and the forging of alliances with community groups under the leadership of militant, class-struggle unions. The Gotbaums and DeLurys, their chiefs in the AFL-CIO, and their friends in fake "socialist" groups such as the SWP stand as an obstacle to this course. The bureaucrats and their Democratic Party allies must be thrown out, to be replaced by class-struggle leadership, which must be built through the formation of militant caucuses in the unions. Only a revolutionary party committed to the fight for a class-struggle program, against the trade-union bureaucracy and for a workers party based on the trade unions and a workers government to expropriate the bourgeoisie can lead in the formation of a class-struggle leadership for the unions and immediate mass struggles going beyond the bounds set by capitalism. For that, the revolutionary Trotskyist program of the Spartacist League is the key. ■

Indochina...

(continued from page 7)

discharged its thin layer of capitalists, also contained a stratum of workers and petty bourgeoisie constituting the only developed basis of Cambodia's urban economy. For Marxists it is crucial to preserve this economic infrastructure while beginning an orderly program for the relocation of the peasant refugees. In any case the working and poor population should have itself decided in democratic soviets how to deal with artificially overpopulated cities. Certainly they would not decide to drive out the aged and the infirm, which surely would kill them.

Today there is the beginnings of a repopulation of the urban centers, but reportedly with selected relocated peasants who are given lessons in "urban hygiene." A thin bureaucracy worried that it cannot control a proletariat will continue policies designed to consolidate its rule at the expense of the interests of the laboring masses.

For Political Revolution!

In the wake of the overthrow of capitalist rule in Vietnam and Cambodia (and the continuing consolidation of state power in the hands of the Pathet Lao to the north), cynical Stalinist apologists will soon begin inventing "explanations" for the absence of a "democratic" stage of the Indochinese Revolution. The fake-Trotskyist centrists of the USec majority can be expected to continue their time-honored policy aspiring to be the "theoretician"-lawyers and (unsolicited) advisers of the new Stalinist regimes as they have attempted to do with Castro, Mao and Ho Chi Minh in the past. The SWP will continue with its head-in-the-sand posture until its refusal to recognize the reality of a social revolution becomes an embarrassment in petty-bourgeois milieus—whereupon it will then discover a peaceful transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Those who would defend the banners of authentic Trotskyism must declare clearly that it is the duty of all class-conscious workers to defend the historic gains represented by the overthrow of capitalist class rule in the new deformed workers states of Indochina. At the same time they must struggle to take the revolutionary gains forward, by workers political revolution against bureaucratic rule in Hanoi, Saigon and Phnom Penh. This task—the taking of the reins of state power by the laboring masses themselves and the international extension of the revolution in both capitalist and deformed workers states—requires the leadership of Trotskyist parties in Indochina as a part of a reborn Fourth International■.

SUBSCRIBE TO **Young Spartacus**

Monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

$2
11 ISSUES

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal St. P.O.
New York, New York 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Gotbaum Accepts NYC Layoffs

For a City-Wide Strike Against Layoffs!

Cancel the Debt—Expropriate the Banks!

For a Workers Party and a Workers Government!

SL contingent at June 28 demonstration against NYC layoffs.

WV Photo

NEW YORK, June 29—Municipal workers here are engaged in the final, catastrophic battle of the city budget crisis manufactured by Mayor Beame and the giant New York banks. A "compromise" now being worked out in Albany could mean anywhere from 10,000 to 40,000 new layoffs of city workers by July 1, on top of thousands already laid off and additional thousands of city jobs lost through attrition since the beginning of the year.

The layoffs will mean drastic cutbacks in education, hospitals, fire protection, sanitation, welfare case-handling, child-care centers and many other already grossly inadequate services, with the worst cuts being made in ghetto areas. The entire working-class and poor population of New York City will be the losers unless the municipal unions launch a city-wide general strike to stop all layoffs and cutbacks, to cancel the city debt and expropriate the banks without compensation. But the city labor leaders have betrayed the workers every step of the way and are the chief agency preventing such a mobilization, allowing the ruling circles to accomplish their despicable aims.

Gotbaum Accepts "Meaningless" Pink Slips

Among the worst of these so-called "leaders" is Victor Gotbaum, head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), a collection of locals representing a majority of the city workers. It was Gotbaum who proposed forced retirement of older workers early in the crisis—a measure too strong even for the likes of Peter Brennan, Nixon's "labor" cabinet appointee! Gotbaum maintained later that he would rather accept layoffs than cuts in the contractual benefits of his members, although he had already sold out on these as well, describing the benefits as "crap" which his members "never should have got" in the first place! At a recent DC 37 delegates' meeting Gotbaum incredibly pooh-poohed the looming pink slips as "meaningless," while he sketched out a "plan" which amounted to accepting the layoffs!

These betrayals have not been accomplished without creating considerable restiveness in the ranks of city workers, and much talk of strikes, workplace occupations and other labor action. As far back as last December, the 11,000-member Social Service Employees Union, Local 371, a part of DC 37 representing welfare case workers, voted to take strike action. Since then Laborers and Library locals have also voted to strike. There have been numerous, though isolated, demonstrations of hospital workers, social service workers and sympathetic community organizations. Last Friday, sanitationmen in three major centers in Manhattan and Brooklyn struck against layoffs of almost 3,000 men which they were immediately faced with following the passage of Beame's city budget the day before. During a single day hundreds of tons of garbage accumulated on downtown streets, and 140 sanitationmen at one garage were briefly suspended for alleged massive acts of sabotage against sanitation trucks.

This incident recalled the 1971 bridge-tenders' strike, in which New York was paralyzed for two days when workers locked bridges across the rivers and sanitation trucks with slashed tires were left blocking highways. The 1971 strike demonstrated the potential power of the workers in key sectors to shut down the city and thus completely change the terms of struggle in their favor. But the strike was sold out by none other than Gotbaum, who sent the men back to work with nothing more than a vague promise of future legislative discussion on pensions!

The Advent of "Big MAC"

The main outlines of the capitalists' "solution" of the crisis have been laid down with the creation of "Big MAC" (Municipal Assistance Corporation), a special board which includes prominent lawyers, politicians and representatives of leading corporations (such as Felix Rohatyn, ITT's Watergate whiz kid). The politicians have willingly surrendered to this board the power to "supervise" the city budget, so that they can be taken off the hook while they continue to channel city revenues into the pockets of the financial note-holders. The board is attempting to sell new bond issues to investors on the basis of the increased "security" MAC's control provides. Thus the vicious circle of increasing city indebtedness, declining living standards of the workers and poor and enrichment of the bankers and financiers will continue unabated.

Prior to the creation of "Big MAC," Beame and Gotbaum made a weak pretense of fighting the banks. Beame moaned, "I don't think the banks give a goddamn about the city of New York" (*New York Times*, 16 May), and threatened the financial moguls with "investigations." Gotbaum declared First National City Bank the "No. 1 enemy," and called for an impotent campaign of depositor withdrawals. MAC's arrival, however, reduced the dispute within the ruling class to simple bartering over the amount of layoffs, and silenced even Gotbaum's weak criticisms despite the continuing inevitability of massive layoffs and cuts in services, unless labor fights back.

Cops Are Not Workers!

The city crisis has been accompanied by an underlying threat of vicious race polarization which the city cops, also facing layoffs, have been trying hard to provoke. Their "fear city" campaign was designed to play upon the racist fears of the petty-bourgeois salesmen and tourists, which view New York as a haven for criminals and muggers who are invariably identified as practically synonomous with the entire black and Latin populations. By this they hope to pressure Beame and the ruling class into rescinding the layoffs. Patrolmen's Benevolent Association head Ken McFeely has been portrayed at various points of the crisis as the most "militant" in opposing Beame, and has sought to cultivate an image as a "labor leader." It would be the most dangerous error, however, for city workers to consider the cops as "workers" or as allies in any sense.

capitalist state who correctly view themselves as indispensable *to the very same oppressors who are the cause of the "crisis."* Workers can be temporarily laid off or permanently thrown onto unemployment rolls, but the bosses' state will never voluntarily weaken its ability to enforce its will *against* the workers. Sizable police layoffs will certainly not occur: a few may go, but the number will be insignificant compared to the virtual doubling of most urban police forces since the late 1960's.

All of the proposed cuts in service are being made to affect minority ghetto areas of the city the worst. The bankers *and* the cops know that the latter will be needed to cram the cuts down the throats of the welfare victims, employed and unemployed ghetto residents by being the first line of "defense" against the popular resistance, by fomenting riots to head off more effective protests, etc. The PBA's standard line, of course, is that cops' jobs should be saved by throwing "chiselers" off welfare.

For city labor to ally itself with the police means to voluntarily counterpose itself to the community groups it seeks the support of! This will aggravate the normal tendency of multi-class petty-bourgeois community groups to view the (relatively) highly paid city workers as the enemy rather than the ruling class and the state, thus laying the basis for a mobilization of community groups against the trade unions similar to the union-busting offensive against the 1968 teachers' strike. And yet the municipal union leaders remain silent or treat McFeely as an ally, just as AFSCME nationally welcomes cops and prison guards (the butchers of Attica!) into its ranks as union members! Militants must demand cops out of the unions and no alliance with the armed

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 73 18 July 1975

Neither Military Dictatorship Nor Capitalist "Democracy"

For Workers Power in Portugal!

JULY 14 – On Friday (July 11) the Socialist Party resigned from the Portuguese coalition government reportedly, according to a UP dispatch, "to protest efforts by military rulers to set up a communist 'dictatorship'." The news agency quoted SP leader Mario Soares as saying, "We don't want a dictatorship of a class, which leads to a dictatorship of a party and finally to one man." Earlier Soares had said the Socialists would lead a campaign of demonstrations to "paralyze the entire country" to protest "the manipulation of news by minorities." The ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) responded to the SP ministers' resignation by calling a full-scale military alert.

The events of the last week dramatically highlighted the on-again, off-again conflict between the Socialists and leftist leaders of the MFA which has been recurring since the beginning of the year. The bourgeois press has generally painted a picture of the SP as the only defenders of "freedom" in Portugal, locked in combat against "socialist" generals who are either captives of the Kremlin or partisans of a "Cuban solution." Pro-Moscow Stalinists, on the other hand, portray the SP's actions as simply a front for the the intrigues of imperialism and domestic counterrevolutionaries, and hail the Communist Party-backed MFA as the chief bulwark against a return to "fascism."

In accepting one or the other of these stories, many would-be leftists (including Maoist and ostensibly "Trotskyist" organizations) have lined up more or less uncritically behind the SP or CP/MFA. But despite the myths propounded by social democrats and Stalinists, the reality is that *neither* side in the current confrontation intends to overthrow capitalism or install a socialist regime. *Both* sides, i.e., the proponents of "Western-style" capitalist "democracy" and backers of a leftist military dictatorship, are violently opposed to a struggle for proletarian socialist revolution and workers democracy. The interests of the working class will not be served by miserably tailing after the present misleaders of the Portuguese masses, but only by struggling to build an independent Trotskyist vanguard party.

Informations Ouvrieres

Troops guard offices of the República newspaper, closed on orders of MFA.

The Socialist Party as "Defender of Freedom"

The first sharp disagreement between the Portuguese Socialist Party and the leftist leaders of the MFA came in January with the dispute over a "trade-union unity" law. This law made it illegal for any other union federation to be set up aside from the existing Intersindical, which is bureaucratically controlled by the Communist Party. As CP leaders have repeatedly opposed strikes, the generals naturally preferred to strengthen the hand of these tested labor fakers.

While the Stalinists were able to mobilize several hundred thousand demonstrators in the streets of Lisbon on January 14 in favor of this bill for government control of the unions (under the phony claim that the issue was simply "unity"), the Socialists in opposing it were able to tap widespread dissatisfaction in the ranks of several key unions. After seeing the CP act as open strikebreakers in the June 1974 postal strike, Stalinist support has fallen sharply in such centers of labor militancy as the Lisnave shipyards and TAP airlines. The CP former minister of labor, Avelino Gonçalves, for instance, was defeated in a bid for re-election as leader of the bank workers' union.

But while the SP poses as an opponent of government control of the unions and the CP as the champion of unity, both are only attempting to deceive the gullible. The CP has used its influence in the ministry of labor to remove and arrest the Maoist leadership of the chemical workers' union, and last month did everything in its power to defeat the strike by Lisbon telephone workers. Some "labor unity"! The "freedom-loving" SP, in turn, was part of the government which last August issued a decree forbidding strikes under all except the most restricted conditions. And with their influence increasing in some unions, the Socialists have now decided that government-enforced bureaucratic "unity" may not be so bad, and supported the "single federation" law when it was promulgated in May.

A second area of conflict between the SP and MFA has been over the fate of the constituent assembly elected this past April 25. The Armed Forces Movement agreed to hold the elections only with extreme reluctance, and called for casting blank ballots (which only about 5 percent of the electorate did). The SP won 38 percent of the votes, and its "social-democratic" bourgeois ally, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) won another 26 percent. Last month the SP/PPD majority pushed through a rule in the constituent assembly providing for a daily discussion period on national issues, while the Supreme Council of the Revolution (CSR – the leading body of the MFA) forbade it to do anything but write a constitution.

In announcing the SP resignation from the government Soares proclaimed, "We are not going to lick the boots of soldiers." But that is just what it has done for the past year, and may do tomorrow if there is a slight shift in the political alignments at the top of the MFA. The bonapartism of the MFA regime *is* a mortal danger to the Portuguese working class, but the SP cannot wage a consistent fight against it because the social democrats and demagogic generals share a common aim: the maintenance of capitalist rule.

Last April the Socialist Party signed the "MFA-party pact" which provided that for a three to five year transition period all key powers will be in the hands of the president and Supreme Council of

continued on page 8

Organizing the Unemployed in the Great Depression

Part 1/Fighting for Unity

Page 6

CPUSA

Workers move back tenant's furniture in Chicago South Side eviction battle.

Stop Indira Gandhi's Repression!

JULY 11—In the last weeks Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has employed the draconian laws inherited from British colonialism to arrest thousands of her critics and political opponents, from left militants to the most respectable bourgeois politicians. When the parliament meets on July 21 to rubber stamp the proclamation of the state of emergency, as many as 20 seats will be empty, as oppositional Members of Parliament sit in jail without right to counsel or even to specification of charges. In addition, on July 4 the government banned 26 right-wing and left-wing parties, including the Communist Party of India (Marxist).

While the working class and poor peasants have felt the lash of government repression for years, the arrest of prominent political figures like Jaya Prakash Narayan and Morarji Desai and the total censorship of the press have given the coup de grace to the Indian regime's attempts to posture as the champion of democracy in the backward countries. At the same time, economic stagnation, starvation, illiteracy and the unshaken caste system have exploded the Stalinist myth of the "non-capitalist road of development."

Anti-government demonstration against corruption in India last month. UPI

Shaken by the Congress Party defeat in Gujarat elections in June and massive demonstrations calling for her resignation following conviction on two minor counts of corrupt electoral practices, Gandhi took a giant leap toward a full-fledged bonapartist regime without, however, overstepping the bounds of Indian law. Although a new proclamation was made, citing "a grave emergency...whereby the security of India is threatened by internal disturbances," India has officially been in a state of emergency since the December 1971 war with Pakistan.

Since that time thousands of "Naxalites"—members of the CPI-ML and other banned Maoists—and insurgent peasants have been rounded up, imprisoned and tortured. Fifty thousand workers were held without trial during last year's railway strike, and some 20,000 "detainees," most of them left political prisoners, were already in jail when the new state of emergency was declared on June 26. Expenditures for the build-up of the police force have doubled in the past five years and state after state has seen its elected administration dissolved and replaced by presidential rule. In the face of her sharply declining popularity and the prospect of national parliamentary elections early next year, Gandhi has unleashed all of the legal powers at her disposal to dismember and intimidate her opposition.

The economic significance of Gandhi's turn to naked bonapartism is her announcement that no strikes or labor disputes will be allowed to disrupt the drive for increased production and stability. Already a scheduled strike of 650,000 power workers has been called off. Although the working class with its treacherous misleadership was hardly about to make a bid for power, the Indian labor movement's reputation for combativity and increasing strike activity coupled with largely spontaneous mass violence have undermined the bourgeoisie's confidence in the Congress Party. The influential *Times* of India delivered, the bourgeoisie's ultimatum to Gandhi last year:

> "The ruling party will have to realize that corruption is fast breeding a distaste for democracy, distorting the priorities, stoking the fires of inflation, making the problems of disciplining labor well-nigh impossible and creating a dangerous chasm between the elite and the common people."
>
> quoted in *New York Times*, 27 June 1975

Indira Gandhi's elaborate maneuvers to stay within the outer limits of the constitution while smashing her parliamentary opponents, and to lull her plebeian supporters with more promises of reforms while arresting left and labor leaders and splitting skulls of workers and peasants who take to the streets, are designed to demonstrate to the capitalists that only one party is capable of governing India in their interests and of quelling popular unrest. Armed with dictatorial powers, with her opponents of the left and right in jail, Gandhi is launching a program that will plunge even more millions below subsistence-level existence, while stringing up a few smugglers and black marketeers just for show.

Popular Front

The suppressed opposition is itself a heterogeneous collection of right and left parties, united only by their appetites for power. The new government in the state of Gujarat was widely seen as a harbinger of the future pattern of opposition blocs. Jaya Prakash Narayan—once a pioneer Socialist and leader of the independence movement and now nationally revered exponent of reactionary-utopian Gandhian social work—engineered a five-party coalition, the *Janata Morcha* (People's Front). It consists of the Congress Party (Organization), a formation of old Congress bosses who split with Gandhi in 1969; the Jan Sangh (People's Party), a reactionary Hindu communal party; the Akali Dal, a regional party of rich peasants; the Bharatiya Lok Dal (People's Party of India), a regionally based caste party; and the Socialist Party, a social-democratic formation which led last year's railway strike.

Discredited in the eyes of the broad masses by their years of electoral opportunism, these parties are scrambling onto Narayan's bandwagon. Narayan had even proposed a merger or federation into a new party to contest next year's election. Although such a popular-front alliance is inherently unstable, its success in Gujarat and the massive support to the anti-Indira demonstrations that preceded the government crackdown indicated the potential to displace the national dominance of the Congress Party. In a country where political corruption translates into critical grain shortages and starvation, and the ruling party is severely discredited, Narayan's promise of clean government through "partyless democracy" has mass appeal. Narayan, untainted by party affiliation or past government posts, is the perfect broker for such an alliance.

While not yet participating in the *Janata Morcha*, the Communist Party of India (Marxist) (CPI-M) and other smaller left parties have been sniffing eagerly at Narayan's heels. On June 5, 14 parties, including the CPI-M, built an anti-Congress rally of 200,000 in Calcutta. Burying their reformist program for the sake of a phony unity, the CPI-M joined hands with the reactionary Jan Sangh in this "flagless rally" where the only speaker, Narayan, called for a mass civil-disobedience campaign against "the corrupt regime and its undemocratic laws." However, following a similar mass demonstration on July 9 in the southern state of Kerala (the CPI-M's only base outside West Bengal), the top leaders and cadres of the CPI-M and other left parties were arrested (*New York Times*, 12 July).

Janata Morcha is ostensibly based on the "people's charter" of demands that Narayan unveiled in March during his months-long agitation in Bihar. This minimal program of electoral and educational reform, restoration of democratic rights, elimination of economic inequality and political corruption is no more radical than the Congress Party program and, like the latter, promises to be worth less than the paper it is written on. In fact, Jan Sangh—the second largest party in India and the strongest party in the opposition front—held its national convention a few days before the charter was issued and voted down certain of its demands (such as extension of the ceiling on land holdings and "fair price shops" which must publish the prices of essential commodities).

Further indication of the pervasive cynicism of the opposition bloc was its willingness to accept post-election support from the Kisan Mazdoor Lok Paksha (Peasant-Worker People's Party—PWPP) in order to form the new cabinet in Gujarat. The PWPP is headed by one Chimanbhai Patel, former chief minister of Gujarat bounced out of the Congress Party by Indira Gandhi when massive student protests, general strikes and violent food riots toppled his corrupt government last year (see "Report from India, Part I: Protests Against Hunger and Corruption Plague Gandhi Regime," *WV* No. 51, 16 August 1974).

It is the responsibility of the criminally opportunist and reformist workers parties that the smoldering fury of the Indian masses has been exploited by venal bourgeois politicians. The pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), in the service of the foreign policy objectives of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin, firmly guards the left flank of the Congress Party while denouncing all opposition to Gandhi, whether from the left or right, as a reactionary conspiracy fomented by the CIA. On July 4 the CPI became the first (and, so far, only) non-government party to endorse Gandhi's strong-arm measures. The Socialist Party in turn, in its pursuit of Narayan's utopias, helps to build the Jan Sangh, a party based on Hindu chauvinism and the most reactionary aspects of peasant backwardness. The CPI-M, with a long history of popular-front blocs with small bourgeois parties, has flirted with the grand alliance of opposition parties. Only a total break with all the parties of the bourgeoisie and the construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party can pave the way to a real alternative to Gandhi: a workers and peasants government that will grant land to the tiller and rip industry from the hands of the bourgeoisie.■

J. P. Laffont/Sygma
Jaya Prakash Narayan

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

"Socialist-Feminist" Conference: Nothing Learned, Going Nowhere

Replete with the usual "Third World" demagogy and lesbian activists disillusioned by the "lack of concern" for their oppression among "straight" women's liberationists, the "Socialist-Feminist Conference" held over July 4th weekend at Antioch College in Ohio could well have been a boring rerun of any one of dozens of New Left feminist get-togethers held since the mid-1960's. While the large attendance at the conference (about 1,000) may testify to the importance and potential of the women's liberation issue, and the cast of characters changes somewhat from time to time, the petty-bourgeois subjectivity, anti-political prejudice and liberal rhetoric remain essentially identical.

The organizers of the conference, several local "socialist-feminist" groups and the women's caucus of the social-democratic New American Movement, demonstrated organizational as well as political incapacity. On one day they turned back numerous women arriving for the conference at airports and bus stations because the turnout could not be accommodated, only to register more participants the following day. General disgruntlement was further exacerbated by the high-handed undemocratic behavior of the planning committee.

The conference was exclusionist on more levels than one. Men ("of course"!) were not allowed. In addition, three "Principles of Unity" were included in pre-conference publicity with the intention of keeping out all non-feminists. At no point in the conference were the participants permitted to discuss, much less modify or vote on, these basic premises. And in case anyone should miss the point, the planning committee privately decided that three organizations were to be specifically banned: the National Caucus of Labor Committees, the Revolutionary Union and the Spartacist League. Of the three, only the SL bothered to show up, whereupon our comrades were refused permission to register.

But neither the exclusion of the SL nor the ubiquitous "sisterhood" rhetoric could cover over the enormous political confusion and absolute lack of direction of the "socialist-feminists." Scheduled workshops dealt with such issues as: "Womancraft (Spirituality, getting in touch with our inner energy and using this energy in revolutionary ways)," "Developing a Lesbian Community (Lesbians Only)," "Creating a National Rape Movement," "Women in Farming: Past-Present-Future," "Building an Anti-Capitalist Women's Business," and "Who Runs the Parks?" These workshops, however, were generally bypassed in favor of the "Anti-Imperialist Caucus" meetings attended by about 200-300 women.

Anti-Imperialist Caucus: Cynical Opportunists

While many groups participating in the Anti-Imperialist Caucus stood in blatant violation of the exclusionist "Principles of Unity," at no time did they attempt to challenge the "socialist-feminist" credo openly on the conference floor. The three principles prescribed by the conference organizers were: 1)"the necessity of the autonomous women's movement throughout the revolutionary process"; 2)"all oppression—whether based on race, class, sex, or sexual preference—is inter-related and...fights for liberation from oppression must be simultaneous and cooperative"; and 3) "socialist-feminism is a strategy for revolution."

In contrast, elements in the Anti-Imperialist Caucus, a loose coalition including Workers Viewpoint, Prairie Fire, the Asian Women's Study Group of Chicago, El Comité and other feminists of generally Maoist political coloration, put out a statement calling not for an autonomous women's movement, but for "mass women's organizations...under the leadership of a revolutionary communist party." It was for opposing "autonomy" in favor of building a women's section of the revolutionary vanguard party that the Spartacist League was excluded from the conference. All the groups endorsing the statement placed themselves outside the principles of unity, yet none of them protested the exclusions, and their opportunist desire to remain in the conference at any price prevented them from making a principled fight to defeat the concepts of "autonomy" and "socialist-feminism," which many of them also oppose.

A Spartacist League supporter present

continued on page 11

CORRECTIONS

In our last issue (*WV* No. 72, 4 July) several lines were dropped in the article entitled "Gotbaum Accepts NYC Layoffs." The first sentence of the paragraph beginning at the top of the fourth column on page 12 should have read: "The cops' 'militancy,' seemingly greater than that of Gotbaum, DeLury et al., stems precisely from the fact that they are *not* workers but armed agents of the capitalist state who correctly view themselves as indispensable *to the very same oppressors who are the cause of the 'crisis'*."

Also, a photo on page 3 of the same issue was incorrectly credited to *WV*; the photographer is Luis Carballar. In an introduction to the appeal of the Bolshevik-Leninist Group of Vietnam on page 7 we stated that following the DRV/NLF victory neither the minority nor majority of the "United Secretariat" had seen fit to mention the assassination of Vietnamese Trotskyists by the Stalinists in 1945-47. We have since received the May issue of *Revista de América*, published by the Argentine PST (supporters of the USec minority), which does protest the murder of the Vietnamese Trotskyists. Nevertheless, the silence on this subject by other sections of the USec dramatically reveals the hollowness of their Trotskyist pretensions.

Finally, the article "India in Crisis" refers to "Gandhi's landslide electoral victory in 1971, which...came in the flush of chauvinist hysteria triggered by the India-Pakistan war." Actually, the Congress Party's parliamentary election victory was in March 1971, while the India-Pakistan war came at the end of the year. However, Gandhi's until recently unchallenged political dominance was greatly reinforced by the nationalist war hysteria.■

"Sisterhood Is Powerful"

Sygma

Greeting one another above at the recent UN-sponsored International Women's Year conference in Mexico City are Prime Minister Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) and Imelda Marcos, wife of the president of the Philippines. Bandaranaike, who mouthed platitudes of "peace and harmony" at the conference, brutally crushed the 1971 Ceylonese youth uprising and heads a viciously anti-working-class regime. In turn, Madam Marcos' husband Ferdinand is responsible for the slaughter of thousands of Communist, peasant and Muslim rebels in years of anti-guerrilla warfare in the Philippines.

The hollowness of conference rhetoric of social emancipation was also illustrated by the attendance of other "sisters" such as Silvia Pinto of Chile, whose military junta devised vile tortures for women as well as male political prisoners after the bloody 1973 coup. Françoise Giroud (Secretary of State for the Status of Women in France), Leah Rabin (wife of the Israeli prime minister), Jihan el-Sadat (wife of Egypt's president), Princess Ashraf Pahlevi (twin sister of the Shah of Iran) were among others who supposedly represented the plight of the world's oppressed women.

Though the "sisters unite" rhetoric was heavy, there was precious little unity at the conference. Petty-bourgeois feminists from the U.S. initially turned a deaf ear to the concerns of women from Latin American, Asian and African countries to deal with the realities of imperialist exploitation. But Betty Friedan, who recently declared Farah Diba, wife of the Shah of Iran, to be a "feminist empress," came up with a "solution": that the U.S. Embassy hold an "each one bring one" get-together party.

The total uselessness of the conference epitomizes the hoax of the UN's International Women's Year. It is not the Bandaranaikes, Marcos, Rabins, Sadats or Farahs who will free women from their oppression. The liberation of women will only come through the liberation of all mankind from the yoke of capitalism—through socialist revolution—a goal to which the majority of the women at this conference were unalterably opposed.

Letter

Houston
June 11, 1975

To the Editor:

On June 10 Peter Camejo went on trial here on a charge of interfering with a police officer stemming from an incident during his campaign swing through Texas last March. If anyone thought that the publicity-stunt subpoenaing of the mayor, the chief of police, FBI agents, etc. indicated that the SWP was going to turn the tables on their accusers, however, they were sadly mistaken. Of course none of these people showed up and the SWP did not see fit to protest their non-appearances.

I had never heard Brother Camejo before, but I had heard that he is an aggressive speaker. He was nothing of the sort in the witness stand. He was extremely meek, even obliging, and made no political statements whatsoever. He told the court that when a cop barged into the car under the pretense of looking for narcotics, he said, "Sir, what are you looking for? Maybe I can help you." He said he was just trying to communicate with the officers. When asked if he knew he had no right to interfere with a policeman, Camejo said yes, he knew.

Even during closing arguments, the defense abstained from going after the systematic police harassment to which the SWP has been subjected by Houston police. In an initially aggressive style, Houchins (Camejo's attorney) pointed to the cops and asked, "Are these two guys gods?" More subdued later in the summation, the lawyer averred that, "These officers are probably well meaning," but that they just weren't courteous and the least we can expect from our law enforcers is common courtesy.

The jury believed Camejo's account, as opposed to the conflicting stories concocted by the police. Afterwards Camejo hailed his acquittal as "A victory for the First Amendment" and said the jury had upheld the right of every American to choose his own presidential candidate.

Fraternally,
Kurt G.

Only Union Ranks Can Stop Corruption

Hands Off the NMU!

JULY 13—A federal grand jury has been convened in Newark, New Jersey, to investigate allegations of corruption among present and former officials of the National Maritime Union. According to the 9 July *New York Times*, a government official identified Shannon Wall (president of the union), Mel Barisic (secretary-treasurer), and Joseph Curran (NMU president from 1936 to 1973). William Perry, long-time Curran assistant, is not presently listed, although numerous charges have been leveled against him in the past, because he decided to turn state's evidence. But while seamen can have no love for bureaucrats who, working hand-in-glove with the companies, have repeatedly sold out their interests, this government move to "clean up" the NMU is in fact an attempt to exercise greater state control of the labor movement and must be vigorously opposed by all class-conscious union militants.

Among the allegations are charges of possible kickbacks by the union's attorney to NMU officials over many years; personal use of the labor of union employees and union equipment by NMU officials; payoffs by shipping companies; bribes to NMU tops by investment brokers seeking business from the union's pension and welfare funds; and claims that Joe Curran was not in attendance at many executive board meetings where he was marked present.

One of the main areas of investigation concerns financial dealings between NMU officers and the union's lawyer, Abraham E. Freedman. Allegedly, Freedman's law firm paid tens of thousands of dollars to various bureaucrats in return for receiving personal injury cases of NMU seamen. There also exists a sworn statement by the former president of American Export Industries that he "imagined" $500,000 in cash was paid by the AEI to the NMU pension fund when the shipping company wanted to lay up two liners, the *Constitution* and the *Independence*, in 1968. This money—which the administrator of the pension fund at the time denies ever receiving—was allegedly paid to keep the union brass from putting up any fight for the jobs lost.

Fighting the companies to prevent loss of jobs is not exactly what the present or past leadership of the NMU is known for!

continued on page 10

NMU Pilot

NMU President Shannon Wall (left) with Mel Barisic, union secretary-treasurer.

Tsar-Lover Feted by AFL-CIO Tops

Solzhenitsyn Fuels Anti-Soviet Crusade

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the emigré Russian novelist who has rapidly become the bourgeois media's favorite kept cold warrior, was recently wined and dined by the reactionary Meanyite bureaucracy of the AFL-CIO. At a July 9 luncheon in New York Solzhenitsyn launched a ferocious assault, rivaling any from the McCarthyite era, against the Soviet Union:

> "Soon they will be twice as powerful as you and then five times, and then ten times. And some day they will say to you: 'We are marching our troops into Western Europe, and if you act, we shall annihilate you.' And the troops will move, and you will not act."
> —*New York Times*, 10 July

The reactionary fat cats who run the American labor movement had extended the invitation to Solzhenitsyn shortly after his arrival in the U.S. Meany, who is proud that he "never walked a picket line in his life," has every reason to want to fan the flames of anti-Communist hysteria. Millions of U.S. workers have been forced into the ranks of the unemployed during the past year and more are on their way, but this labor faker and his crew of hangers-on have not once mobilized militant labor action to resist the ruling-class onslaught.

Many workers are enraged by these betrayals. The New York City sanitationmen's wildcat, which was greeted with spontaneous support from the rank and file of the other city unions, showed that the workers are impatient and frustrated by the bureaucrats' enforced policy of passivity and sellout. Meany, who played a leading role in mobilizing the crusade against Communism in the late 1940's and early 1950's, would dearly love to see a similar witchhunt today to cut across the resentment building among the base of the union movement.

The warm welcome proffered to Solzhenitzyn, which has brought with it no mean assortment of privileges and profits, is payment for his espousal of the most blatantly counterrevolutionary views and his advocacy of a policy which can only be termed imperialist war-mongering. This tsar-lover peddles the purported virtues of the Russian Orthodox Church and extols the culture of Old Russia. The charming idyl he presents, of course, has nothing to say about the knout, the pogroms and the poverty.

Brack/Black Star

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

The liberal and not-so-liberal mass media have trumpeted Solzhenitsyn's views on the danger of détente, with none of the reserve usually afforded the pronouncements of literati who venture into the field of military speculation. Feeding directly into U.S. "Defense" Secretary Schlesinger's present bellicose "first-strike" theme, Solzhenitsyn

> "mocked the negotiations for a Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty with withering sarcasm, asserting that the American Government was being constantly deceived about the Soviet Union's illegal use of radar and the size of its missiles and nuclear warheads."
> —*New York Times*, 10 July

Employing rhetoric which might give pause to the professional imperialist apologists themselves, the emigré author invoked the bogey of Soviet intentions of "destroying capitalist society." (Were the USSR and the other deformed workers states not headed by conservative, nationalist bureaucratic cliques, world capitalism, and with it reactionary table-thumpers like Solzhenitsyn, would have been swept away long since.) In defense of the capitalist system and the gravy it has brought him, Solzhenitsyn wants nothing less than an imperialist invasion of the USSR:

> "Communist leaders say, don't interfere with our internal affairs, let us strangle our own citizens quietly. But I tell you, interfere. Interfere as much as you like."
> —*People*, 14 July

Although a maudlin buffoon and a theoretical neanderthal, Solzhenitsyn is far from toothless as far as the workers movement is concerned. In the USSR, where every worker is as acquainted with the benefits of the October Revolution as he is with the counterrevolutionary bureaucracy which feeds off its gains, Solzhenitsyn may have seemed merely a beleaguered intellectual. Here, armed with the authority of "having lived there" and of having suffered in Stalin's slave-labor camps, and in concert with the AFL-CIO bureaucracy which has proven itself willing to use every means (CIA plots included) to stifle the workers movement, Solzhenitsyn could play a more important role in building an anti-communist witchhunt in the unions than could all the insurance men of the John Birch Society.

Currently, mainstream bourgeois politicos are wary of associating themselves with Solzhenitsyn because of the very virulence of his anti-détente posture:

> "When they are burying us alive in the earth, do not give a shovel to our grave-diggers! Do not send them the very best equipment. The entire experience of the slave masters stands on western economic aid! On this the entire Soviet economy is based. Do not help a police state!"
> —*Novoe Russkoe Slovo*, 10 July

President Ford recently spurned meeting with the emigré author, not because of any difference in fundamental aims, but because Ford still hopes to milk more concessions from Brezhnev & Co. and because trade with the USSR does not directly contradict current foreign policy objectives. But this could change, and Solzhenitsyn, whose "mental stability" was questioned by administration authorities (*New York Times*, 3 July), could quickly become the spearhead of a virulent anti-Communist ideological crusade on behalf of the ruling class.

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has paved the way for Solzhenitsyn's popularity. In its role as "consistent" civil libertarians the SWP touted this arch-reactionary jackal, along with Andrei Sakharov, as the victims of a "Stalinist slander campaign" whereby their statements were often taken out of context "to portray them as proimperialist and antisocialist" (*Militant*, 19 October 1973). The Spartacist League, which defended Solzhenitsyn and other persecuted writers against the punitive forays of the repressive Russian bureaucracy, at the same time carefully exposed the chauvinist and counterrevolutionary character of Solzhenitsyn's preachments. The SWP's formal posture of defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack is dead in all but name; it has become only an embarrassing impediment to the SWP's single-minded pursuit of respectability in the eyes of the liberal bourgeoisie and the trade-union bureaucracy.

The defense of the Soviet Union is a cornerstone on which the Fourth International was built. Only those with an unshakeable commitment to preserving and extending the gains of the October Revolution can oppose the crimes of Stalinism from the standpoint of the interests of the international working class, through the Trotskyist program of proletarian revolution against capitalism and political revolution against the Stalinist bureaucratic betrayers. The Spartacist League stands on that program, the program of a reborn Fourth International.■

June Elections:

Report from Italy

by Marcello Braccini

Il Mondo

Enrico Berlinguer, head of Italian Communist Party, greets supporters on election day.

After the period of relative stagnation which the working-class movement experienced following the prolonged upsurge of 1969, numerous symptoms point to a resurgence. This reversal of trend was already apparent at the time of the vote on the divorce referendum in March 1974.

On that occasion a broad mass upsurge became evident which, escaping from the traditional control of the Christian Democracy (DC) and of the church (supported by the fascists), gave a 6 million vote margin (out of a total of 32 million) in favor of the supporters of divorce....

...Today the PCI is the leading party in five of the most important Italian cities, namely, Rome, Milan, Naples, Turin and Genoa. It also has a relative majority in Venice, Bologna, Florence and at least 26 other provinces. In addition, the PCI is the leading party in seven of the 19 regions, and in the central belt of Italy including Liguria, Emilia-Romagna, Tuscany and Umbria regional left bloc governments can be formed (a PCI-PSI-PDUP alliance). In percentages—attempting to find a comparison which underlines the political meaning of these elections—we have the following results by comparing the 1975 regional totals with those of the general elections of 1972:

Party	*Percent Change*
Communist (PCI)	+5.1
Socialist (PSI)	+2.2
Social-Democratic (PSDI)	+0.4
Radical (PRI)	+0.3
Liberal (PLI)	—1.4
Italian Social Movement (MSI—fascists)	—1.7
Christian Democrats (DC)	—3.1

...At the political level, the elections revealed an objective shift to the left among the popular masses: Christian Democracy took a loss, the minor center parties retained their position, the Liberals were almost reduced by half. The fascists, [who have been] very active at the level of goon squad attacks against isolated leftists and [are] the authors of the extremely bloody incidents of the "strategy of tension"...are politically isolated, discredited among the petty bourgeoisie and saved only by the open complicity of various sectors of the state administration, police and courts....

...As was to be expected, the PCI interpreted its electoral success as a sign of approval for the strategy of the "historic compromise."...Thus the PCI persists in seeking collaboration with "popular antifascist forces" —among which it includes the Christian Democrats. It even opens the door to collaboration with the DC in those regions where it has an absolute majority, as in Emilia-Romagna....The PCI has left the antifascist fight to the [centrist] groups, renounced any manner of opposition to NATO, clamped down on the struggle for civil liberties (divorce, abortion, etc.) and has not engaged in any concrete action defending the workers from unemployment and inflation. Nevertheless, it received the votes of the workers, the intellectual petty bourgeoisie, youth and women. Such a broad consensus in the face of such a poverty of programmatic content cannot but direct one to the other side of the question: the political bankruptcy of the centrist organizations of the far left. The programmatic crisis and the consequent turn to the right of the centrist organizations (essentially Lotta Continua [LC—Continuing Struggle], Avanguardia Operaia [AO—Workers Vanguard] and the PDUP [Proletarian Unity Party], but we could also add—if it amounted to anything—the Italian section of the United Secretariat) were evident on this occasion with particular clarity.

...The PDUP and Avanguardia Operaia ran together in several regions under the label Proletarian Democracy; elsewhere, either one or the other of the two formations presented candidates, sometimes in alliance with local groups. The result was clearly negative. The lists of the "far left" received an average of 1.7 percent, an outcome which represents a decrease by one half compared to that received in the preceding elections by the left reformists of the PSIUP [Italian Socialist Party of Proletarian Unity], which has since disappeared. Only in Milan the presence of a combative student movement...permitted Avanguardia Operaia to reach 3.5 percent.

The centrists participated in the elections on a program which [was only a left version of the PCI's]: it even included a call for financing small or medium enterprises! The delirious headlines with which they received the success already indicate their subordination to the reformists, as well as amounting to a miserable cover for their own failures. The *Quotidiano dei Lavoratori*, organ of Avanguardia Operaia, after having cheered on 17 June the "Proletarian Victory," continued on the same note with "Italy Goes Red," accompanied by insipid articles of its top political leaders who have turned to claiming that "struggles pay off even on the electoral terrain" (!) and that June 15 "is a vote that says no to the historic compromise and advances the alternative." The PDUP was no better. The principal headlines give an idea of the electoral triumphalism of this formation: on June 17 they write, "An enormous shift to the left; the PCI is the leading Italian party; our lists made the grade in the main regions of the country. The PCI grows, the DC is knocked out, the right has collapsed."...

Gamma

FIAT workers demonstrate during general strike in Milan.

...Lotta Continua, the political formation which most insistently follows the centrist policy of giving a left cover to the reformism of the PCI, did not hold back from this orgy of tailism. Lotta Continua openly called for a vote to the PCI, consistent with its strategic plan of favoring the formation of a government which has as its pivot the PCI....This perspective is that of subordination to the popular front. Lotta Continua now appears to have acquired its own centrist stability, with a program of integration into the strategic perspective of the popular front, while substantially renouncing the occasional flights of the PDUP and the empty verbalism of AO.

...The upsurge of the mass movement in Italy, which finds an indirect response in the electoral success of the PCI, today dramatically poses the problem of leadership. The movement at present lacks class objectives: [it is] out of rhythm with the contract renewals of the autumn (chemical workers, metal workers, etc.), incapable of taking a centralizing role in the clashes of the unemployed of the South and of the underemployed of the small and medium enterprises of the North Central area, incapable of giving life to a serious opposition to the reformist leadership of the unions, unable because of the lack of a comprehensive political perspective to provide a resolute answer to the fascists.

The bourgeoisie, for its part, is today not in a condition to confront the proletariat in open battle: the Christian Democracy is in a crisis without precedent in its history, the fascists are finding enormous difficulties in obtaining a mass audience. In this situation the leading personnel of the bourgeoisie must open the door to collaboration with the PCI. It will be a gradual process rather than immediate, allowing time for the regroupment of the bourgeois forces under a single leadership while the reformists reduce still further their already meager program, at the same time multiplying their efforts to preserve their control over the mass movement.

It is in this period, in opposition to the perspective of a popular front, that the essential instruments of the party to lead the masses must be forged.

National Committee Unemployed Councils of U S

1931 hunger march on Washington organized by the CP-led Unemployed Councils.

Organizing the Unemployed in the Great Depression

Part 1/Fighting for Unity

By Len Meyers and Chris Knox

The onset of depression in the early 1930's posed a test of monumental importance for every working-class political tendency and for the labor movement as a whole. Mass unemployment, caused by the capitalist system itself and obviously affected by the political actions of the ruling class and its state, became a political question of the highest order. Today, as millions once again face the prospect of long-term joblessness due to another worldwide capitalist depression, revolutionists should pay close attention to the political lessons of communist unemployed organizing in the 1930's.

The legions of jobless and homeless were the most dramatic human manifestation of a general economic crisis which was unprecedented in its severity, duration and international extent. Of the major nations, only the Soviet Union, with its collectivist property relations, escaped the dire effects. In the United States unemployment rose continuously, peaking in 1933 at nearly 18,000,000 and creating what was increasingly understood to be a permanent mass of surplus labor. The obtuse administration of Herbert Hoover reflected the quandary of its capitalist masters by seeking to publicly deny the existence of a serious problem as long as possible. Having come to office promising a new era of permanent prosperity, Hoover ended his term in 1933 following a 50 percent decline in industrial production since 1929, with agriculture bankrupt and the entire banking system of the country closed. Lacking any form of unemployment insurance, or even adequate temporary relief, the unemployed faced total destitution.

For labor the question of unemployment was intimately connected with organizing the great mass of unskilled production workers in the big factories into industrial unions. Left to themselves, growing numbers of desperate unemployed provided a ready pool of scab labor for strikebreaking employers. The fear of unemployment alone was sufficient to have a severely depressing effect on the struggles of employed workers: in 1930 the number of strikes was 618, down from 349,400 in 1927, with an equally precipitous decline in numbers of workers involved. Mass organization of both employed workers and unemployed was needed to unite the working class in struggle against a system which by protecting the profits of a few industrial and financial moguls subjected the masses of working people to untold privations.

Leadership of the initial protests of the unemployed fell to the Communist Party, largely because of the default of the official trade-union organizations of the American Federation of Labor. Unprecedented numbers of unemployed were ready to march in political protests as early as 1930, but the hidebound AFL bureaucracy under William Green detested nothing so much as masses of workers in militant action. The AFL's drastic decline in membership (down to three million in 1929 from an earlier peak of nearly twice that), and concentration in the skilled crafts to the exclusion of the overwhelming majority of unskilled workers, only made the union "leaders" all the more cautious and conservative.

At the very beginning of the crisis, the AFL bureaucracy pledged cooperation with the employers: at a 1929 White House conference with business tycoons and the Hoover administration, they pledged not to seek wage advances or strike during the crisis. As late as 1932, the third year of the great depression, the AFL still officially opposed the introduction of federal unemployment insurance. This "alien" scheme, said Green, was an attack on the "freedom" of the American worker.

Early CP Unemployed Organizing

At first the Communist Party dived into the job of organizing the unemployed with vigorous determination and a program which, on paper, reflected the needs of the unemployed by combining reform demands for relief and unemployment insurance with a call to unite the unemployed with employed workers in a struggle to overthrow capitalism. In March 1930 the CP press (with perhaps a bit of exaggeration) reported hunger marches in numerous cities totaling one and a quarter million workers and unemployed – 100,000 in New York and Detroit, 40,000 in Boston and Chicago, etc. under the slogan "work or wages." The marches were met with frenzied violence by the ruling class. In New York the entire police force was mobilized, including mounted patrols and machine gun units, and a ferocious attack launched on the marchers.

In 1931 CP Unemployed Council (UC) organizers led the first hunger march on Washington, with 1,500 delegates from around the country, to present their demands: for unemployment insurance equal to full wages and immediate relief for each unemployed worker, to be paid by government and the bosses; for the seven-hour day without reduction in pay; and for unity of the employed and unemployed in struggle against hunger, wage cuts, mass layoffs and Hoover's "stagger plans." The Communist Party continued to lead militant actions throughout the early 1930's. It must be credited with first arousing American workers from their shock and pressuring enactment of the first large-scale unemployment compensation measures. The heroism, dedication and sacrifice of its cadres was brought home by incidents such as the brutal murder of four marchers, including two young Communists, by police and company thugs during a march on the giant Ford River Rouge plant in 1932.

But in the final analysis the Communist Party pursued an adventuristic and sectarian policy which isolated it from the masses of workers, both employed and unemployed, and disorganized its own movement. After a decade of factional struggle, the CP entered the 1930's as a degenerated caricature of its former self, homogenized into a monolithic instrument of the ruling bureaucratic stratum of the USSR. This parasitic bureaucracy headed by Joseph Stalin, while preserving the economic conquests of the October Revolution, had politically expropriated the working class by eliminating soviet and party democracy in the mid-1920's. Following the Stalinization of the Communist International, the American CP expelled its Trotskyist opposition led by Cannon, Shachtman and Abern, and then its right opposition under Lovestone.

In response to the catastrophic consequences of his earlier rightist policies—and in order to undercut sympathy in Communist ranks for the persecuted left opposition—Stalin now embarked on an equally disastrous adventurist and sectarian course. The CP's refusal to fight for a united proletarian front with the Social Democrats against the mounting fascist menace produced a historic catastrophe of monumental proportions in Germany with Hitler's accession to power in 1933 and the consequent destruction of the entire labor movement.

"Soup Consciousness"

The sectarian turn launched by Stalin in 1929 produced a sudden about-face in the U.S. Communist Party's already flawed program and practice, laying the basis for the later sharp right turn embodied in the "popular-front" policies of the late 1930's. Since Stalin's rigid schema presumed an uninterrupted course toward revolution (the so-called "Third Period" was supposed to bring the inevitable demise of imperialism), Leninist tactics of united front and work within the established mass organizations of the workers were completely thrown out. The AFL was denounced as a "fascist" organization, and the rest of the left (such as the Socialist Party and Trotskyists) was dismissed as "social-fascist." The CP for the most part abandoned work in the AFL unions and pulled its relatively small number of supporters out into "revolutionary" dual unions under its own federation, the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL).

Library of Congress

One of thousands of "Hoovervilles" which sprang up in vacant lots everywhere during the depression to house destitute families.

Since most unorganized workers still looked to the AFL as the official union movement (many joined the AFL directly through "federal locals"), the "dual" unions stagnated in increasing irrelevancy. When an economic upturn of modest proportions in 1933 coincided with maneuvers by President Roosevelt to enhance the AFL unions (in order to head off the threat of more radical developments), the "duals" served to isolate class-struggle militants from intervening in the repeated mass strikes that set the stage for the building of industrial unions. In unemployed organizing, where the key need was for uniting the jobless with the social power of the unions, the CP's turn amounted to self-imposed isolation from the employed workers.

The impotence resulting from this isolation led the Stalinists to capitulate, almost in desperation, to the lowest forms of struggle of the unemployed. After the initial mass demonstrations of March 1930 support for mass protests trailed off considerably, down by more than 50 percent the next year. Seeking to build its own unemployed movement under the leadership of the TUUL and Unemployed Councils, and lacking a tactical approach toward the official unions, the work of the UCs degenerated to the lowest form of barter and "self-help"—what the Trotskyist paper, the *Militant*, described as the "planned economy of garbage picking." The CP also fell into a one-sided propaganda concentration on its "Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill," as a reformist panacea to the effects of the capitalist economic crisis.

The CP's unemployed work was obviously floundering in early 1931 when Communist Party head Earl Browder called for "the direct caring for starving workers" (*Daily Worker*, 12 March 1931). But four months later he was complaining that the UCs had degenerated to "dragging behind the most miserable bourgeois charity policy" (*Communist*, July 1931). Unable to point to the cause of this impasse—the self-imposed isolation brought about by Stalin's "Third Period" policies—Browder did catalogue its effects:

> "In the Unemployed Councils, while we have registered some advances, there are relatively few examples of positive achievements.... they remain narrow cadre organizations which do not have intimate day-to-day contact with the masses, which have not yet established themselves as permanent centers for work among the masses and in most cases, with the removal of 2 or 3 comrades assigned by the party, these organizations would completely collapse."
>
> —*Communist*, October 1931

Socialists and Musteites

Thus Stalinist policy during the "Third Period," despite many mass marches and militant actions, failed to build a broad unemployed organization linked to the established unions. The vacuum left by the CP was partly filled by other organizations with centrist or reformist programs, such as the Socialist Party. Starting out with "self-help" activities and a generally rightist thrust (Norman Thomas supported financier J.P. Morgan's "block aid" plan) the SP gradually grew more militant until after 1933 it became an apparent left-wing alternative to Stalinism. The SP led the Workers Committee on Unemployment in Chicago, its biggest local base, and founded the Workers Alliance of America (WAA) in 1935.

Also occupying this terrain was the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA), founded in 1929 by A.J. Muste, which later became the American Workers Party (AWP). The CPLA included many left-wing trade-union organizers (the ex-minister Muste had also organized textile workers and formed a labor college) left out of the picture by the CP when the latter pulled out of the AFL unions in the late 1920's. Impressed by the possibilities of mass "self-help" work such

Organizing the Unemployed in the Great Depression

Part 1/Fighting for Unity

By Len Meyers and Chris Knox

National Committee Unemployed Councils of U S

ncils.

demands: for unemployment insurance equal to full wages and immediate relief for each unemployed worker, to be paid by government and the bosses; for the seven-hour day without reduction in pay; and for unity of the employed and unemployed in struggle against hunger, wage cuts, mass layoffs and Hoover's "stagger plans." The Communist Party continued to lead militant actions throughout the early 1930's. It must be credited with first arousing American workers from their shock and pressuring enactment of the first large-scale unemployment compensation measures. The heroism, dedication and sacrifice of its cadres was brought home by incidents such as the brutal murder of four marchers, including two young Communists, by police and company thugs during a march on the giant Ford River Rouge plant in 1932.

But in the final analysis the Communist Party pursued an adventuristic and sectarian policy which isolated it from the masses of workers, both employed and unemployed, and disorganized its own movement. After a decade of factional struggle, the CP entered the 1930's as a degenerated caricature of its former self, homogenized into a monolithic instrument of the ruling bureaucratic stratum of the USSR. This parasitic bureaucracy headed by Joseph Stalin, while preserving the economic conquests of the October Revolution, had politically expropriated the working class by eliminating soviet and party democracy in the mid-1920's. Following the Stalinization of the Communist International, the American CP expelled its Trotskyist opposition led by Cannon, Shachtman and Abern, and then its right opposition under Lovestone.

In response to the catastrophic consequences of his earlier rightist policies—and in order to undercut sympathy in Communist ranks for the persecuted left opposition—Stalin now embarked on an equally disastrous adventurist and sectarian course. The CP's refusal to fight for a united proletarian front with the Social Democrats against the mounting fascist menace produced a historic catastrophe of monumental proportions in Germany with Hitler's accession to power in 1933 and the consequent destruction of the entire labor movement.

"Soup Consciousness"

The sectarian turn launched by Stalin in 1929 produced a sudden about-face in

Library of Congress

One of thousands of "Hoovervilles" which sprang up in vacant lots everywhere during the depression to house destitute families.

the U.S. Communist Party's already flawed program and practice, laying the basis for the later sharp right turn embodied in the "popular-front" policies of the late 1930's. Since Stalin's rigid schema presumed an uninterrupted course toward revolution (the so-called "Third Period" was supposed to bring the inevitable demise of imperialism), Leninist tactics of united front and work within the established mass organizations of the workers were completely thrown out. The AFL was denounced as a "fascist" organization, and the rest of the left (such as the Socialist Party and Trotskyists) was dismissed as "social-fascist." The CP for the most part abandoned work in the AFL unions and pulled its relatively small number of supporters out into "revolutionary" dual unions under its own federation, the Trade Union Unity League (TUUL).

Since most unorganized workers still looked to the AFL as the official union movement (many joined the AFL directly through "federal locals"), the "dual" unions stagnated in increasing irrelevancy. When an economic upturn of modest proportions in 1933 coincided with maneuvers by President Roosevelt to enhance the AFL unions (in order to head off the threat of more radical developments), the "duals" served to isolate class-struggle militants from intervening in the repeated mass strikes that set the stage for the building of industrial unions. In unemployed organizing, where the key need was for uniting the jobless with the social power of the unions, the CP's turn amounted to self-imposed isolation from the employed workers.

The impotence resulting from this isolation led the Stalinists to capitulate, almost in desperation, to the lowest forms of struggle of the unemployed. After the initial mass demonstrations of March 1930 support for mass protests trailed off considerably, down by more than 50 percent the next year. Seeking to build its own unemployed movement under the leadership of the TUUL and Unemployed Councils, and lacking a tactical approach toward the official unions, the work of the UCs degenerated to the lowest form of barter and "self-help"—what the Trotskyist paper, the *Militant*, described as the "planned economy of garbage picking." The CP also fell into a one-sided propaganda concentration on its "Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill," as a reformist panacea to the effects of the capitalist economic crisis.

The CP's unemployed work was obviously floundering in early 1931 when Communist Party head Earl Browder called for "the direct caring for starving workers" (*Daily Worker*, 12 March 1931). But four months later he was complaining that the UCs had degenerated to "dragging behind the most miserable bourgeois charity policy" (*Communist*, July 1931). Unable to point to the cause of this impasse—the self-imposed isolation brought about by Stalin's "Third Period" policies—Browder did catalogue its effects:

> "In the Unemployed Councils, while we have registered some advances, there are relatively few examples of positive achievements....they remain narrow cadre organizations which do not have intimate day-to-day contact with the masses, which have not yet established themselves as permanent centers for work among the masses and in most cases, with the removal of 2 or 3 comrades assigned by the party, these organizations would completely collapse."
>
> —*Communist*, October 1931

Socialists and Musteites

Thus Stalinist policy during the "Third Period," despite many mass marches and militant actions, failed to build a broad unemployed organization linked to the established unions. The vacuum left by the CP was partly filled by other organizations with centrist or reformist programs, such as the Socialist Party. Starting out with "self-help" activities and a generally rightist thrust (Norman Thomas supported financier J.P. Morgan's "block aid" plan) the SP gradually grew more militant until after 1933 it became an apparent left-wing alternative to Stalinism. The SP led the Workers Committee on Unemployment in Chicago, its biggest local base, and founded the Workers Alliance of America (WAA) in 1935.

Also occupying this terrain was the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA), founded in 1929 by A.J. Muste, which later became the American Workers Party (AWP). The CPLA included many left-wing trade-union organizers (the ex-minister Muste had also organized textile workers and formed a labor college) left out of the picture by the CP when the latter pulled out of the AFL unions in the late 1920's. Impressed by the possibilities of mass "self-help" work such as that organized in Seattle by a CPLA member, Muste turned the CPLA in the direction of militant unemployed work as a short-cut to the creation of a "mass labor party" dedicated to establishing a "workers republic."

Lacking a coherent Marxist program for revolutionary social change, the Musteites groped their way leftward only under the persistent blows of experience. Their initial self-help orientation was modified later with the recognition that the scourge of unemployment could not be solved without addressing the question of who holds power and without organizing the working class to seize state power. Yet, capitulating to anti-communist sentiment, they continued to shy away from the conception of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In their unemployed work, the Musteites adapted to backward sentiment among the masses in order to enhance organizational success. Louis Budenz, the main CPLA theorist who later went over to Stalinist popular-frontism, called for an "American Approach" (!) to mass work. But for this capitulation to nationalist prejudices the Musteites paid a heavy price. Their Unemployed Leagues, which were strongest in Ohio and Pennsylvania, became temporary havens for anti-communists seeking to build a bulwark against the CP.

At the 1933 founding conference (on July 4th!) of the National Unemployed Leagues held in Columbus, Ohio, the leftward-moving Musteites were horrified at the display of flag-waving, religious revivalist and even fascist (KKK) sentiment their "American Approach" had netted them. The podium was seized for a time by right-wingers who had to be repulsed, and the Musteites were obliged to silence all criticism, even from left-wing delegates (notably the Trotskyists), in order to maintain control. However, the NUL was founded on a strictly anti-capitalist basis despite stylistic concessions to the "American Approach" in its founding declaration, and the rightists quickly drifted away.

The Musteite-led Unemployed Leagues chalked up notable accomplishments. Peaking in membership during 1933, the leagues managed to halt all evictions (which were rampant nationally) in Columbus during the summer of that year. Following the leftward course of the CPLA/AWP, the ULs moved programmatically from exclusive concentration on "practical" reforms to setting the unemployed struggle in the context of the need for "the abolition of the entire capitalist system." Seeing the limitations of unemployed work without links to employed workers, the Musteites led a militant strike struggle in Toledo in 1934, one of the three great labor battles of that year. Their Unemployed League took leadership of the foundering Auto-Lite strike and led it to the point of a city-wide general strike, blazing the way for later sitdown successes in Detroit and the formation of the first mass industrial union in auto.

Early Trotskyist Unemployed Organizing

Prior to the strikes of 1934 and a later fusion with the Musteites, the Trotskyist Communist League of America (CLA) had suffered years of isolation enforced, often violently, by the much larger Communist Party. Attempting to warn the ranks of the official party of the CP's disastrous "Third Period" course, the CLA argued against the sectarian attempt to keep the unemployed movement within the narrow bounds of the TUUL, calling instead for an orientation toward drawing AFL unions into united-front actions around unemployment. The need for a united-front unemployed movement on the broadest possible basis, drawing in all political tendencies, became more and more urgent as the CP, SP and Musteites each developed their "own" unemployed movements. But the CLA never called for unity at the expense of program. It attacked the opportunist errors of the CP (and other tendencies) and gave no quarter to reformist concepts.

The Trotskyists began their analysis by debunking the "Third Period" myth of a final crisis of capitalism: there would be new economic upturns, followed by renewed downturns, until capitalism was overthrown. Trotsky predicted a business upturn before it occurred in late 1933, but pointed out that because of the increasing proportion of constant capital over variable capital—increasing mechanization of industry and rising productivity of labor—unemployment was bound to remain a permanent feature of the economy ("Perspectives of the Upturn," *Writings*, 1932).

CPUSA

Open-air meeting in Chicago suburb of Unemployed Council Branch 54 during the early 1930's.

Already in 1933, veteran Communist and CLA leader Arne Swabeck, in the pamphlet *Unemployment and the Working Class*, was analyzing the CP's swing from sectarian isolation to the opposite extreme of opportunist methods. The CP never conceived of the unemployed movement as "founded upon a united front of the whole working class," and was now abandoning its quixotic "conquest of the streets" adventurism for a crassly reformist program of legalism and dependence upon bourgeois politicians. Instead, the Trotskyists urged a united-front policy and demands which would be "stepping stones to the revolutionary goal."

Among these, Swabeck specified immediate relief and unemployment insurance paid by the employers and the state; a six-hour day, five-day week with no reduction in pay (the Stalinists had earlier elevated this demand to a seven-hour day in order to seem more "practical"); and the extension of large-scale credits to the Soviet Union, a concrete expression of solidarity with the world's first workers state. Most important, Swabeck pointed out that the unemployed movement couldn't achieve success in isolation: "Its objectives must be general working class objectives, its struggle part of the general working class struggles for the revolution."

To the best of their ability, the Trotskyists attempted to undertake mass work in the trade unions and among the unemployed even during what James Cannon termed the CLA's "dog-days" of isolation and persecution by the Stalinists in the early 1930's. The Trotskyist Gerry Allard was a founding leader of the Progressive Miners of America (PMA), a

continued on page 10

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

the Revolution. Thus the SP is formally committed to coming up with a constitution which merely rubber stamps the present military dictatorship. Last week, however, the SP vehemently objected to the decision of the assembly of the Armed Forces Movement to set up a system of "people's assemblies," alleging that this is intended to bypass the parties and the constituent assembly.

Yet on June 23 the Socialists organized a demonstration to support the CSR's "Plan of Political Action" which the "popular assemblies" are intended to implement! The reason: the "Plan" reaffirmed Portugal's membership in NATO, called for a crackdown on "uncontrolled leftism" and advocated "socialist pluralism" (including participation of capitalist parties) rather than the dictatorship of the proletariat. In other words, it confirmed the MFA's commitment to capitalism despite its leaders' "socialist" rhetoric.

The República Affair

The chief bone of contention between the generals and the social democrats has been the so-called *República* affair. On May 19 printers at this Lisbon daily occupied the newspaper offices demanding a change of administration and editorial policy. The printers' union is CP-led (as is the *República* shop committee) while the editor, Raul Rego, is an SP leader and the paper generally reflected Socialist views. Rego refused to leave his offices, whereupon the military closed the paper.

The issue became a cause célèbre in West Europe and caused considerable debate in the MFA leadership. The CP denies responsibility for the workers' actions and its paper, *Avante!*, has so far issued only a single small statement on the subject which does not even explicitly support the call for a change of administration. On the other hand, the CP-led union has been quite active in trying to prevent Rego from publishing the paper in another shop, and there is no doubt that behind the scenes the CP was firmly behind the printers' actions (*Jornal do Caso República*, 12 June, carried an account of the graphic arts union's attempt to stop *República* from appearing)

After three weeks, the MFA finally decided to reopen *República* under Rego's editorship in mid-June. However, Rego refused to accept the keys unless the MFA agreed to fire all "dissident" workers, name a new composing room foreman and bar the workers from trying to influence the paper's editorial policy. Thereupon, the offices were resealed and the paper remained closed until it reappeared on July 10 with a military officer as editor. The CP-led workers hailed this as a victory and the SP left the government as a result.

The polemics over the *República* affair have contained considerable distortion on both sides, with the Socialists claiming that the "last voice of freedom" in Portugal was being silenced and the Communist Party claiming that it was nothing but a labor conflict, the workers being concerned that the circulation of the paper was dropping because of its anti-government political line and they might therefore lose their jobs! As we have reported earlier, *República* is not the Socialist Party organ (*Portugal Socialista* is) but rather a capitalist, profit-making newspaper with an SP editor and editorial policy. Moreover, while most of the Lisbon daily press is now government-owned as a result of the nationalizations of banks in March, and their editorial staffs are CP-dominated, there is also a *Jornal Novo* which is connected to the Portuguese Confederation of Industry.

On the other hand, the dispute was not a "labor problem" but a clear case of political censorship, initiated by the CP and enforced by the MFA. The subsequent CP-initiated efforts to stop Rego from publishing a paper at other shops only underline this obvious point. The suppression or curtailment of bourgeois-democratic rights under capitalism must be opposed. Whether initiated by Stalinist bureaucrats or directly by the government, it is the capitalist state which ultimately will enforce such censorship. Moreover, even if initially directed against conservative forces, censorship laws and other abridgements of democratic rights will ultimately be used above all to suppress the labor and socialist movements.

Communists and Freedom of the Press

We wrote in *WV* No. 71 (20 June) concerning the *República* affair that "Marxists must oppose such arbitrary restrictions of freedom of the press by the bourgeois state, even if the newspaper in question is a capitalist paper." However, reply some Maoists and fake-Trotskyists, in this case the MFA acted after the *workers* moved to throw out the editorial staff because of its rightist policy. Therefore, they conclude, revolutionaries must approve of this act, or at least adopt a "comradely" attitude toward the *República* printers.

This is not the first time that Stalinists have sought to close newspapers in capitalist countries. In Mexico during the late 1930's CP-influenced union leader Lombardo Toledano launched a drive to censor or ban the reactionary press. Leon Trotsky attacked this Stalinist campaign in an article ("Freedom of the Press and the Working Class," August 1938), where he wrote:

> "Both theory and historical experience testify that any restriction of democracy in bourgeois society is, in the final analysis, invariably directed against the proletariat, just as any taxes that are imposed also fall on the shoulders of the working class. . . .
>
> "But only the blind or feebleminded could think that as the result of the ban on the reactionary press the workers and peasants can free themselves from the influence of reactionary ideas. In reality, only the greatest freedom of speech, of the press, and of association can create favorable conditions for the advance of the revolutionary movement of the working class.
>
> "It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary press. But workers cannot let the repressive list of the bourgeois state substitute for the struggle that they must wage through their own organizations and their own press. Today the state may appear to be 'kindly' disposed to the workers organizations; tomorrow the government may fall, inevitably will fall, into the hands of the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie. In that case, whatever restrictive legislation that exists will be thrown at the workers. Only adventurers with no thought other than for the needs of the moment would fail to heed such a danger.
>
> "The most effective way to combat the bourgeois press is to expand the working-class press."

These same lines could have been written about Portugal today. But, Stalinist apologists will say, does that mean we should let the openly counter-revolutionary press carry on agitation? Trotsky answered this as well:

> "'This objection,' we reply, 'comes down primarily to trying to identify a workers state with a bourgeois state. . . . However, even from the standpoint of the interests of the dictatorship of the proletariat, banning bourgeois newspapers or censoring them does not in the least constitute a 'program,' or a 'principle,' or an ideal setup. Measures of this kind can only be a temporary, unavoidable evil.'
>
> "Once at the helm, the proletariat may find itself forced, for a certain time, to take special measures against the bourgeoisie, if the bourgeoisie assumes an attitude of open rebellion against the workers state. In that case, restricting freedom of the press goes hand in hand with all the other measures employed in waging a civil war."

We have only to add that should the social democrats place themselves in the camp of the counterrevolutionaries in such an armed conflict, similar measures would have to be taken against newspapers publishing their propaganda. But the situation in Portugal today is not one of civil war between socialist forces and capitalist reaction.

Opportunists Masquerading as Trotskyists

The duty of all revolutionary Marxists during the recent *República* affair was to oppose the Stalinist/MFA suppression of the views of Socialists, while warning against placing any confidence in the treacherous, pro-capitalist SP leaders. This, however, was not the policy of *either* wing of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International." The legalist/reformist minority, led by the American SWP, lined up behind the SP while totally ignoring the *class* issues in its total support of bourgeois democracy. *Militant* accounts failed to mention the fact that *República* is a bourgeois paper, and ignored Rego's demands that MFA guarantee bourgeois property rights by allowing him to fire "dissidents."

The centrist majority, in contrast, is inclined toward the leftist officers of the MFA. Its leading section, the French LCR, denies that the CP is behind the campaign to censor Socialist views and does not protest suppression of the paper by the MFA. On the contrary, although gently criticizing censorship, the LCR remarks that "the battle of the workers of *República* could coincide with the general interests of the Portuguese workers" if only they had demanded expropriation of the press, paper mills, etc. (*Rouge*, 30 May).

The rapidity of events in Portugal brings into sharp focus the truth of Trotsky's understanding of the crisis of revolutionary leadership. Today the working masses are in the streets. But in the absence of a revolutionary party committed to the overturn of capitalism, they follow their existing "leaderships": the Stalinists, who preach reliance on the bonapartist generals, and the social democrats, who organize ever more brazen anti-communist campaigns. The Church, the CIA, the domestic far right stand poised

Now more than ever the masses of Portugal need not pathetic tailists but an anthenic Trotskyist vanguard that can swim against the stream, willing to tell the truth, however bitter, and thereby meet the crisis of revolutionary leadership by preparing the masses for the difficult tasks that lie ahead. ■

LETTER:

FREE JOAN LITTLE!

New York
11 July 1975

To the Editor:

The 4 July *Workers Vanguard* prints an urgent appeal on behalf of Joan Little, a 20-year old black woman charged with murder for her act of elementary self-defense against an attempted rape by an ice-pick-wielding North Carolina jail guard. If convicted she faces capital punishment. Therefore the appeal makes the timely call upon socialists and labor militants to oppose the death penalty in the hands of the capitalist class. It demands that, "The murder charge against Little must be dropped" and that "Joan Little Must Be Saved from Death Row," but unfortunately omits a call for her freedom.

Omitting this necessary demand could have serious implications. Thus, for example, during the McCarthyite witchhunt the Communist Party called for saving the Rosenbergs from death row and quite deliberately did *not* call for their freedom. Likewise, the main thrust of the CP defense work around Angela Davis was to request a "fair" trial rather than calling for her freedom. This only builds illusions in capitalist "justice." Capitalist courts, prisons and police exist to maintain, through organized terror and violence, the rule of the exploiters over the exploited.

In particular, prisons represent a concentrated form of the repressive power of the state. Joan Little's act of individual defiance against the humiliating submission that is imposed upon prisoners, in this case compounded by sexism and racism, was by its nature also a protest against the capitalist prison system. Unlike the Stalinists, we call for freedom for anyone victimized for their actions in behalf of the exploited and the oppressed.

Comradely,

Reuben Shiffman
for the Partisan Defense Committee

WV *replies:* The point is correct, and our article should have also demanded "Free Joan Little!"

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.
650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

OPEN HOUSE

CHICAGO PUBLIC OFFICE

DISCUSSION:

"Perspectives for the international Spartacist tendency"

by Joseph Seymour

Saturday, 26 July 2 p.m.
650 South Clark Second floor

Socialist League (DC) Slanders Militant Auto Workers

Cagle's Red-Baiting

We reprint below excerpts from a letter (printed in the 9 June issue of the *UAW Militant*) from the Committee for a Militant UAW, an oppositional grouping in UAW Local 1364 at the General Motors Assembly Division plant in Fremont, California, to Tom Cagle, a recent candidate for president of that Local. We have chosen to bring this letter concerning Brother Cagle to the attention of the working-class movement for the following reasons:

First, Brother Cagle is a supporter of the views of the Socialist League (Democratic Centralist), a self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" organization, which issued out of the remnants of the Workers League's San Francisco Bay Area branch. Brother Cagle is a contributor to the SL(DC)'s monthly paper, *Labor News*, in which his activity in the trade unions is held up as an example of the kind of activity that class-conscious militants should pursue in the labor movement.

Secondly, while the Socialist League is a minuscule grouplet confined entirely to the San Francisco area and has negligible influence in the labor movement. Cagle and the SL(DC) do provide an exceptionally clear example of the kind of opportunist liquidation of the struggle for the Transitional Program that is endemic to nearly the entire spectrum of ostensibly Trotskyist organizations, both in the U.S. and internationally.

Finally, we reprint portions of the CMUAW's letter to Brother Cagle to contrast it to his own vitriolic, lying, red-baiting attack on these militants published in the latest issue of *Labor News*. After putting forward the red-baiting lie that the Spartacist League "sent" a couple of supporters to join an opportunist grouping called the Brotherhood Caucus, Cagle lapses into hysterical, foam-flecked anti-communism. Commenting on the disintegration of the Brotherhood after its election to the leadership of Local 1364, he fumes:

> "...within a year after this triumphant victory the Brotherhood radicals disintegrated. Out came the Maoists; out came the Spartacists like rats deserting a sinking ship when they could no longer defend their position. The Maoists emerged in two groups, 'Stand Up' and 'On The Line,' and the Spartacists as 'Committee (of two) For a Militant UAW.'
>
> "James Robertson was now hitting his strides when he could attack Tom Cagle with a caucus paper inside the Fremont plant. Radicalism was given free rein and poured down a barrage of abstract propaganda on the auto workers at Fremont."
>
> *Labor News*, 15 June 1975

To this slander we reply: the Spartacist League has never supported the Brotherhood Caucus but, on the contrary, has denounced it from the beginning as an opportunist bureaucratic formation (see "Out-Bureaucrats Seek to Co-opt Angry Ranks in Fremont UAW Elections," *WV* No. 21, 25 May 1973). Nor have the founders of the Committee for a Militant UAW ever sought to join the Brotherhood, *unlike Cagle* (see CMUAW letter below). But most importantly, from this quote it can be seen that when Tom Cagle hits his stride he is the equal of such anti-labor, red-baiting scum as Victor Reisel. Such fulminations are more appropriate to anti-labor rags such as New York's *Daily News* than to a self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" newspaper. Their only purpose can be to set up "Stand Up," "On the Line" and the CMUAW for a purge by the rabidly anti-communist UAW bureaucracy which works hand-in-hand with the FBI and the employers to drive union militants out of the labor movement.

And lest anyone should think that the SL(DC) simply permitted Cagle a bit of "polemical excess" we need only point to the same issue of *Labor News*, where, in an article covering a recent Bay Area trade unionists' conference on Chile, ILWU militants who opposed the presence of Democratic Party Congressman Leo Ryan are labelled "Spartacists." The Socialist League engages in such despicable red-baiting in spite of the fact that these militants, as it well knows, are under attack by the ILWU bureaucracy as people who must be denied "...the right to exploit our democratic processes to continue their unrelenting attack against us" (*Dispatcher*, 18 April, quoted by the 15 May *Labor News*).

This criminal red-baiting is the true measure of the Socialist League and Tom Cagle. Such McCarthyite slander has no place in the workers movement and *must not be tolerated or permitted to continue*. By adopting such foul-smelling practices the Socialist League shows itself a fitting graduate of the Healy Wohlforth school of slander and falsification, and places itself in the camp of the enemies of revolution, in the camp of the Eberts, Noskes and Victor Reuthers. These actions are of a piece with the Healyite International Committee's labelling of various of its opponents within the workers movement as CIA agents, and its repeatedly demonstrated willingness to call the cops on those who disagree with its views and practices. This syphilis must be unmercifully eradicated from the workers movement, by political exposure as well as militant defense of the principles of workers democracy.

Memorial Meeting for

Romey Johnson

Los Angeles City College
Student Faculty Lounge
7:30 p.m. Friday, 18 July

For more information: 485-1838
Sponsored by the Spartacist League/SYL

CMUAW Open Letter

June 6, 1975

Dear Brother Cagle,

We are writing this letter to elaborate on why we have found no basis to support your current campaign for President of Local 1364.... Despite the fact that last year you refused to support our own campaign for convention delegates, even though you withdrew your own candidacy and resolutions, and you claimed to support the substance of the full program that we ran on (including resolutions for a Workers Party and National Strikes Against Layoffs), we would support your campaign if we had sufficient agreement.

...Our Committee's program has as its goal the abolition of the capitalist system and the formation of a workers government. We believe in a full program that clarifies for UAW members and the rest of labor the necessity, obstacles, and means to achieve that goal: economic demands, like a sliding scale of hours and wages that point the way to a planned economy, addressing unemployment and inflation; against racial and sexual discrimination that divides the workers against each other; keeping the unions independent from the bosses' government and its cops and courts; for industry wide strikes against layoffs; occupations of closed plants, imposing workers control by factory committees; against import quotas and deportations that break down international workers solidarity and encourage national chauvinism; for the expropriation of auto and all basic industry and banks; and in order to struggle politically for this program, a Workers Party based on the trade unions. Clearly all of these points intersect the reality of the problems facing the UAW today and are a *precondition* for the establishment of an oppositional union caucus, whose main purpose is to expose, discredit, and *counterpose* itself to the union bureaucracy. We have raised and fought for every one of these points as they have arisen concretely in the life of the union.

...You on the other hand have consistently minimized program, relying almost entirely on economic demands. This was true as far back as the 1970 contract fight, when the principal demand of your short-lived United Action Caucus was $1.65 an hour wage increase. Was this on the theory that "the crisis" made wages a program in itself? Regarding the trade union leadership, you seem to have the dangerous and illusory notion that under the objective impact of an economic crisis, the existing leadership will be *forced* into playing a progressive role, eg. forming a labor party, in spite of itself. Putting these together, one comes up with the program of your first leaflet: 30 for 40, 100% COL, and independent labor candidates. And if your first leaflet was ambiguous as to how (or if) the UAW bureaucracy's break with the capitalist parties would take place, your second leaflet certainly clears it up: by a "legal" constitutional, referendum vote! You have managed to take the most important strategic battle of class struggle union militants breaking the UAW and all the unions from the capitalist parties—and reduce it to the nickel and dime reformism of a "legal referendum"....

...It is difficult for us to draw any other conclusion except that your perspective is one of acting to pressure the existing bureaucracy into more militant stands, instead of preparing the membership programmatically to throw them out. Further your opposition to running on or supporting a full program like CMUAW's, referring to it as a "laundry list", seems based on the notion that the membership "isn't ready" for such a program, and/or such "radical" demands will limit your ability to effect compromise blocs with sections of the trade union bureaucracy. (We would add here that one reason you are not taken seriously by militants in the plant and have remained an isolated individual is that your minimal public positions over the years are at variance with the broader demands similar to ours you are known to hold privately. This has even on occasion exposed you to red-baiting by opponents to the right of you, who seek demagogically to exploit that contradiction.)

In addition to the above there are several more questions we would like you to reply to:

- What exactly do you have in mind when calling for "labor's own independent candidates" to run in local municipalities? Is it comparable to the farcical and short-lived San Mateo Labor Party, a "labor party in one county" whose "members" and "candidates" were not prohibited from supporting the Democratic Party in other spheres?
- Given the present massive layoffs of autoworkers and the imminent threat of more plant closures, don't you think it is crucial to pose the question of *workers control* connected with sit-downs and occupations of closed plants, which raises the question of which class shall rule society?
- Are you willing to spell out unambiguously your position on racial oppression, especially on the issues of busing and the racist terror against desegregation? Or is your silence on racial discrimination an attempt to "accommodate" to those who have backward racist views?
- You say you oppose the women's lawsuit, yet you abstained on our motion (which carried the local) opposing that suit and posing instead jobs for all through national strikes for a shorter work week at no loss in pay. Why?
- Since court suits against the union often arise in the absence of a real union program to fight racial and sexual discrimination, what is your position on sexual discrimination? Or do you think the women in the plant (who you refer to as "girls") never had it so good?
- Is the Brotherhood Caucus any different now than it was a couple of years ago, when according to your own account you were prepared to join it, having puchased the membership patch, only to be turned down by the caucus itself?
- We believe that cops are not workers and should not be permitted membership in any union or workers organization, and that "strikes" by cops for "Better working conditions" are in fact dangerous political mobilizations ultimately directed against the labor movement. The police are our enemies. Previous discussions have left it unclear what your position is on this.
- At a time when Woodcock and the whole U.S. labor bureaucracy is whipping up social-patriotic hysteria around import quotas, "Buy American" campaigns, deportations of foreign-born workers, etc., why does the program for your "labor party" (or candidates) avoid taking on this obvious and dangerous preparation for another World War?...

Fraternally,

The Committee for a Militant UAW

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
73

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues
☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Unemployed Organizing...

(continued from page 7)

militant union based on a 1932 revolt of 40,000 miners in southern Illinois against the bureaucratic regime of John L. Lewis in the United Mine Workers. However, the PMA quickly fell under the sway of a new set of "militant" bureaucrats who became indistinguishable from the old Lewis machine. When the UMW ignored the need to organize the unemployed in Illinois, Allard and the Trotskyists played a leading role in building the Illinois Workers Alliance (IWA) which entered the SP-dominated Workers Alliance of America at its founding as the most powerful state section. The IWA soon outstripped the long-established Unemployed Councils as the strongest unemployed organization in the Midwest. It stood for the abolition of capitalism, and in the middle of the decade led militant marches on the state capital against relief cuts.

On the West Coast a patient intervention into the Los Angeles Unemployed Cooperative Relief Association beginning in 1932 gave the Trotskyists leadership of a diverse left-wing bloc. This leadership transformed the UCRA from a "cooperative" self-help movement into an organization which militantly fought evictions, at times roping off whole city blocks to stop dispossessions. In 1933 CLA militant Jane Rose led a protest against the cutting off of free milk distributions to the unemployed by taking over the city council and delivering speeches all day on the "class nature of the unemployed question" (*Militant*, 10 June 1933).

The Trotskyists began to achieve successes in 1933 which increasingly lessened their isolation. Hitler's unopposed march to power, facilitated by Stalin's suicidal sectarianism, had a traumatic impact. Though the CP was heading rapidly toward eventual subservience to Roosevelt's New Deal (formerly seen as "slavery"), its turn temporarily gave the Trotskyists a chance to intervene in Stalinist-led mass meetings.

Stalinists Sabotage the NFUWL

One important opportunity to form a united-front unemployed organization came at the founding conference of the National Federation of Unemployed Workers Leagues in May of 1933. Chicago, where the meeting was held, had a year earlier been the scene of a successful, broad united-front movement to reverse a 50 percent relief cut. On that occasion, the Stalinists were forced to abandon their sectarianism and unite with "social fascists" around immediate demands. Now they, the SP, Trotskyists, Musteites, Lovestoneites and innumerable other tendencies met and founded the first national unemployed organization having the potential of becoming a truly mass organization.

The Trotskyists led in preventing anti-communist exclusion of the Unemployed Councils from the conference, and succeeded in getting their formulation for a united-front movement passed. This called for the NFUWL to seek "the closest relationship with the *Employed* workers through the trade unions" while guaranteeing "the right of minority expression and freedom of criticism" (quoted in the *Militant*, 20 May 1933). Graphically demonstrating its quandary, the CP delegation supported this conception after having voted against it only a few months earlier at a conference to establish a united front to free jailed labor hero Tom Mooney.

Unfortunately, however, the NFUWL was stillborn because the major tendencies were still determined to build their "own" unemployed bailiwicks in place of any united-front organization. The very next month, Stalinists and Musteites blocked at the Columbus conference of the National Unemployed Leagues to defeat a Trotskyist motion for affiliation to the NFUWL (*Militant*, 15 July 1933). Since the Trotskyists were still much weaker than CP and SP forces in the NFUWL leadership, they were unable to carry the broad grouping forward themselves. Meanwhile the CP continued to degenerate to the right, so that by the time a united unemployed movement was founded under the name Workers Alliance in 1936 (a year after origination of the WA by the Socialists) it rapidly became a subservient appendage of the Roosevelt government.

Although only a year before they had aided the CP in wrecking the NFUWL and opposing the Trotskyists' efforts to build a broad united-front national unemployed organization, the Musteites' gradual programmatic movement to the left laid the basis for their fusion with the CLA in late 1934. Both tendencies came to the fusion fresh from the field of class battle: the Musteites leading auto workers in Toledo and the CLA at the head of Minneapolis Teamsters.

Although many leading elements of the CPLA/AWP, including Budenz and Muste himself, clung to reformist notions picked up during their checkered political course, the unification was made on the basis of what Trotsky described as a "rigidly principled program." As a result, while Budenz, Muste and others left the WP in a matter of months, the bulk of their erstwhile followers remained. The attendance of 1,200 at the founding convention of the Workers Party of the U.S. represented a significant step in overcoming the Trotskyists' former isolation. The WP now led the National Unemployed Leagues, representing 130,000 unemployed in Ohio, another 25,000 in Pennsylvania, and a strong base in West Virginia.

Trotskyists Lead the National Unemployed Leagues

At once the WP sought to purge the NUL of remaining bangovers from the period when its course was one of limitation to immediate reform issues and opportunist capitulation to backward prejudices among the masses. A "Resolution on the Unemployed Question," passed by a WP National Committee plenum in October 1935 specified that

> "The next step in the development of the unemployed movement must be an increased educational and agitational campaign throughout to root the organizations solidly in the principles of the class struggle."

Analyzing the different unemployed organizations, the resolution noted that the NUL was "the leading organization in the unemployed field," having pursued a policy of mass, class-struggle militancy and "vigorous participation of the rank and file in the life of the organization." Its weaknesses included failure to penetrate major industrial centers and consolidate organizationally, leading to "great fluctuations" in membership. In addition,

> "Nuclei and fractions of revolutionists have not been built systematically within the local leagues. And the organization is not in a genuine sense national in scope."

The resolution called for WP efforts toward solving the two major problems of the unemployed movement, that of achieving a real united front of the numerous unemployed organizations and unity with employed workers. The resolution called for orientation toward the Workers Alliance, which was making overtures to which the Stalinists were responding (and which itself represented leftward development of the Socialist Party).

The NUL also took a serious stance toward the race question and organizing in the South. Symbolic of its concern with the organizing of black unemployed was the selection of E.R. McKinney, a black National Committee member of the Workers Party and former Musteite, as vice-president of the NUL and editor of its weekly paper, *Mass Action*. The NUL adamantly refused to grant charters to segregated locals, and led thousands of blacks and whites in National Unemployed Day marches in 1934 in Gulfport, Mississippi, Ashland, Kentucky and other parts of the South. The NUL recognized "that a local organization may force up relief standards many times, but if it fails to overcome the racial division then it has failed fundamentally and is a menace to the Labor movement" (1934 convention minutes).

The NUL supported certain legislative action, such as the Frazier-Lundeen Workers Unemployment Insurance Bill, but not with the fixation on reformist legislative panaceas characteristic of the CP-led Unemployed Councils. The Workers Party's *New Militant* (1 January 1935) denounced the Stalinists for "making only one demand—the Lundeen Bill—the single issue, [and thereby] dividing the ranks of the unemployed and workers." The WP insisted that the fight for legislative reforms be "a class-struggle fight, not a class-collaboration lobby." However, some slogans used by the NUL and the Illinois Workers Alliance (such as "tax the rich") could have led to the impression that workers' interests lie in reforming the capitalist state apparatus, and should have been left behind with the rest of the Musteite "American Approach" reformist baggage.

Small though they were, during the early 1930's the Trotskyists had made an impressive contribution to communist unemployed work, both on the theoretical and practical levels. While the much larger CP frittered away its influence and opportunities for leadership of the masses by "Third Period" excesses, only to turn later to reformist "popular-front" betrayals, the Trotskyists had provided a correct understanding of Leninist tactics for organization of the unemployed, and realized the goals in the form of mass organization. Concurrently they won over leftward-moving centrists repelled by Stalinist sectarianism as well as by AFL and SP do-nothingism. In their struggle to forge a new revolutionary vanguard party they were in the latter half of the decade to provide additional examples of revolutionary work among the unemployed while the CP sank to the depths of its pro-Roosevelt, pro-war capitulation.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

NMU...

(continued from page 4)

As a result of its class-collaborationist policies, some 22,000 shipboard jobs—almost twice the present NMU deep-sea membership—were lost between 1960 and 1972 (AFL-CIO *American Federationist*, April 1973). And the new contract railroaded through last month by Shannon Wall and his flunkies contains not one word about job protection despite continuing losses due to automation and foreign-flag "runaways."

As for corruption, the items listed in the *Times* account are only the tip of the iceberg. A leaflet by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the NMU, charges: "For years our caucus has exposed and fought the things the grand jury is now 'discovering,' such as the building fund hoax and the sale of the 'Joe Curran Mausoleum' on Seventh Avenue" (*Beacon* supplement, 11 July). But the militants immediately add: "The government must keep its hands out of unions! Only working seamen can get rid of corrupt racketeers running our union and making deals with the company.... We call on all NMU members to oppose this phony grand jury investigation which is an attack *against our union*!"

The leaflet points to other examples of government intervention in the unions:

> "The Teamsters Union is no less corrupt since the government got Hoffa—incidentally just after he won the first national over-the-road contract in history. Government investigations of and charges against the SIU [Seafarers' International Union] and its officials like Paul Hall and Hal Banks (in Canada) have ebbed and flowed, depending on which Administration in Washington was getting paid off from the SIU coffers.... The intentions and interests of the government are clearly demonstrated by strike breaking injunctions, wage controls, business tax privileges, the screening of militants out of our union, funds supplied to bust labor unions in other countries, the massacre of unionists in Chile and working people in Vietnam!"

And for those who have illusions that the courts can be used by oppositionists to reform the unions, the Caucus points to the example of "one of these hotshot hucksters, Morrissey, who through a recent suit, just won a decision to take the NMU treasury for *$100,000 of seamen's hard-earned dues money*!"

The capitalists' government is the enemy of all working people. In intervening in labor disputes or "cleaning up" the unions its role is not that of "neutral" arbiter but rather the enforcer of the interests of the class enemy. The fight for independence of the labor movement from the bourgeoisie and its government is the first principle of militant unionism. As part of the fight to replace the present pro-company bureaucracy with a leadership dedicated to waging the class struggle through to victory, militants must join in a united call to Stop the Grand Jury Attack on the NMU! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 921-4626
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A,
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 879-7623
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

"Socialist/Feminist" Conference...

(continued from page 3)

at the Anti-Imperialist Caucus sessions remarked that in opposing feminism, the anti-imperialist women had jumped right over the question of the special oppression of women and had liquidated a women's program altogether. This was no accident, she pointed out. The Anti-Imperialist Caucus disagrees with Engels that the family is the primary unit of women's oppression and thus it does not see the necessity of launching a fight around a consistent program that would free women from the chains of the family. The Spartacist League, however, following the policies of the early Communist International, calls for special work among women and the creation of a women's section of the Bolshevik party.

Not surprisingly, the diverse amalgam of the Anti-Imperialist Caucus found itself so divided over its proposed statement that "men are not the enemy" that its Stalinist leadership found it necessary to bureaucratically squelch discussion on this point and force the position through without a vote, demagogically claiming that Asian and other Third World women were unable to stay because they had to meet early the next morning to discuss "their own problems."

Because the Third World Women's Caucus itself wished to raise criticisms of the conference, it allowed a semi-open microphone at its workshops. Because many women came to the conference looking for real political discussion instead of the sterile scheduled agenda, these workshops became the political center for the conference. At these sessions, a trade unionist from Detroit CWA Local 4001 drew applause when she declared herself in disagreement with both the main principles of unity and the Anti-Imperialist Caucus statement. What "autonomy" really means, she said, is separation from the working class and its political parties. In speaking of political links to any party, the question is *to what kind of party*. None of the parties discussed by the Anti-Imperialist Caucus women had programs which went beyond reformism; none, for example, called for the nationalization of industry, or the formation of an independent party of labor to fight for a workers government.

Radical Women Choose Tailism

Free speech at the Third World Women's Workshop turned out to have its limitations when *their* politics were criticized. By Sunday morning, the Chicana spokesman on the Third World Women's Panel, a member of Radical Women, was thrown off the panel for "Trotskyism." Though the Radical Women group from Seattle participated on the planning committee where they claim to have privately opposed the decision to exclude the SL, they refused—despite repeated requests—to openly defend our right to participate. In contradiction to their talk of workers democracy and the need for men to fight alongside women, Radical Women capitulated on the exclusion question down the line and even accepted without protest their own silencing in the Third World Women's workshops.

In a document prepared for the conference, Radical Women had warned of just this kind of capitulation by leftists to bureaucratic witchhunting in CLUW (Coalition of Labor Union Women):

> "... Their failure to defend the rights of other left groups is tantamount to acting as accomplices with the bureaucrats in their witchhunt. It is a suicidal course of action which can only lead to the ouster of all radicals. There will be no place in CLUW for the 'good' radicals once the process has been set in motion for driving out the 'bad' radicals."

These "radicals" would do well to study their own words. Though they claim to be Trotskyists, their grovelling tailism and embracing of feminist anti-communism is more indicative.

What Are the "Socialist-Feminists" Afraid Of?

Despite repeated frenzied threats and attempted physical harassment, the SL fought against its exclusion throughout the conference. By the final day conference leaders were in such a state of political disorientation and bureaucratic confusion that they could hardly implement their policies. During the conference the SL set up a literature table, circulated a protest petition and distributed a leaflet, "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" which outlined the SL's unmatched ten-year record of serious and uncompromising struggle for the emancipation of women. We pointed out:

> "The Spartacist League is excluded because it is the only tendency that dares alienate our 'sisters' by consistently raising a socialist program which exposes the contradictions inherent in the term 'socialist-feminist.' *In fact, there is no such thing as a 'socialist-feminist.'* As we have said in our press, the logic of feminism is sex war just as surely as the logic of Marxism is class war, and there is no way that these two can be reconciled. But, now that 'socialism' is more fashionable than it used to be, there is such a thing as feminism painted over with a light veneer of socialist rhetoric....
>
> "The most ludicrous excuse of all for the exclusion of Spartacists is that a program for women's liberation inhibits discussion among those women whose politics are still in a formative stage. Well, we do have a program; moreover, we have a strategy which we can articulate clearly and apply more and more effectively. The feminists, on the other hand, including those of the 'socialist-feminist' variety, have been trying to 'get it together' for a decade, but have never yet succeeded. They 'come together' and 'exchange experiences' and 'share skills'—*but no program and no strategy!* That is why the feminist movement is a revolving door—recruiting new women, demoralizing them with dead-end activities and watching them drift away."■

Sanitation Wildcat

(continued from page 12)

hours, a union gain dating back to the 1920's. But while Gotbaum has been brutally frank about his collaboration with the mayor, the more "left"-talking bureaucrats have been no more combative. Pat Knight of SSEU Local 371, a DC37 affiliate, is officially on record for a strike against layoffs but simply sat on his hands during the sanitation strike.

Cops Out of the Labor Movement!

The viciously anti-labor reaction by New York cops to the announcement of layoffs should help to rip the mask of "fellow workers" off these dangerous class enemies. After pushing their racist "Fear City" campaign in June, laid-off police responded to the pink slips with a fury directed against the working class and ordinary citizens. Laid-off cops rampaged into traffic on the Brooklyn Bridge during the afternoon rush hour, letting air out of tires, throwing beer bottles and screaming obscenities as they threatened the trapped motorists. Reports of physical assaults directed at ghetto residents were rampant. In one case, two ex-cops were arrested for beating a black youth who refused to break into a liquor store for them following a farewell party in the local precinct (*New York Times*, 2 July)!

True to their vocation of enforcing capitalist law and order, the police broke up picket lines of striking sanitationmen at the landfills. And when the workers returned to their jobs, Patrolmen's Benevolent Association head Ken McFeeley announced that cops' tempers were raw because garbagemen were alleged to be getting double-time for cleaning up the mess. But the police "indignation" was evidently assuaged, as they received almost one third of the extra funds alloted by the state legislature and almost 40 percent of the laid-off cops have already been called back. It is clear that all sections of the ruling class are agreed that their hired guns must be protected.

While many militant unionists continue to harbor illusions about the possibility of support from the cops, and while most left organizations remain silent on this vital issue, the Spartacist League has been virtually alone in warning workers of the dangers of allowing the professional gunmen of the bourgeoisie into the ranks of labor. All class-conscious workers must demand, Cops Out of the Unions!

For an Alliance of City Workers and the Poor

During the late 1960's the gross insensitivity of Albert Shanker, head of the United Federation of Teachers, to the needs of the city's minority poor assisted city officials in mobilizing large numbers of community residents to break the 1968 teachers' strike. Yet this summer, in spite of the racist labor bureaucracy, community sentiment has been overwhelmingly with the strikers. A moving expression of this elementary sense of solidarity took place when residents of the Bushwick section of Brooklyn held 14 firemen hostage (not unwillingly) in a station scheduled to be closed, then kidnapped the commissioner who came to demand their release. Residents released the firemen only when the commissioner agreed to keep the fire station open!

While city officials are doing their level best to jack up taxes on the working people of New York City—to pay off bonds sold by the recently created Big MAC (Municipal Assistance Corporation) at sky-high interest rates—a call for the cancellation of the municipal debt and expropriation of the banks without compensation could win massive public support. A city-wide general strike against layoffs should mobilize not only city workers and other key sectors of the labor movement, such as phone workers, but also their potential allies—the unemployed, ghetto poor and beleaguered petty bourgeoisie whose security and living standards have suffered grievously as a result of the capitalist crisis.

City workers lost this round in the showdown over the "budget crunch," but the battle is not over. The labor movement has not suffered—yet—a crushing defeat which would lead to rampant demoralization. On the contrary, for a brief moment it saw the power of united class action and was able to gauge the panic of the frightened ruling class. But the political lessons of betrayal of the sanitation strike must be drawn.

The DeLurys, Gotbaums et al. are the labor lieutenants of the capitalist class. They regularly support the twin parties of capital—Democratic and Republican—at the polls and sabotage every move toward militant, independent labor action whether in politics or industrial disputes. A revolutionary leadership, guided by a vanguard party and committed to a full program of class struggle, is necessary to break the unions from the stranglehold of the sellout bureaucracy and the bourgeoisie. The alternative is to endlessly repeat the recent fiasco, threatening the jobs and conditions of the workers and ultimately the very existence of the unions themselves.■

Protest Popeye Jackson Assassination!

Wilbert "Popeye" Jackson, head of the United Prisoners Union—a prison reform group—and a companion Sally Voye, who is a schoolteacher and UPU member, were assassinated June 8 in San Francisco. Shot at point-blank range while they were sitting in a car outside Jackson's Mission district home, this cold-blooded murder is being used by the cops as an excuse for hauling in radicals with the intent of pinning the murder on the left. Reprinted below is a statement issued by the Bay Area Spartacist League following the slayings.

June 12, 1975

United Prisoners Union
San Francisco

People's World

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

We are writing to express to you our deepest revolutionary solidarity. It is not clear now, and may not be for a long time to come, exactly who is responsible for the brutal murder of Popeye Jackson and Sally Voye. But it is clear who will benefit from Popeye's death and who will lose. It is the capitalist class with their cops, courts and prisons who will rejoice. It is the working and poor people, blacks and minorities, and all of the oppressed who have lost a fighter in the struggle for revolutionary change.

We had many differences with Popeye—principally on the centrality of the working class and the need for a Leninist Party. Nevertheless, Popeye was a resolute foe of the repressive capitalist order.

We in the Bay Area left and labor movement must join ranks against any attempt of the cops and the state to use Popeye's death to set in motion a wave of repression—whether through a frame-up or some sort of grand jury "fishing expedition." Should this occur, the left and labor movement must stand together against such attacks. "An attack on one is an attack on all."

Brothers and Sisters! We have lost a fighter in the struggle for revolutionary social change.

FORWARD TOWARD THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

In Solidarity,

Bay Area Spartacist League

WORKERS VANGUARD

Gotbaum Gives Away "Summer Hours" After

Sanitation Strike Rocks NYC

JULY 12—City workers in New York were greeted on July 1 with 19,000 "pink slips," courtesy of Mayor Abraham Beame. Sanitationmen, enraged by the layoffs of almost one third of their union, immediately began to wildcat. Within 24 hours garbage collection had stopped and pickets barricaded several of the city's landfills. Labor action rapidly spread to other unions. Construction workers tied up morning rush-hour traffic on the West Side Highway when they refused to remove barriers used the previous night to close lanes for repairs. Park and beach maintenance crews failed to report to work, leaving July 4th vacationers with somewhat less-than-desirable surroundings. Firemen, faced with 2,000 layoffs and numerous station closures, began sick-ins and work-to-rule slowdowns while ghetto residents set fire to the garbage piling up in the streets.

Although by week's end the strike had been halted with layoffs left standing, thanks to the treachery of the municipal union bureaucrats, not since the 1970 postal strike had such combativity been seen in the labor movement here. The sanitation strike made headlines across the continent and provoked a frenzied response from the ruling class. New York City, a strong labor town and center of the public worker militancy of the late 1960's, is seen as the test case for ruling-class attempts to impose substantial job and wage cuts on government employees during the current economic downturn. To the labor movement, whose recent passivity has baffled economists, the impact of the sanitation strike was nothing short of electrifying.

"Off With Their Heads!"

On the first day of the wildcat NYC Mayor Beame rushed to court for an injunction against the strikers. Invoking the hated anti-labor Taylor law, which calls for penalties against strikers in government employ at a rate of twice the daily wage and loss of seniority, the mayor tried to frighten workers back. The *New York Times* first moaned that "only" 13,000 pink slips were actually handed out, then launched an "off-with-their-heads" editorial barrage demanding every strikebreaking measure in the book including calling up the National Guard:

> "This is near anarchy, an unconscionable assault against the city by those who have been entrusted to preserve and protect it. The reaction from city hall must be fast, firm and reasoned....
>
> "If the garbagemen fail to heed the court, the sternest disciplinary actions should be taken at once, including the dismissals that are permitted under law. There are plenty of jobless people in this recession-ridden city who would not turn up their noses at the opportunity to earn nearly $14,000 a year, plus lavish fringes, for helping to keep their city clean and healthy.
>
> "Meanwhile city and state officials should be preparing the use of the National Guard."
>
> —*New York Times*, 3 July

Behind the facade of legislative action the bourgeoisie was drawing the guns for a display of massive repression against the strikers. The New York Supreme Court, supposed "neutral" arbiter of justice, reaffirmed that law in capitalist society is, in the final analysis, determined by the purse strings, and ruled against a motion by the firemen's union to block the layoffs saying it could not stop the mayor when city coffers were bare. Meanwhile Beame was arranging contingency plans for the Coast Guard to move in should bridge tenders repeat their 1971 strike action. Community controlniks in the Office of Neighborhood Services were instructed to organize scabbing under the guise of "community trash disposal procedures."

DeLury Betrays the Strike

While preparing for a showdown, the government was hesitant to deploy naked force until absolutely necessary to halt escalation of the strike into a multi-union city-wide action. And, in fact, it was *not* capitalist repression that defeated the strike but rather the union bureaucracy, the agents of the bosses within the labor movement. John DeLury, president of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association (a Teamster affiliate), first gave implicit support to the wildcat in order to ward off pressures from below, only to then turn savagely against his membership. Not only did he call off the strike on July 3 without obtaining the slightest guarantee against layoffs, but he agreed to contribute $1.6 million in union funds to the city to sustain laid-off workers for a few weeks while Beame decides how many will be finally axed!

Sanitation workers were outraged by DeLury's call for a return to work. At garages throughout the city, workers argued heatedly with their union stewards who combined threats and make-believe promises, such as the possibility of financial help from the federal government. Steeled against such threats and bombast in their victorious 1968 strike, sanitationmen were ready to fight. "There will be no national garbagemen," said a worker at the East 73rd Street garage. Crews threatened to blow up the trucks before letting the National Guard pick up the garbage (*New York Post*, 2 July). But in the absence of a committed class-struggle leadership and lacking organized support from the other main contingents of NYC labor, the militant sanitationmen were forced to grudgingly end the walkout.

At stake in the present confrontation between the unions and the city are not only the jobs of 19,000 workers but the gains of the past 40 years of trade-union struggle, including working-condition standards, collective bargaining, seniority and the union shop. No one realizes this better than the capitalists themselves. The *New York Times* (6 July) commented: "...the trade unions' supremacy now appears weakened by the dismissals. In this sense, the number of union members permanently laid off is less significant than the fact of the membership's apparent vulnerability."

"We've Got to Stop Acting Like Soviet Heroes"

For the 19,000 laid-off workers, for the sanitation strikers left out on a limb, for the deep concessions made by the municipal unions during the last seven months, class-conscious workers will have many accounts to settle with Victor Gotbaum, president of AFSCME's District Council 37, the city's largest municipal union and head of the municipal labor council. Gotbaum was in a key position to make or break the strike. He broke it.

Robert Azzi/Magnum

Residents of the Bushwick section of Brooklyn "captured" Engine Company 218 until Fire Commissioner agreed to re-open the fire house.

Hamburg—New York Daily News

Last week he not only failed to call for even the mildest solidarity action to support the sanitationmen but also let layoffs of his own union members go through without a fight. Why? "I happen to like the Mayor," Gotbaum told the *Times* (12 July). "I happen to think he's a very decent guy." He added: "We've got to stop giving ultimatums and acting like Soviet heroes." Earlier this year Gotbaum had announced he was joining the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee in order to "work to make good men like [Democratic city council president] Paul O'Dwyer understand the human suffering the crisis is causing."

Prepared to go to any lengths to prove that he is no "Soviet hero" —a fact which just about everyone would be willing to concede—Gotbaum last December first called for the forced retirement of older workers, then acquiesced in thousands of layoffs. In June, sounding more like Beame's comptroller than a union president, Gotbaum added that city workers would have to give up some of the "crap" they had won in the past. Last week this phony "socialist" rang up another first in his incredible string of nakedly anti-labor actions, calling for the firing of 13,000 "provisional" workers!

Gotbaum's capitulation at every step has only encouraged city officials, who have been walking roughshod over the union. Beame's latest (but not last) gambit is to unilaterally rescind summer

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 74 1 August 1975

Socialist Party Fronts for CIA, Vatican, NATO

Smash Rightist Threat in Portugal!

For United Front Defense Guards, Workers Militias, Factory Committees!

JULY 26—Today Portugal stands at the focal point of the global class struggle. The last two weeks have seen an ominous mustering of anti-communist forces which could well be a dress rehearsal for a rightist, pro-NATO coup to put an end to the pre-revolutionary situation which has existed since the overthrow of the reactionary Salazar-Caetano regime in April 1974. In the name of "democracy" and "freedom," reactionaries have beaten up Communist Party militants, burned down CP offices and flocked to demonstrations organized by the Catholic hierarchy. Particularly dangerous has been the role of the Portuguese Socialist Party, which has sought to give a "left" cover to the actions of openly counterrevolutionary elements. With CIA agents at work and the "Portuguese Liberation Army" poised across the border in Spain, genuinely revolutionary forces must redouble their efforts to create organs of workers power, the only means to decisively crush bourgeois reaction.

Simply to report the chronology of the last 14 days' events makes clear the counterrevolutionary nature of the recent campaign:

• **July 14:** A reactionary mob wrecks local Communist Party headquarters in Rio Maior and beats up five

continued on page 11

Portuguese Socialist Party demonstration in Lisbon, June 23. Informations Ouvrières

For a City-Wide General Strike!

Big MAC Moves to Break NYC Unions

JULY 27—The last two weeks of New York City's seemingly endless fiscal crisis have made clear to everyone what we have stressed for months: behind Mayor Beame's budgetary shenanigans and the usurious demands of Wall Street is the determination of a united capitalist class to break the backs of the unions. The labor leaders' policy of appeasement, although not yet successful in producing the deep demoralization which comes from a stinging defeat, has only emboldened the avaricious financiers and their puppet in Gracie Mansion.

At press time city unions were fast approaching the deadline by which they were told to accept a *10 percent wage cut*—an almost unheard-of event since the Great Depression—or face the consequences. Ever hopeful of taking off the pressure by giving up yet another hard-won union gain, municipal labor chiefs asked Beame if he would guarantee no further layoffs in exchange for sacrificing the 6 percent wage increase due this month. The mayor reportedly answered: "I don't know. I have to do what they tell me" (*New York Times*, 26 July).

While bourgeois politicians ultimately receive their marching orders from the needs of the capitalist system, Beame currently gets his from "Big MAC"—the "Municipal Assistance Corporation," a state-appointed board of financiers and corporate officials with authority to issue special bonds. Its real purpose is to tightly orchestrate the campaign to crush the unions with a ruthlessness which cannot be expected from elected officials. In the words of newly appointed Big MAC chairman William Ellinghaus, the president of New York Telephone, voluntary compliance by labor would be preferable, but "if we have to move beyond that, you bet your life we will" (*New York Times*, 24 July 1975).

While the media have talked freely of calling up the National Guard to stop any strike action, the union brass has been

continued on page 4

WV Photo

Police attempt to break up militant hospital workers demonstration in New York, July 24.

Forward to the International Trotskyist League!

European Meeting Registers Gains for Spartacist Tendency

The political and organizational consolidation of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) was highlighted by the iSt's recent European summer camp. Over fifty comrades from seven countries gathered to discuss the tasks and perspectives of the iSt, in particular its European sections, based on the advances of our tendency since last year's European camp. From the supporters who subscribed to the "Declaration for the Organizing of an International Trotskyist Tendency" in July 1974, the iSt has made a qualitative leap in Europe to functioning sections and sympathizing groups in Austria, Germany, France and, most recently, Italy.

The 1974 "Declaration" had been written necessarily in the light of a historical background originating in the United States. The Spartacist tendency has been struggling to transform its living internationalist commitment into a truly international organization. The recent summer camp demonstrated that the national sections of the iSt, strengthened by principled regroupments with cadres who have broken away from the declining centrist conglomerations of fake-Trotskyists, are forging authoritative national leaderships as part of a disciplined international collective. Comrades being won in a series of countries are emerging as leaders of the iSt and are a living promise for the International Executive Committee of the future Trotskyist International.

The breakthroughs and consolidation achieved by the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD—Trotskyist League of Germany) were codified by its acceptance as a full section of the iSt. Through its active intervention against the left-Pabloist Spartacusbund (SB), the TLD was able to win the supporters of the Trotskyist Faction (expelled from the SB in February 1975) to its political positions. This regroupment helped drive a further wedge into the disintegrating SB, as the internal campaign of slander waged against the iSt by the SB leadership was unable to prevent serious militants of the SB from dealing with the politics of the TLD.

This accretion of forces to the TLD facilitated the geographical expansion of the TLD through the establishment of an Organizing Committee in Cologne in April of this year. The TLD has for some time stabilized its press, *Kommunistische Korrespondenz*, as a regular bi-monthly.

The generally rightward motion of the United Secretariat (USec) over the past few years is expressed especially by its capitulation to the popular fronts in France and Chile and to the "revolutionary" Portuguese officers and by the USec Majority's overtures to the French PSU and to Lotta Continua in Italy. This will no doubt exacerbate the factional divisions between the still centrist international Majority and the overtly reformist Minority led by the American SWP. In Germany, the "Kompass" tendency within the USec's Gruppe Internationale Marxisten (GIM) will no doubt become increasingly demoralized by its failure to capture a majority of the GIM and by the disruption of its international connections (France, Italy), and should provide a fertile ground for the tactic of revolutionary regroupment through polarization, splits and fusions.

In addition, China's recent open support for strengthening NATO is creating unrest in the German Maoist groupings. We can look toward the possibility of left splits occurring in some of these groups over the questions of support for a stronger NATO (in Germany!) and of China's espousal of a "democratic stage" in Portugal. Such developments would pose the possibility for regroupments of subjectively revolutionary elements breaking from Maoism toward the authentic Trotskyist program.

Ligue Trotskyste de France Formed

In France the iSt supporters have fused with the Bolshevik-Leninist Faction (B-LF) which had been expelled from the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), the showpiece section of the Majority faction of the USec. The B-LF was expelled from the LCR for its position that the Fourth International, the world party of socialist revolution founded under the leadership of Leon Trotsky in 1938, no longer existed and must be re-forged in the struggle against Pabloist revisionism. The emergence of the B-LF was the result of a protracted struggle for programmatic clarity within oppositional groupings of the LCR over the past year or more. Comrade Lafitte, the leading figure in the B-LF, thus joins Comrade Lesueur as the second member of the Central Committee of the French USec section to join the Spartacist tendency.

The fusion of the B-LF with the iSt was the basis for an important step forward for our tendency, the formation of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF—Trotskyist League of France). Its foundation was proclaimed at the summer camp and it was recognized as a disciplined sympathizing section of the iSt.

The formation of the LTF comes at a time when the other organizations claiming to be Trotskyist in France have been moving rapidly to the right. As the founding proclamation of the LTF states:

> "The main accusation the LTF makes against the pseudo-Trotskyists is their inability to draw the class line against the popular-front Union de la Gauche, both in their general intervention as well as in their trade-union work.
>
> "The strategic axis around which Trotskyists must intervene is the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie, an independence which is erased when the workers parties and the unions enter into the popular front. The central axis of any trade-union work by consistent revolutionists must aim at the question of the popular front and the need for the unions to break from the popular front."

In Italy, a small group of comrades emerged in opposition to the combinationist rotten bloc method which had characterized the Italian USec "Third Tendency," the Frazione Marxista Rivoluzionaria (FMR—Revolutionary Marxist Faction). These oppositional comrades had previously broken with the classical Bordigist organization in Italy toward what they thought was Trotskyism—the USec. Their recognition of the primacy of program enabled them to break rapidly and clearly from the USec and to assimilate the positions of the Spartacist tendency.

These comrades came into contact with the Spartacist tendency only after the expulsion of the FMR from the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR—Revolutionary Communist Groups), the Italian section of the USec, headed by Livio Maitan. The oppositional comrades recognized that the FMR leadership was building another rotten international bloc, not a principled formation. In their application for membership in the iSt, they point out that although a cornerstone of the international "Third Tendency" is its characterization of European social-democratic parties as bourgeois parties, the leader of its Italian grouping, the FMR, "even recently stated that he had not read the Kompass analysis concerning the nature of social-democratic parties." The comrades also saw that whereas the FMR put forward no consistent analysis of the history of the Fourth International and its revisionist degeneration, the Spartacist document "Genesis of Pabloism" provided a coherent explanation and a political alternative to the FMR document "Le origini storiche del centrismo sui generis" ("The Historical Origins of Centrism Sui Generis").

From this point, intensive discussions between these Italian comrades and the iSt rapidly demonstrated decisive programmatic agreement. The iSt at the summer camp accepted the application of the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia (NSI—Spartacist Nucleus of Italy) for membership as a sympathizing section of the iSt.

The Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL—Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists) held its national conference at the summer camp as well. The conference drew the balance sheet of development of the organization in the past year and projected the tasks of its continued organizational and political consolidation. Particular attention was paid to the increased opportunities for coordination of the work of the ÖBL with the augmented forces of the TLD in Germany.

In addition to the national gatherings, the camp had two central foci. The first was programmatic discussions necessary to further the political work of the iSt as a whole through the development of its national sections. The occasion of the coming elections in Austria was the basis of a lively discussion of the conditions under which critical support to reformist workers parties (in this case the Socialist Party of Austria) may not be appropriate, even though there exists no formally constituted popular front. Similarly, the discussion of the tactical problems involved in working in Stalinist-dominated trade unions in France (where industrial unionism does not exist as it does in Germany or North America, for example) illustrated again the development of the revolutionary Marxist program through a sharpening and testing process as the national sections become more deeply involved in class struggles.

The second main concern of the summer camp was the struggle to consolidate national leaderships as part of the selection of a representative and authoritative international collective, as the highest body of our organization. The assimilation of the valuable political experience of the leading comrades of the iSt is crucial to the continuing transformation of the iSt into a disciplined, politically cohesive international organization functioning according to the norms of international democratic centralism. The fulfillment of that transformation will constitute a qualitative step forward on the path to the rebirth of the Fourth International through the earliest formation of the International Trotskyist League.

FORWARD TO THE INTERNATIONAL TROTSKYIST LEAGUE!

FOR THE REBIRTH OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

Interim Secretariat of the iSt
23 July 1975

Stalinists Slander NMU Militants

JULY 24—The current federal grand jury investigation of corruption in the National Maritime Union is sending shock waves through the New York executive offices of the NMU and right down to Boca Raton (Rat's Mouth), Florida, where former union president Joe Curran is living out his days on a lavish pension raked off union members' dues.

A front-page *New York Times* story on 9 July reported that charges are being considered by a grand jury in Newark against NMU President Shannon Wall, Secretary-Treasurer Mel Barisic, Curran, his long-time assistant William Perry as well as the union's lawyers. Allegations include kickbacks on personal injury suits, kickbacks on pension investments, shipping company bribery, construction company graft, and employment of union equipment and members for personal use of the officials. Thousands, possibly hundreds of thousands of dollars are allegedly involved in the various payoffs.

Shannon Wall, seeking to once again underline his subservience to shipping companies and the government, responded with a press release whining about the *Times*' "irresponsible" sensationalism:

> "...the *Times* virtually ignored the fact that the NMU recently led the maritime industry in completion of highly-successful negotiations for a new contract....It was achieved without a threat of strike well before the contract deadline."

In other words, we sold our members down the river for you and look how you treat us! The new contract ramrodded through last month doesn't even mention job security for seamen at a time when maritime jobs are being whittled away by increased automation and foreign-flag "runaways."

In contrast, the NMU Militant-Solidarity Caucus, a class-struggle grouping with a seven-year history of consistent opposition to the Curran-Wall gang (and the only element in the union which ever talks about fighting the companies), immediately issued a leaflet headlined: "Government Out of Our Union! Full Investigation and Disclosure by an Elected Committee of Seamen." The Caucus warned against the government's phony posturing as concerned protector of helpless seamen:

> "An anti-labor attack is being launched against our union by the government and the press of big business! The enemies of labor are using the corruption of the union officials as a crow-bar to pry into the internal affairs of our union. What looks like concerned aid to seamen today, is actually a set-up to lay the groundwork to undermine and weaken strong, independent, militant unionism in the future! Brothers and sisters, on guard! *Keep the government of big business out of our union—We, the working seamen must deal with the swindling company stooge, con-artists who run our union!*"

In recent years a number of slick, up-and-coming union bureaucrats (typified by Ed Sadlowski in the Steelworkers) have run to the Labor Department and courts in order to get the government to order election reruns or "clean up" union corruption. Not surprisingly, various reformist socialists trail along behind these fakers right into the arms of the class enemy. NMU members are getting a taste of this treacherous class collaboration: as soon after the announcement of the grand jury investigation of the NMU the Communist Party published articles wholeheartedly greeting this attack on the labor movement. Seeking to make hay with its traditional methods of lies and betrayals, the 17 July *Daily World* published a red-baiting article attacking "Trotskyites in the Militant Solidarity Caucus" for opposing intervention by the capitalist government. The article then recites a lengthy litany of 1940's slanders about the "Trotskyite menace on the waterfront."

The reformist Stalinist fakers sow the worst illusions about the government, encouraging seamen and all workers to believe the fairy tale that the bosses' state will root out corruption and restore democracy in the union. Nothing could be further from the truth. They cite the case of Tony Boyle in the UMW, but fail to mention that his Labor Department-backed successor, Arnold Miller, once in office immediately began smashing wildcats, enforcing the Boyle contracts, suppressing democratic rights at the union convention, and shoving a rotten contract down the throats of militant miners. James Morrissey, a Miller-type oppositionist in the NMU, was in fact a part of Curran's machine during the height of the post-war red purge until Curran dumped him. Morrissey has said nothing about the contract or corruption issues, and hasn't been active in the NMU since he won a court decision in April for $335,000 ($100,000 of which was supposed to come from the union treasury), or, for that matter, since the 1973 elections. But the CP backed both Morrissey and Miller in union elections and endorsed the Miller contract.

The *Daily World* article froths that seamen will never forget

> "the role of the Trotskyites, who were Curran's allies in expelling the left from the unions; for it was the Trotskyites, sent into the NMU in large numbers from all over the country who were able and willing to supply the left-sounding ideology when Curran started his putsch."

The CP resorts to such slanders in order to cover its own betrayals during the 1940's. It was the Stalinists who were the strikebreakers, not only in maritime but in other unions as well. CP leader William Z. Foster travelled through Pennsylvania recruiting scabs to break the 1943 coal strike. In the 1944 Montgomery Ward strike, CP supporter Harry Bridges ordered ILWU warehousemen to scab on workers who were fighting to preserve their union from destruction. And in late 1945 Stalinist leaders of the United

continued on page 9

Bridges Finally Gets His Contract

Port of San Francisco — Luis Carballar

SAN FRANCISCO, July 26—After repeatedly blocking Harry Bridges' attempts to saddle them with a sellout contract, dock workers of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union finally knuckled under and approved a pact which could mean disaster for the union. Twice—in February and March—Bridges failed to win the necessary two-thirds majority in coast-wide votes, and pressure from the ranks stymied his attempt to ram it through a delegated Coast Caucus in April. However, in voting this week the contract was ratified by wide margins in the two main centers of opposition, San Francisco and Los Angeles.

Bridges' delaying tactics finally wore down resistance as West Coast longshoremen have been forced to work on a day-to-day basis with no contract and no assurance of the weekly pay guarantee since July 1. Even the official ILWU *Dispatcher* (11 July) was forced to admit that the "new" proposal is "essentially the same" as the earlier package, except for "the addition of a third year." The Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) benefits can still be cancelled by a dictatorial "area arbitrator" and the threat to the union hiring hall from "steady men" remains. (The fraudulent "equalization of work opportunity" clause still guarantees minimum hours for steadies while work available through the hall continues to decline.) Adding insult to injury, the bosses are now given another year to erode jobs and union benefits.

The ranks know full well that the contract is a catastrophe and many realize that a coast-wide strike is necessary to answer the employer offensive. But the membership hesitates before this task. They bitterly recall how Bridges undercut the long 1971-72 strike by allowing cargo to be diverted through Canadian and Mexican ILWU ports, forcing strikers to handle perishable goods and military shipments. What is needed above all is a militant class-struggle leadership.

The supporters of *Longshore Militant*, an opposition newsletter in Local 10 (San Francisco) published by long-time ILWU militants Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, were the only opponents of the pact to put forward a program for victory during the contract fight. The *LM* called for an entirely new set of bargaining demands to guarantee jobs and vital union benefits: six hours' work for eight hours' pay; full union control of hiring, no steadymen; full A status for B-men; one-year contract and common expiration dates; no arbitration and full right to strike.

Longshore Militant called for a "no" vote and an immediate coast-wide strike vote coupled with election of a strike committee, a program for mobilizing the ranks as the only way to counter the treachery of the International leadership. For this they were viciously attacked by the "progressive" Bridges, who railed in the *Dispatcher* against "some so-called 'revolutionaries' who...have no answers on how to get all the goodies they yak about." Nevertheless, as voting approached, 59 militants joined Gow and Keylor in signing a united-front "vote no" leaflet which denounced the contract for allowing cancellation of the PGP by arbitration, not stopping layoffs and not providing for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay.

All other ostensible oppositionists bowed to Bridges' intimidation tactics. Local 10 President Larry Wing recommended a "no" vote, but only because a two-year contract might be possible. Rudy Rubio of Local 13 (Los Angeles) supported the contract. Finally, supporters of the West Coast Communist Party newspaper *People's World*, such as Archie Brown, dropped all talk of a strike and begged for a two-year contract on the grounds that "anybody knows two bad contract years beats three bad contract years coming and going." Brown could only get 37 others to sign his weak-kneed "opposition" leaflet. Meanwhile the 19 July *People's World* uncritically reprinted Bridges' report on his recent tour of the Soviet Union.■

National Maritime Union

Curran's goons broke up union meeting at New York's St. Nicholas Arena in 1949 as part of drive to smash all opposition and drive "reds" from NMU.

Support the Partisan Defense Committee

We reprint below a recently released statement by the Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, which outlines the principles upon which the legal defense work of this organization is based. Readers of Workers Vanguard *wishing more information may contact the PDC at the address listed below.*

The Partisan Defense Committee, in accordance with the political aims of the Spartacist League, stands in defense of the whole of the working people, without sectarian or factional regard. We take as our heritage the working-class defense policies of the International Labor Defense under its founder and first Secretary, James P. Cannon (1925-28). We embrace as our own the 11-year record of principled defense work conducted by the Spartacist League.

The PDC is partisan: it stands unconditionally on the side of working people and their allies in their struggle against their exploiters and oppressors. We place all our faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the "justice" of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings for the cases we support, we recognize that the courts, prisons and police exist to maintain through organized violence and terror, the rule of one class over others. State troopers who perpetrated mass murder at Attica go free while the unarmed Attica inmates are charged with "crimes" for their heroic rebellion. Joan Little is threatened with the death penalty for an elementary act of self-defense against a rapist-jailer.

In New York City municipal workers are fined, imprisoned and fired if they strike to protect their jobs and living standards. But the Mayor who breaks contracts in defiance of the law to slash jobs, wages and services goes free. The PDC opposes all anti-labor legislation and all government and court intervention into the left and labor movements, not least when such interventions falsely claim to be in the interest of the oppressed.

In its partisanship, the PDC is also *non-sectarian*. We champion *all* causes and defend *all* cases whose victorious outcome is in the interest of working people, irrespective of particular political views. The SL and PDC have contributed to the defense of Angela Davis of the Communist Party, the Maoist Venceremos group, the Socialist Workers Party Political Rights Defense Committee, the Weathermen, the Nazi-catching Jewish Documentation Center, the Black Panther Party, the Chilean MIR, the Black Liberation Army, Drs. Edelin and Morgentaler who were persecuted for performing abortions, Puerto Rican nationalist Carlos Feliciano. We do not defend groups like the SLA which engage in indiscriminate terror and whose random victims are not enemies of the oppressed. Unlike some civil libertarian groups we do not defend democratic rights for fascistic *action* groups like the Klan, Nazi Party, White Citizens' Council, whose sole purpose is the destruction of democratic rights, working-class organizations, and the genocide of racial, national and religious minorities. On the contrary, democratic rights and working-class organizations can only be defended through the mobilization of the masses against such groups.

We are for the solidarity of all workers and their allies around defense issues. Therefore we are unconditionally opposed to violence within the left and labor movements which poisons the possibility for common action, weakens our forces and opens us up for government attack.

In the spirit of proletarian internationalism the PDC is in the forefront of the struggle against the deportation of foreign workers and gives wholehearted support to the victims of reactionary terror in other countries. We recently participated in the Ad Hoc Committee to Smash the Attacks on Foreign Workers and contributed to the defense of 1,500 Haitians and black militant Rosie Douglas threatened with deportation from Canada. We actively campaigned on behalf of the imprisoned and tortured leaders of the Chilean MIR and for the persecuted Indian Trotskyist agricultural organizer Jagadish Jha.

—15 July 1975

I would like more information on the legal defense work of the Partisan Defense Committee:

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY/STATE/ZIP _____

Mail to:

Partisan Defense Committee
Box 633 Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013
Phone: (212) 925-2426

Big MAC...

(continued from page 1)

more than accommodating. Yet for every single concession the city's demands have only escalated. In the spring Beame threw out a proposal for freezing the scheduled 6 percent wage increase, then immediately withdrew it; now he is talking about a deep wage cut on salaries over $10,000 or $15,000 (it hasn't been decided yet) *and* a wage freeze. The July 1 layoffs of 19,000 workers were supposed to preserve the remaining jobs; now Big MAC claims the city will collapse unless another 27,000 are axed, the subway fare is raised to 45 or 50 cents, massive cuts are made in the city university system and welfare payments are reduced.

Despite several militant demonstrations by hospital workers last week, as well as continuing job actions and picketing by sanitationmen, union policy is still made behind closed doors at City Hall. So far the only "concession" obtained in these sessions was the arbitration panel's decision to reinstate shorter summer hours (which are expected to be given up at the bargaining table imminently). Meanwhile Victor Gotbaum, head of AFSCME District 37 and spokesman for the Municipal Labor Council, has announced that use of the strike weapon is a sign of weakness!

> "I once read an interview with Mao or Chou and he said 'before we had the bomb we had to talk like we did, but now that we have it, we don't need to talk that way.' When a union has power it doesn't have to be militant. In my opinion, it's the weakest locals, the librarians, the welfare case workers who talk about striking."
> —*New York Times*, 21 July

Actually, Gotbaum et al. are "bargaining" not from strength but from fear. On one side they are faced with the banks, corporations, federal, state and local governments who have been thirsting for a confrontation for months. On the other side are the union ranks, increasingly fed up with union inaction and capitulation to the worst anti-labor offensive in decades. So far the only major skirmish, a two-day garbage strike, actually heartened city workers, although the labor bureaucrats quickly squelched it.

Meanwhile the hypocrisy of the bankers is positively breathtaking. According to Big MAC, *this* crisis (as opposed to the "budget crisis" a few weeks ago, or the "cash-flow crunch" before that) stems from the hesitancy of folks around the country to buy New York bonds because they think the Big Apple is soft on labor and welfare chiselers. "No one knows who buys these bonds," they say, conjuring up images of small investors in Toledo, Ohio, who are outraged at the thought of "free college." But just turn the page and you will find that 80 percent of MAC bonds have been bought by the banking conglomerates (Morgan Guarantee Trust, Chase Manhattan, First National City, Chemical), insurance companies and other financial institutions.

This is not surprising, considering that the Rockefeller and Morgan banks created the fiscal crisis in the first place by refusing to routinely rewrite city loans in June, then got the legislature to set up the "assistance" corporation on whose board they are represented, then underwrote the new loans at an astronomical 9.5 percent interest rate. (Last year these bloodsuckers raked in a cool $1.6 *billion* on debt service from NYC bonds alone.) Moreover, to eliminate any possible risk Big MAC now directly controls more than $1 billion annually in revenues from city taxes, recalling the early years of this century when the First National City Bank literally took over the customs house of the Dominican Republic.

As the latest of innumerable "final deadlines" approaches, both the "moderate" Gotbaum and slightly more "militant"-talking union leaders such as the UFT's Albert Shanker are calling on the city to default on debt payments. In the absence of a powerful working-class movement prepared to undertake a *citywide general strike against the layoffs, wage freezes and cuts*, defaulting simply means placing the city in receivership to far bigger MAC's, namely the courts which are no less instruments of the capitalists than the cabal of plutocrats and corporation moguls that are currently programming Beame's Charlie McCarthy act.

The inability of the labor brass to do anything but passively retreat under each blow is the result of their commitment to stay within the limits of the capitalist system. To defend the interests of New York city workers and the entire working and poor population it is necessary to directly challenge bourgeois property rights. Rather than "sharing the burden," the perennial whine from impotent lapdogs of Gotbaum's ilk, it is necessary to make the exploiters pay for the crisis of the capitalist boom-bust system. Labor militants must demand that the *debt be cancelled* and the *banks be expropriated without compensation*.

Moreover, as long as the unions are tied to the bourgeois parties, simple bread-and-butter militancy cannot answer the across-the-board political attack being waged by the capitalists. It is necessary to awaken the class consciousness of the American workers and mobilize this through a struggle to break with the Democrats and build a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.■

— *FORUM* —

MAOIST FOREIGN POLICY—
United Front with World Imperialism

Speaker: Martha Phillips

Date: Saturday, 2 August at 8 p.m.

Place: Unitas House, 2700 Brancroft Way, Berkeley

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

74

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 24 issues

☐ Enclosed is $1 for 6 introductory issues

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Italian Elections: A Step Toward the Popular Front

Informations Ouvrières

Demonstration against fascists in Milan in April.

On the night of June 16 thousands of supporters of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) gathered in front of its Rome headquarters to celebrate their party's victory in nationwide regional elections. During two days of voting the PCI tallied over 10 million votes, one third of the total. This was a scant 2 percent behind the Christian Democrats (DC) who have headed Italian governments continuously since 1947. Down the street at Christian Democratic headquarters the doors were locked and lights out.

The "administrative" elections in June were for regional assemblies, provincial and municipal councils. As a result of the general leftward shift—the PCI increased its share of the popular vote by 5.1 percent over the legislative elections of 1972, while the DC slipped by 3.1 percent—the combined Communist and Socialist total rose to 45.4 percent, the first time since the late 1940's that it has exceeded 40 percent. This electoral advance resulted in the extension of the "Red Belt" of PCI-PSI local coalition governments from three of Italy's 20 regions (Tuscany, Umbria and Emilia-Romagna) to include Liguria and possibly the Piedmont.

In local voting a PCI mayor was installed by the city council of Turin, which at 1.2 million inhabitants is now the largest city in West Europe with a Stalinist mayor. Additionally, the PCI, PSI and Proletarian Unity Party (PDUP) together hold half the seats in the Milan city council; there is a Communist-Socialist majority in Venice; and in numerous other central and north Italian cities (Bologna, Ferrara, Florence, Modena, Perugia and Pisa) no municipal government is possible which excludes the PCI. Altogether, the elections brought the number of cities and towns in which a PCI-PSI coalition is necessary for a majority to a total of 2,495 (*L'Espresso*, 20 July).

Yet however much the Stalinists boast of "clean hands" (their main slogan this year), the elections were not centered on a choice between efficient "sewer socialism" and bumbling corruption. The regions and municipalities have limited powers, and more than a month after the vote most "giunte" (local coalitions) are yet to be formed. The significance of the elections is rather as an indicator of the national balance of political forces. In particular, they signalled the end of more than a quarter century of unchallenged Chirstian Democratic dominance, spotlighting the possibility of a coalition government including both of the traditional mass reformist workers parties (PCI and PSI) and the DC.

The Stalinists' unexpectedly large vote gains were the subject of anxious editorials in the bourgeois press, which since the overthrow of rightist dictatorships in Greece and Portugal last year has worried greatly about a "Communist threat" in the "southern tier of Europe." The PCI, of course, pledges to maintain capitalism and keep Italy in NATO. Nonetheless, imperialist circles fear that a popular-front regime including the Communist Party would weaken the anti-Soviet military alliance and threaten its most important south European bases (at Naples, Gaeta and La Spezia).

Italy, with a combative working class and the largest Stalinist party in the advanced capitalist countries, could be the linchpin to proletarian revolution in southern Europe. But the Stalinists are not about to pull off a "Prague coup" setting up an East European-style deformed workers state. On the contrary, PCI leaders are concerned above all to stem the tide of working-class militancy and restrain it with the strait jacket of class-collaborationist coalitionism.

Christian Democracy Disintegrating

The June elections both reflect and contribute to the disintegration of the Christian Democracy, traditional party of the Italian bourgeoisie following World War II and close ally of the powerful Catholic Church hierarchy. Its electoral losses and increasing lack of confidence, combined with internecine factional warfare, can dramatically change the political situation. Despite the "chaos" of 37 governments in the postwar period, the Christian Democracy has in fact continuously stood at the head of the Italian state apparatus, with social-democratic, republican and liberal barnacle parties serving only to provide a necessary parliamentary majority for the same anti-communist, clerical, Mafia-infested and boundlessly corrupt DC regime.

In recent years the ability of Christian Democratic-led governments to rule has been placed in question. For the capitalists, ruling Italy is not merely a cumbersome bureaucracy selling its ubiquitous stamps but a matter of containing the volatile working class suffering under a burden of 20 percent annual inflation and 1.5 million (8 percent) unemployment. Although the economy has partially recovered from last year's mammoth balance of payments crisis, no one imagines that the erstwhile terminally "sick man of Europe" has been miraculously cured.

During the "hot autumn" of 1969 a massive wave of strikes and factory occupations sharply raised the question of state power in Italy. Only the absence of revolutionary leadership and the reformist PCI's stranglehold on key sections of the organized workers movement kept the struggle within the bounds of capitalism. Today, in the context of recent student and worker struggles, it is once again the treacherous role of the Stalinists—in the form of support for or direct participation in a popular-front coalition—that is the main guarantor of bourgeois rule.

The capitalist class is not always of one mind in political questions. There are powerful opponents of the popular front in the Italian bourgeoisie. Thus Fiat boss Giovanni Agnelli said last year that a coalition with the PCI would lead to a "rapid withdrawal of our country from the Western world" (*New York Times*, 9 September 1974). Chief among the bitter-end opponents of any form of cooperation with the Communist Party is former premier Amintore Fanfani, long-time leader of the Christian Democratic Party.

But, as the PCI has been at pains to point out, Fanfani is not the DC. In Venice late in 1974 Christian Democratic mayor Giuseppe Longo agreed to consult PCI members of the city council in return for support of municipal government efforts to restore the decaying "pearl of the Adriatic." After much talk in the press of a "Venice model," national DC leaders vetoed the "corridor coalition" approach of de facto cooperation with the PCI.

The depth of factional hostility and internal disintegration in the Christian Democracy was further revealed by an incident in March when Fanfani was waylaid by youthful DCers seeking a more flexible policy on coalition with the Communist Party. Carloads of police had to be rushed to DC headquarters in order to rescue the party leader from his own members! This unrest turned into open rebellion following the election debacle and culminated in the ouster of Fanfani July 23 from his leadership position by a large majority of the party's national council.

PCI: Compromising with History

The PCI attributes its election landslide to the youth vote, neutralizing the Catholic Church, winning over the middle class, and most of all to popular sentiment for its strategy of the "historic compromise." No doubt the Communist Party did benefit from the extension of the franchise to youthful voters between 18 and 21 years of age, although many were unable to find their way through the bureaucratic labyrinth in order to register by election day. Another big boost came from exposures of Christian Democratic corruption (in February Italy's biggest-ever graft trial found 103 defendants guilty).

Vezio Sabatini

Amintore Fanfani, recently deposed leader of Italian Christian Democratic Party.

The shift of the Church hierarchy a few degrees away from its usual total backing of DC candidates was widely noted. Commenting on the Italian elections, the U.S. Communist Party gave great importance to "the Vatican decision not to advise voters this time to vote for the Christian Democrats but rather to vote the way their consciences told them" (*Daily World*, 18 June). What the Stalinists failed to report was the price of St. Peter's ostensible neutrality: PCI capitulation on the key secular-democratic issues of abortion and divorce.

But for the bureaucrats at PCI headquarters in the Via delle Botteghe Oscure, the crowning success of the election was neither the youth vote, the anti-corruption vote, the "neutralization" of the Church or even the opposition vote. Speaking to the election night rally, party leader Enrico Berlinguer concluded that "the election outcome was a clear national defeat for those who want to keep the Communists from having a voice in the government" (*New York Times*, 17 June). A "voice in the government" is one of the many translations of the "historic compromise," the constant theme of PCI propaganda during the last year and a half. What is proposed is long-term collaboration between the Communist Party and the Christian Democracy in a parliamentary government coalition.

Incredibly, the slogan of a historic compromise was the PCI's summing up of the lessons of the Chilean debacle. Allende went too far, the Unidad Popular was too narrow, the Christian Democrats should have been drawn in at all costs, they reason. But the exact opposite is true! It was by tying the workers to a coalition with bourgeois parties on a program for the "reform" (i.e., continuation) of capitalism that Allende prepared the way for the bloody coup of September 1973. Berlinguer aims to repeat this tragic experience in Italy.

The proposed popular front offers little, even from the opportunist angle. Unlike the government of "national union" put together at Yalta (in which the PCI and DC governed from 1944 to 1947), there can be no pretense today of leading the country from fascism to democracy. The "historic compromise" is a pipe dream of harmonious stability, clean government and never-ending reform. Everyone from Berlinguer to *Time* magazine points to PCI-run Bologna as the harbinger of things to come.

Underlining the theme of moderation, the new Communist mayor of Turin, Diego Novelli, declares, "we're not out to Bolshevize Turin" (*Time*, 28 July). But it is a utopian illusion to imagine that the conditions of Bologna, a regional market town with well-maintained medieval architecture and free mass transit during rush hours, can be duplicated in the sprawling slums surrounding the factories of "Fiat city." Even more dangerous is the notion that such a program for gradualist reforms is the road to socialism. As Chile proved once again, it is the road to bitter defeat for the workers.

Livio Maitan: Compromising with the Compromisers

For Livio Maitan, the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat's verbose adviser to the Italian "far left," the PCI's "historic compromise" looks pretty good. Rather

continued on page 10

Organizing the Unemployed in the Great Depression

Library of Congress

By Len Meyers and Chris Knox

Part 2/Mobilizing Union Power

In the fight to organize the great mass of jobless during the 1930's depression, two key conceptions guided the work of the Trotskyists: the united front and unity of the employed and unemployed. During the early years of the decade the united front was the focus of struggle, as a Stalinized Communist Party refused to cooperate with other left-wing forces (whom it termed "social-fascists") and left the AFL unions in pursuit of its sectarian "Third Period" policies. Then, from 1934 onwards a wave of militant strikes and the organization of mass industrial unions sharply posed the possibility of uniting the unemployed with the employed in a powerful working-class assault on capitalism. However, this opportunity was sacrificed by the Stalinists in the name of their new Messiah: the popular front.

As predicted by Trotsky, U.S. capitalism did not continue to fall steadily deeper into an apocalyptic "final crisis," instead experiencing a limited upturn in 1933 and a general rise in production during 1935-37. Combined with passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act (NRA), the upswing emboldened the masses and led to a flood of unorganized workers into the conservative AFL. But the recovery was hollow and short-lived. With the introduction of labor-saving machinery in industry, unemployment never dropped below 8 million during the "boom" and was probably closer to 11 or 12 million.

Hardly a "return to prosperity" for the masses, the Roosevelt New Deal was a series of conservative, even reactionary, reforms designed to cushion economic crisis and head off labor militancy. Under the wage and price codes of the NRA strikes were broken, incomes fixed and inflation allowed to run rampant. Relief was degrading and difficult to obtain. In addition, local relief budgets were accompanied by sales taxes and other measures designed to throw the burden of the crisis onto the backs of workers and the poor. In some regions there were starvation conditions, as in the South where, according to one CP estimate, relief officials expected a family to survive on as little as $7.09 a month (*Communist*, June 1935).

Accepted at the depth of the crisis as a necessary evil, the NRA was overturned by the Supreme Court in 1935 because its regulatory codes were considered a drag on free enterprise. In the same year, Roosevelt announced the end of all federal aid to relief, although official estimates showed only half the eligible unemployed were on the dole in the first place. Responsibility for maintaining the jobless was dumped back on the virtually bankrupt states and localities (as under Hoover), producing a new round of demonstrations in state capitals protesting the relief cuts.

"Scab or Starve!"

Roosevelt's next move was the establishment of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), which was supposed to compensate for the ending of federal aid by putting the unemployed to work. The WPA never took in more than one quarter of the jobless and consisted largely of useless "make-work" projects. Most important, it was a concerted attack on the living standards of the unemployed (its rates often being below those of local relief) and on union wage scales. WPA projects paid as low as $19 a month in the South and $40 in the North. One federal administrator, challenged by objections to the WPA wage rates, shot back: "Scab or starve!"

The shift in New Deal policies in 1935 was a deliberate attack on the working class, aimed at crippling the mushrooming unemployed organizations and undermining union organization. However, employed and unemployed fought back in massive protests that wrenched important concessions from Roosevelt. Many building trades locals of the AFL struck WPA projects to defend the wage scales of their unemployed members. "Flying squads" were used in New Jersey to shut down WPA sites, and 50,000 WPA jobs went begging in New York City due to an organized boycott. "Progressive" Mayor LaGuardia responded: "Take WPA jobs or go to jail" (*Workers Alliance*, 1 September 1935). Mass marches were called around the country by the Socialist Party-led Workers Alliance demanding $30 minimum for a 30-hour week, and by mid-1936 the administration was forced to grant, on paper at least, the possibility of increased wages according to local standards and the right of union organization on WPA projects.

The fate of the unemployed movement was directly affected by changes in global politics. With the victory of Hitler in 1933, Stalin took fright and ordered foreign Communist Parties to execute an about-face, forming "anti-fascist" alliances with "democratic" capitalist politicians in order to defend the Soviet Union. In the U.S., where the Stalinists and social democrats never came close to the strength they had in Europe, the CP had to be content with one-sidedly supporting Roosevelt, who hardly even bothered to throw it a few crumbs. By 1936 the Communist Party was giving tacit electoral support to the Democrats and leadership of militant unemployed actions fell increasingly to the left wing of the Socialist Party (SP) and the Trotskyists.

Trotskyists Unite Employed and Unemployed

Following fusion with the Musteites and the formation of the Workers Party (WP) at the end of 1934, the Trotskyists led the National Unemployed League which was particularly strong in the coal-mining regions of the Northeast: 130,000 in Ohio, 25,000 in Pennsylvania and a strong base in West Virginia. The Unemployed Leagues organized relief office take-overs to protest cuts, fought evictions with militant tactics and organized workers on federal projects. A strike of government construction sites in Ohio during 1935 saw UL and WP members lead flying squads: "The pickets defied police interference and removed shovels from the hands of reluctant scabs," wrote the *New Militant* (20 April 1935).

The Trotskyists constantly fought for militant unity of the employed and unemployed. When Pennsylvania cut its relief program, a united-front Joint Action Committee composed of the WP-led Pennsylvania Unemployed League, the SP-led Pennsylvania Security League and the AFL Central Trades and Labor Council organized a strike by 7,000 WPA workers throughout the state. The CP's Unemployed Council, which had initiated the Committee, dropped out after the latter adopted the Trotskyists' program for direct action and rejected a Stalinist plan to lobby the state legislature. The strike was victorious and Pennsylvania became the first state forced to grant a WPA wage increase and recognize a bargaining-agent (the AFL Council) on the projects (*New Militant*, 12 October 1935).

In Minneapolis the Trotskyists set an example of working-class unity which even the Stalinists found impossible to ignore. Even before the three strikes in 1934 which established the General Drivers Local 574, under Trotskyist leadership, and transformed Minneapolis into a union town, the militant Teamsters sought to organize the unemployed. During the strikes this paid off as many of the 4,000 unemployed workers of the Minneapolis Central Council of Workers (MCCW) militantly defended the truck drivers' picket lines.

The lull in the class struggle following the 1934 strikes brought a sharp downturn in MCCW membership, the kind of fluctuations which plagued all unemployed organizations. Nevertheless, the Trotskyists went ahead with aggressive organizing of the jobless. AFL unions initially refused to cooperate, so Local 574 set up a "Federal Workers Section" (FWS), subordinate to the Drivers Local, but with an autonomous structure and open to all the unemployed in the city. With the power of the solidly unionized truck drivers behind them, the FWS launched a series of struggles which resulted in Minneapolis having one of the highest city relief budgets in the country. FWS organized workers on WPA, and when the project wage of $60.50 per month was found to be less than the dole, it forced the city to pay supplemental wages to bring up the WPA scale to the

Library of Congress

Federal work project during Roosevelt's "New Deal."

Workers battle police during 1934 Trotskyist-led Minneapolis Teamsters' strike. Many of the 4,000 unemployed workers organized in the MCCW militantly defended strikers' picket lines.

higher level.

As many as 10,000 workers and unemployed were organized by the FWS in this period, through strikes and demonstrations over relief budgets, with the Communist Party for the most part being forced to tail along. The Section's membership expanded with each victory. The FWS also mobilized to support strikes of other unions, so that by 1936 opposition to the Trotskyist-led organizations had largely evaporated in AFL local unions. (Meanwhile the Drivers Local was reinstated into the Teamsters as Local 544.) These new allies proved useful in defeating a city attempt to drive "chiselers" off relief rolls, and the FWS became probably the most stable and well-organized unemployed organization of the decade.

The Workers Alliance of America

Despite the history of sectarian division and continued sabotage by the die-hard reactionary AFL leadership, a united national unemployed organization was finally founded in April 1936, under the name of "Workers Alliance of America." The Communist Party was now interested in reconciliation with the Socialist Party; and the SP, reflecting the radicalizing influence of the 1934 strike wave, was impelled to the left. The Trotskyists had fought from the beginning for a united unemployed organization embracing all political tendencies, and despite criticisms of the policies of the Stalinists and social democrats, Max Shachtman wrote in the *New Militant* (18 April 1936) that, "There can be no two opinions about the progressive nature of the merger."

The nearly 700 delegates meeting in Washington, D.C., represented all the major unemployed organizations in the country, including many fresh from WPA picket lines and relief battles. Even the AFL couldn't afford to overlook the unity convention and William Green sent greetings and an official representative. The National Unemployed Leagues, most of which had already merged into the WAA prior to the conference, were represented by 100 delegates. Militant struggles continued following the convention, as Roosevelt had just announced a mammoth cut of 700,000 from WPA projects. The occupation of New Jersey's legislature in Trenton captured nation-wide headlines for days and WPA strikes soon gave the WAA bargaining status on New York, New Jersey and Detroit projects.

However, the newly united organization soon came under Stalinist domination and degenerated into a bureaucratic machine to promote the New Deal. Blocking with right-wing Socialists, the CP managed to freeze out left-wingers and Trotskyists. The Unemployed Leagues came away with only three seats out of 25 on the national executive board. A left-SP resolution "not to support the capitalist government of the U.S. in any war it may undertake, regardless of who its allies might be" was defeated. And when a representative of Roosevelt's relief administration addressed the conference, informing the delegates that he "could do nothing for their hungry stomachs," he was politely applauded (*New Militant*, 2 May 1936)!

A year later, at the 1937 convention of the WAA, Stalinist control became total. Full support was voted for the CP's popular-front strategy ("a united front of progress to oppose a united front of reaction"), and the convention even went so far as to remove a clause calling for the "abolition of the profit system" from its founding declaration. Meanwhile uncritical support was given to Labor's Non-Partisan League, the American Labor Party in New York, and other "independent" political formations which helped corral working-class votes for Roosevelt at the polls.

By 1939, CP unemployed organizer and national WAA leader Herbert Benjamin was hailing the estimate that "from 80 to 90 percent of the unemployed favor the New Deal and stand behind President Roosevelt." The Roosevelt "hunger program" (*Communist*, June 1935) was miraculously transformed into "the liberal social measures that have been fostered under the New Deal in the effort to afford some relief to the victims of the capitalist crisis" (*Communist*, August 1939).

From "New Deal" to "War Deal"

Communist Party support to Roosevelt in 1936-39 included uncritical support of U.S. war preparations. As it became increasingly clear to all that only a new inter-imperialist slaughter to redivide world markets could "solve" the international capitalist crisis, the "New Deal" rapidly gave way to the "War Deal." Military budgets were drastically increased each year and, despite rising unemployment (approaching 15 million during the precipitous "Roosevelt Depression" in 1937), the administration repeatedly attempted to cut back on "New Deal" measures such as WPA. Thus in the last years of the 1930's, unemployed struggles were directly connected to the war question and the popular front.

Militant

Picketing in Minneapolis after bloody police riot during 1939 WPA strike.

The Communist Party's deeply class-collaborationist policies turned the Workers Alliance into an instrument for subordinating the struggles of the unemployed to the interests of the capitalist state. Virtually ignoring those unemployed not on federal projects, the WAA degenerated into a pressure group "defending" the WPA against "reactionary attacks on the New Deal." It also served to isolate the unemployed from employed workers in the new CIO unions in order to hold back the stormy development of the class struggle. This was done with the flimsiest of excuses. The national leadership's report to the 1937 WAA convention declared:

> "Preoccupied as they are in other fields, the leaders of the CIO have had no opportunity to give thought to the best means of including our organization within its folds."
>
> —*Communist*, August 1937

The miserable record of the Stalinized Workers Alliance was summed up by the Trotskyists as "company unionism," in which WAA leaders spent their time "fawning before government officials" (*Socialist Appeal*, 24 December 1938). But it was not necessary to rely on Trotskyists for this testimony. Following the Hitler-Stalin pact, when the CP temporarily zigzagged away from the bloc with Roosevelt and called for opposition to imperialist war, none other than Benjamin himself came to the same conclusions.

Admitting that the WAA "has during recent years been without a fundamental program of its own," and that it had drastically lost membership because of the "impression" that it was exclusively a union for the rapidly dwindling number of WPA workers, Benjamin states:

> "The unemployed movement found itself part of this ["progressive people's"] coalition together with the entire progressive labor movement and the Roosevelt Administration. Its relationship to the Administration changed from one of outspoken opposition to that of a critical ally. . . ."
>
> "Clumsy application and distorted interpretation of the policy of cooperation in making the Works Program creditable and successful even led in some instances to the impression that the movement was sort of a 'company union' for the Administration. In any case these circumstances led to an identification of the unemployed movement with the Administration program. The unemployed organization was therefore considered by some unemployed to be partly responsible for the deficiencies of this program."
>
> —*Communist*, March 1940

While studiously avoiding taking responsibility for this wretched state of affairs, and defending the bloc with Roosevelt as necessary for the period, the head of CP unemployed work here confirmed the Trotskyists' criticisms and described the pitiful results of class collaborationism.

For a Class-Struggle Program

Not long after the Workers Alliance convention of 1936, the Workers Party was dissolved as the Trotskyists entered the Socialist Party in order to reach a new wave of workers repelled by Stalinism who had been attracted by the leftist posturing of the SP. The socialists had shorn themselves of the right-wing "Old Guard," and produced such anomalies as Norman Thomas (whom Trotsky labelled a socialist due to a misunderstanding) attacking the CP's Earl Browder from the left in a debate before a mass audience in Madison Square Garden.

During the year and a half of entry work, the Trotskyists more than doubled their forces, ripping away the left wing of the SP and thereby removing an important stumbling block for the development

continued on page 9

Waltzing with Brezhnev

CLP Embraces Détente

The Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union has recently issued yet one more classless appeal to the freedom-loving bourgeoisies of "all Nations, Parliaments and Governments" to work for "peace." This appeal was given prominent coverage in one particular English-language publication, which reprinted it in full on its front page under the headline "Support Soviet Peace Proposal" and editorially expressed support for "this important peace appeal from the first land of socialism."

Was this merely a mouthpiece for the class-collaborationist Russian bureaucracy, like *Moscow News* or the *Daily World*? No, the publication is the *People's Tribune* (1 July 1975), organ of the "Marxist-Leninist" Communist Labor Party (CLP), whose founders were the first to split from the arch-reformist, pro-Moscow U.S. Communist Party (CP) during the 1950's in solidarity with the Chinese and Albanian "anti-revisionist" Stalinists. (For the history of the CLP see "What is the Communist Labor Party?," *WV* No. 56, 8 November 1974.) Furthermore, the CLP is now raising as its central agitational "mass line" slogan "Jobs With Peace," which politically bears an uncanny similarity to the CP's "Détente Means Jobs," and recently the CLP has obsequiously attempted to lure the CP into united-front actions (*People's Tribune*, 1 July).

Unlike the Revolutionary Union and October League, whose followers were recruited from various petty-bourgeois radical protest movements to a seemingly militant, ascetic and egalitarian "Third World" Maoism, Nelson Peery and other CLP leaders were old veterans of the CP. Their support for the Chinese Stalinists was based on Mao and Co.'s defense of Stalin against Khrushchev's criticisms. Nelson Peery's parting with CP-style revisionism by no means constituted a break with the essentials of the CP's reformist program. All it involved was shifting primary allegiance from the Russian bureaucracy to its Chinese twin and rival.

The Sino-Soviet split was precipitated not by ideological differences but by the conflicting nationalist self-interests of the respective Russian and Chinese bureaucracies, each committed to "building socialism" in one—its own— country. CLP politics have always turned on the anti-revolutionary perspective of "socialism in one country," and now that axis has gyrated from "people's war" back to "détente."

The Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy, which in competition with the USSR treacherously pursues its own "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism, "ideologically" seeks to justify ever more criminal anti-Soviet and pro-imperialist diplomatic manuevers by the ludicrous charge that "The Soviet Union today is under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type, a dictatorship of the Hitler type" (*People's Daily* [Peking], 9 May 1975). While never willing to equate the USSR with Nazi Germany, the Communist League (CL, predecessor of the CLP) had no compunction in the past about labelling the bureaucratically degenerated Russian workers state "capitalist." Not only Nixon but also Brezhnev were denounced by the CL as "representatives of international finance capital... trying to redivide the world '*peacefully*'" (*People's Tribune*, July 1972). The sellout American CP, then labelled the "lapdogs of counterrevolution," was flayed (quite appropriately) for "channeling the cries of indignation against the war expressed by the working class into abstract cries of peace" (*People's Tribune*, April 1973).

Following Mao, the CL located the Soviet Union's fall from grace in Khrushchev's speech criticizing Stalin in 1956 and his subsequent decree that the USSR had become a "state of the whole people." The class-collaborationist foreign policy and betrayals of the Khrushchev and Brezhnev gangs were attributed to this fatal error, despite the incontrovertible fact that "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism was a policy initiated by Stalin, the great gravedigger of socialist revolutions and executioner of communists.

In point of fact, on the basis of Stalin's pronouncement that socialism had been inaugurated in the USSR in 1936 (in the so-called Stalin Constitution, actually written by the "spies and traitors" Bukharin and Radek), Khrushchev could deduce with unassailable Stalinist logic that the USSR was a "state of the whole people." For Marxists, socialism—a society which has transcended class-based divisions and antagonisms through unleashing the productive forces fettered by private ownership and national boundaries—cannot be achieved in isolation, but only through the extension of the revolution by the proletariat taking power in the advanced countries. The "theory of socialism in one country" leads directly to the counterrevolutionary strategy of détente, since the only threat to the consolidation of "socialism" would be war and imperialist intervention, as Bukharin and Stalin explained in 1928.

A year ago the CL shifted its position on the character of the USSR, criticizing the equation of the U.S. and USSR as "superpowers." Never explicitly attacking the Chinese Stalinists or its own previous line, the CL pointed out with opportunist understatement that such bourgeois terminology "tends to shield the class character of the most ruthless imperialism [i.e., U.S. imperialism] the world has ever known" (*People's Tribune*, May 1974). The CLP has never clearly analyzed what *is* the class character of the USSR. While attacking mainstream Maoists for the "simplistic" position that "state capitalism" is fully triumphant in the Soviet Union, the CLP maintained that "bourgeois imperialist elements" had wielded state power since 1969:

> "'Is there capitalism in the USSR?' Yes, there, is and plenty of it. *The Soviet State is an imperialist state.* The imperialists hold state power and are rapidly and aggressively attacking the socialist relations of production."
>
> —*People's Tribune*, June 1974

For Marxists the state is precisely a coercive organ for the maintenance of the relations of production uniquely corresponding to the rule of a particular class. So long as the proletarian property forms that still constitute the economic foundations of the Sino-Soviet states are not liquidated by violent bourgeois counterrevolution, these states in their class character remain workers states, albeit qualitatively deformed by bureaucratic rule.

As has become increasingly obvious, U.S. imperialism looks on the USSR not as a partner in imperialist aggression but as its most formidable enemy. With the victory of the pro-Moscow DRV/NLF in South Vietnam and the seeming Stalinist advances in Portugal and Italy, it should not be surprising that it was against the USSR, not China, that U.S. "Defense" Secretary Schlesinger directed his threats of a nuclear first strike. While the CLP defended the Chinese betrayals in Ceylon, Bangladesh and the Sudan, these inveterate Stalinists apparently are now feeling some qualms about Mao's call for more capitalist nuclear missiles aimed at the USSR.

According to the CLP the USSR now again stands with China, together forming "two historic blocks to the continued expansion of USNA [United States of North America] imperialism" (*People's Tribune*, 15 April 1975). Clearly lining up with the Kremlin, the CLP points to the "growing and fundamental danger of war with the Soviet Union," not because of the Maoists' "simple 'twin imperialisms' foolishness" that the U.S. and USSR are rival imperialisms in "collision and collusion," but because of the "capitalists' absolute need to roll communism back from the gates of France and Italy." The material basis of revisionism—"the fear of the invincibility of imperialist military power"—has supposedly been eliminated by the victories in Indochina.

But in their reactionary search for accommodation with and appeasement of imperialism, the Russian Stalinist bureaucracy is today prepared to subvert revolution in Italy and Portugal, just as Stalin strangled the Spanish revolution and betrayed partisan insurgents from France to Greece following World War II. The treacherous Stalinist bureaucracies that rule over the laboring masses in the degenerated and deformed workers states must be ousted by a workers political revolution. At the same time, Trotskyists unswervingly struggle for unconditional defense of the revolutionary gains of the working class embodied in these states against counterrevolutionary imperialist assault.

The CLP is edging closer to the line of the CP on domestic issues as well. All the recent rhetoric and militant posturing by the CLP to "Stop the Klan" are window-dressing for its more "serious" tactic of petitioning city councils and state legislatures to do the job. Like the CP, the CLP disorients the working class in the struggle against fascism by fostering illusions in the "democratic" bourgeoisie: *People's Tribune* (1 July 1975) advises "every worker [to] write, demonstrate and demand that Congress defeat" Senate Bill 1 (the so-called Criminal Justice Reform Bill). Like the CP, the CLP uncritically endorses the impotent "strategy" of the bourgeois NAACP to implement busing. And CLP-supported unemployment committees mobilize the jobless and destitute not to fight for full employment at the direct expense of the bosses but merely to pressure the bourgeois government to carry out various inadequate public works programs.

Stalinism, as Trotsky stressed, is the syphilis of the workers movement. By their fundamental strategy of collaborating with the irreconcilable class enemy, the Stalinists monstrously imperil the revolutionary gains of the international proletariat. Time and time again they have betrayed the revolutionary workers and given the bourgeoisie a new lease on life. Those like the CLP who base their policies on the dubious prestige of Stalinism in power are condemned to zigzag between the competing Stalinist bureaucracies as each pursues its own variant of "peaceful coexistence." The only constant, beneath the more or less "militant" rhetoric, is class collaboration.

It is not the "democratic" bourgeoisie and its "Parliaments and Governments" that can "ensure lasting and permanent peace," but red revolution led by a party which, in the words of Lenin, "tells the people that, in order to obtain a democratic and just peace, the bourgeois governments of all the belligerent countries must be overthrown"! ■

TELEGRAM

PDC Protest

U.S. Bars Cuban Official

Invited to deliver the keynote address at an annual July 26 New York celebration of the Cuban Revolution, Cuban official Dr. Melba Hernandez has been denied entry into the U.S. by the State Department under the political exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act. Under this Act, aliens who advocate, teach, hold present or past membership in organizations which advocate or teach, opposition to all organized government or the overthrow by force, violence or other unconstitutional means the U.S. government; or who advocate the economic, international and governmental doctrines of world communism; or who write, print, circulate or display literature reflecting these views, etc., etc., are prohibited from entering the U.S. unless a special waiver is granted by both the Secretary of State and the Attorney General. We reprint below the text of a telegram sent by the Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, to protest Dr. Hernandez' exclusion.

July 22, 1975

Attorney General Edward Levi
10 Constitution Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20530

Henry Kissinger
Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

We denounce the U.S. Department of State's decision to deny Cuba's Dr. Melba Hernandez the right to speak in the U.S. We further denounce the exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act as not only viciously anti-communist legislation but also as unconstitutional under the first and fifth amendments. Strike down the exclusion sections of this repressive law! For freedom of entry for representatives and supporters of the international working-class movement!

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

JUST OUT!

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 9, Summer 1975

—Black Women Against Triple Oppression
—German Social Democracy: Work Among Women
—United Secretariat Betrays Women
—Joan Little Must Not Be Sent to Death Row!
—Sheila Rowbotham: Hiding From History
—Anti-Abortion Laws: Weapon of Church and State

Subscription rate: $1 for 4 issues
Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, New York 10001

NOTICE

The next issue of *Workers Vanguard* will be dated 29 August 1975.

Organizing the Unemployed...

(continued from page 7)

of the revolutionary party. Unfortunately, however, the period of entry reduced the effectiveness of Trotskyist work in mass arenas such as the unemployed movement. Even with the necessary limitations imposed by SP discipline and the absorbing factional struggle, Trotskyist leader James Cannon pointed out that "we neglected to do as much mass work as we might have done." In particular opportunities were missed during the early months of the CIO. But the entry also strengthened the Trotskyists' position to undertake mass work in the future by providing them with new openings in the trade unions.

After their expulsion from the SP in late 1937, the Trotskyists founded the Socialist Workers Party in 1938. The new party determined to continue and intensify its work in the Workers Alliance despite the fact that the latter had become Stalinized and in effect "an adjunct of the Roosevelt Administration." Resolving to "press for relief committees in the unions and work for unification of trade union and WAA committees," the SWP made collaboration of the unemployed movement with the new CIO unions a central goal.

The Trotskyists also recognized that the organization of mass industrial unions "has suddenly replaced trade union problems with political problems in the theater of the class struggle...." The new party declared that "organizations without an adequate program will be useless," and called for idle factories to be nationalized and operated under workers control. They also demanded that all war funds "be turned over to the unemployed."

Stalinists Sabotage WPA Strikes

While still in the SP, the Trotskyists initiated the organization of progressive caucuses within the Workers Alliance. These groups immediately came under bureaucratic attack by the Stalinists, who were intent on making the WAA utterly loyal to Roosevelt. Seventeen locals which quit or were expelled from the New York Workers Alliance went on to form the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, with 5,500 members. The Stalinists admonished the WAA ranks to "ignore this corrupt group of Trotskyites," and "remain faithful to the Alliance which is recognized and respected by our President and our Mayor" (quoted in *Socialist Appeal*, 8 October 1938). "Our Mayor" happened to be the same LaGuardia who earlier said "take WPA jobs or go to jail"!

As for the "respectful" president, following 1938 congressional elections he ordered *one and a half million* workers dropped from WPA rolls. The Stalinists continued to whine that the new downturn was all the fault of "Wall Street" trying to make "progressive government" and the New Deal look bad. In the midst of mounting protests against Roosevelt's massive WPA cuts, the CP sponsored a National Right to Work Congress featuring Eleanor Roosevelt, who declared that WPA workers were government employees and therefore could not be permitted to strike against the government. The next month (July 1939), however, there was a nationwide WPA strike against the cuts.

Protest actions against Roosevelt's post-election cuts in late 1938 included some in which the unemployed successfully linked up with the new industrial unions despite Stalinist sabotage. The Roosevelt depression had thrown many newly organized young workers in CIO unions onto the unemployed heap, and they were anxious to continue the struggle for industrial unionism. Wherever possible, the SWP pushed for organization of the unemployed directly within the new unions. In Detroit, the WPA division of the United Auto Workers soon gained a membership of 15,000. In December 1938, this UAW-WPA section threatened a city-wide general WPA strike in order to win reinstatement of fired stewards.

In reaction to mounting protests against WPA cuts in the spring of 1939, the Roosevelt regime shifted gears and attempted to achieve the desired effect by abolishing prevailing wage rates and specifically requiring skilled workers to put in as much as 130 hours in order to earn what they would have previously in 75. Known as the "Woodrum Bill" after its Democrat sponsor, this measure understandably angered building trades workers and sparked a largely spontaneous nationwide WPA strike in July. The strike was strongest in Minneapolis, where the Federal Workers Section continued its class-struggle leadership of the unemployed, and in other centers of organized militancy, but embraced hundreds of thousands across the country. The Workers Alliance played a strikebreaking role, deliberately setting a delayed date for the action *after it had already begun*, and defending Roosevelt's injunction against striking against the government. The strike was defeated because of the absence of a national class-struggle leadership.

The 1939 WPA strike was the closing action in a decade of unemployed struggles in which many of the most basic lessons of the class struggle were sharply drawn. The unemployed had to learn that their destitution was not a personal failing of their own or a temporary condition, as claimed by the ruling class, but a permanent feature of capitalism which could only be eradicated with the overthrow of capitalism itself. Unemployed organizers had to learn that by themselves the unemployed are difficult to organize into a stable formation and are prey to right-wing ideologies and tempted to scab on employed workers. Leadership in the unemployed struggle must ultimately fall to the employed workers, who can utilize the economic power and organization derived from their position in capitalist production.

The commanding role of politics in the class struggle was clearly demonstrated by the disastrous effect produced by the Stalinists with their early sectarian and later popular-frontist betrayals, as well as by the positive effects of leftward motion in the Musteites and the Socialist Party during the middle 1930's, and by the Trotskyists' exemplary leadership of the Minneapolis Teamsters and of the National Unemployed Leagues. Militant class-struggle policies clearly had the greatest impact on organizing the unemployed when they emanated from within the trade unions, as in Minneapolis.

The conditions of the 1970's are by no means identical to those of the Great Depression. The leadership of the industrial unions has long since become an entrenched, ossified bureaucracy, utterly incapable of unleashing militant strike action to fight mass layoffs. Socialist forces, in turn, are far weaker numerically. But as cyclical downturns produce millions of jobless, taxing the meager reforms of the 1930's to the breaking point, revolutionists, through militant and effective organizing of the unemployed, can win supporters for the struggle against capitalism. In doing so, they would do well to study the class-struggle record of the Trotskyists in this earlier period, with their untiring struggle for the united front and employed-unemployed unity combined with thorough-going programmatic clarity. ■

Stalinists Slander NMU Militants...

(continued from page 3)

Electrical Workers sabotaged a UAW strike against General Motors by signing a pact for lower wages with GM's electrical division.

In maritime the Stalinists have a record not to be outdone. In 1936 the CP, in the midst of a government program to control the unions by issuing "fink books" (discharge records which easily fingered militants), said "Take the Fink Book and burn it on the Capitol steps on May Day." This was their answer to militant seamen who tied up ports on both coasts protesting the fink books and the government's moves to control hiring, training and the right to work!

After Hitler attacked the Soviet Union, Stalinist NMU officials dropped their short-lived opposition to imperialist war and went even further, pledging all-out support for World War II, speed-up and full cooperation with the War Shipping Administration. Union leaders enforced discipline and helped eliminate "disloyal elements" by turning in seamen to the draft boards if they stayed ashore too long. While seamen's bonuses were cut and conditions deteriorated, the 10 December 1941 NMU *Pilot* called for "a program that will bar strikes and lockouts and speed up industrial output to meet the tremendous war needs of the U.S. and its allies."

Following the end of the war, the U.S. government began whipping up anti-communist hysteria in preparation for the cold war. Meanwhile, a large section of the membership was dissatisfied with the Stalinists' strikebreaking, collaboration with the government and conscious sacrifice of many gains won through militant struggle when the union was founded. Joe Curran, who had worked with the CP continuously from 1937 to 1946, saw which way the wind was blowing. Suddenly spouting militant rhetoric, he jumped into the leadership of opposition to the CP machine. Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) blocked with Curran in this initial period (in the Rank and File Caucus), while publicly putting forward their differences and fighting for their own program.

Both during the war years and after, the Trotskyists called for complete independence of the unions from government intervention, for the right to strike, no compulsory arbitration, nationalization of the merchant marine under workers control, and for an independent labor party (see Art Preis, "Stalinists on the Waterfront," April 1947). Moreover, when following the defeat of the Stalinists in the 1948 elections Curran began to expel CP supporters from the union, the SWP's *Militant* (6 September 1948) warned: "the most conscious members are apprehensive of any move, even though directed against the hated CP hacks, that smacks of minority persecution." And, in fact, supporters of the SWP were purged along with the Stalinists. Curran had learned well from the CP how to cooperate with the government in ridding the union of dissidents.

Today the CP once again sides with the capitalist government against the union, slandering militants who have for years waged a consistent struggle against the corruption of the NMU officials and who offer a real class-struggle alternative to the Currans and Walls. Instead, the Stalinists purr: "We support the rank and file leaders who have emerged, while retaining our right to criticize them in a brotherly, seamanlike manner." What this amounts to is a blanket endorsement of every rag-tag opportunist who comes down the road such as Morrissey—or even worse.

At the end of the *Daily World* article we find a pious wish that this investigation must be expanded to "involve the membership and see that the rank and file get a chance to express themselves." In contrast to this meaningless gobbledygook, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus leaflet ended with a very specific program:

"For a Special Membership Meeting: To Demand a Full National Office Report to the Membership and Open Floor Discussion!!...

"No Government Intervention in Internal Labor Affairs!

"Oust the Curran/Wall Regime—For a Militant NMU!"

We repeat our past warnings: the bosses' government has no interest in building strong, militant unions. This phony grand jury investigation must be opposed by all class-conscious seamen. Those who, like the reformist Communist Party, support the government attack are objectively aiding the class enemy! ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 923-7314
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW HAVEN ..... (203) 776-5953
c/o SYL, Box 1363,
New Haven, CT 06505

NEW ORLEANS ... (504) 866-8384

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 879-7623
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anna Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Italy Elections...

(continued from page 5)

than consistent, sharp Marxist warnings on the dangers of popular-frontist class collaboration this pseudo-revolutionary *poseur* dishes out favorable remarks about the possibilities of "economic reconversion" to solve the Italian crisis. Of course, this "reformist" project cannot be undertaken with complacency! Maitan writes (*Inprecor*, 28 November 1974):

> "Insofar as the Historic Compromise were not just an ephemeral operation or a continuation of the old routine under a new label, insofar as it should begin to take the radical measures necessary for the reconversion we have described, and insofar as the masses should begin to demand something concrete, tensions would not only rise again very rapidly, they would also become even more acute. From this standpoint, it is not at all arbitrary to recall the situation in Chile during the Allende period."

Indeed, recalling the Allende government in Chile is not at all arbitrary. At that time, also, the majority leadership of the United Secretariat (USec) refused to recognize the existence of a classical popular front, making all sorts of excuses for the Unidad Popular, giving it critical support because the Communist Party was supposedly "hegemonic" in the coalition. It should not be surprising, then, that commenting on the June 15 elections the same Maitan should claim that:

> "...the massive vote for the PCI has a more precise class significance....
> "The emergence of a spectacular change in the relationship of forces between the classes and of the political maturation of very broad proletarian masses will in turn constitute a very strong stimulus in two directions, both of them positive. The working class will acquire even greater confidence in its own strength.... At the same time...all problems will tend to be reflected in general political terms...."
> —*Inprecor*, 3 July 1975

Clearly Maitan is preparing the justifications for giving "critical" support to the historic compromise.

But until this "reformist" project marches onto the stage of history, the USec's Italian section, the Gruppi Comunisti Rivoluzionari (GCR), has another preoccupation: chasing after the variously named "broad/new/mass vanguard" of centrist syndicalists and Maoists. According to GCR leader Edgardo Pellegrini, this "vanguard" includes Lotta Continua (Continuing Struggle) and the PDUP, whom Maitan and his acolytes are "trying to push...toward correct axes of struggle" around the purely economist program of "the sliding scale of wages and the reduction of the workweek" (*Intercontinental Press*, 10 March). About the PDUP and Lotta Continua policy of capitulation to the PCI, not a word. (In the elections, the GCR called for votes to the PCI, PDUP and Lotta Continua.)

Italy's "Red Belt"

No Vote for the PCI!

It is important for revolutionaries to have considered utilizing the Leninist tactic of critical support to PCI candidates in the June elections. Clearly millions of Italian workers continue to harbor illusions in the Communist Party. Could Trotskyists aid the struggle to cut through these illusions by calling on the workers to vote PCI—as a class vote against the capitalist parties—while simultaneously warning against the Stalinists' treachery and demanding that they raise a program corresponding to the revolutionary interests of the proletariat? In the past our tendency has called for critical support to candidates of the British and Australian labor parties.

Certainly, when revolutionaries constitute a small force compared to the mass reformist workers parties, we must desire to reach the latter's supporters in a manner such that organizational barriers do not prevent our work of exposing the ruinous consequences of the Stalinists' and social democrats' policies. While at all times fighting to create an independent Leninist vanguard party, revolutionaries cannot renounce maneuvers, including the tactic of critical support. What we must demand is that these tactics be consistent with our strategy and principles; and the most fundamental principle of Marxist politics is the independence of the working class from the bourgeoisie. It is this which the class-collaborationist popular front *negates*.

No matter how much it might aid the task of approaching the Stalinist and social-democratic workers, to give electoral support to candidates of a popular front (even if only to those of the workers parties which are in the coalition) means to support a *bourgeois* political formation. The PCI and PSI are inherently contradictory formations, what Lenin referred to as "bourgeois workers parties." Because they are part of the workers movement, they may be forced, as Trotsky wrote, to "go further than they themselves wish along the road to a break with the bourgeoisie" (Transitional Program). The tactic of critical support seeks to exploit this contradiction. But a popular front is different: it *cannot* break with the class enemy, which is included as one of its constituent parts.

Toward the workers parties of a popular front we adopt a policy of conditional electoral opposition: no vote for their candidates unless they break from the coalition. Of course, we must distinguish having a popular-front perspective from actual participation in a class-collaborationist bloc: the wish is not identical to the fact. While the PCI has consistently put forward a class-collaborationist policy its real possibilities of achieving a deal with the Christian Democrats have until recently been virtually nil. Thus revolutionaries could use the tactic of critical support to Communist candidates while warning against the PCI's ultra-reformist program.

However, the fact that a mass reformist (or even centrist) party is not formally part of a popular-front coalition by no means makes it obligatory to call for electoral support. It may actually be part of an undeclared "corridor coalition," as was the case with the Canadian New Democratic Party (NDP) which prior to the 1974 parliamentary elections kept a minority Liberal government in power by voting for it at critical points. Since NDP leaders openly proclaimed their intention to repeat this policy, the Spartacist tendency refused to call for votes to the NDP.

Even when there is neither a formal nor informal coalition, we must still ask if a tactic of critical support is not only principled but also wise and effective in breaking workers' illusions in the reformists. In the case of the June 15 Italian elections, the entire thrust of the PCI campaign was to build support for the "historic compromise." There was (and remains) a real possibility of a popular-front coalition's coming about as a result of the political realignment signalled by this vote. Moreover, while the immediate result of the elections has been an extension of Communist-Socialist local coalitions, the PCI Central Committee issued a call for "open coalitions of democratic entente," i.e., for joint governments with the Christian Democrats on the local, provincial and regional level (*Le Monde*, 9 July). PCI leader Armando Cossutta made clear that this offer held good even where the Communists hold an absolute majority, as in Bologna (*L'Espresso*, 20 July).

In sum, the vote for the PCI cannot today be considered a class vote. Lenin pointed out that the purpose of the tactic of critical support was to "support" the reformists "as the rope supports a hanged man." Unfortunately, in the recent Italian elections the PCI's popular-frontist campaign did not provide the rope with which to hang it.

—No to the "Historic Compromise"! No Vote to the PCI!

—For a PCI-PSI-Trade Union Government on a Program of Expropriating the Bourgeoisie!

—For the Crystallization of a Trotskyist Party in Italy—Toward the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.
330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.
650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

SUBSCRIBE TO

Young Spartacus

monthly paper of the
Spartacus Youth League,
youth section of the Spartacist League

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____
74

$2 / 11 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.,
Box 825 Canal St. P.O., New York,
N.Y. 10013

Perón Regime Collapses...

(continued from page 12)

exclusively of his cronies. After the unions and armed forces delivered virtual ultimatums to Mrs. Perón, López Rega finally moved out of the presidential residence and flew off to Madrid.

Bourgeois Populism

The ouster of Mrs. Perón's Rasputin-like adviser was widely considered a victory for Argentine workers. Far more significant, however, was the breach that had been opened between the labor movement and top leaders of the Peronist government. Many bourgeois commentators have wrongly equated Peronism with the British Labour Party. Thus the arch-conservative *Economist* (12 July) writes: "Mr. Wilson take note.... Argentina provides a cautionary tale of what happens when a government rides to power on the coat tails of a country's trade union movement and then loses control of the coat's wearer."

This comparison obscures the crucial difference: Peronism is a *bourgeois* political formation, quite capable of *smashing* the unions, while the Labour Party is part of the workers movement. Under present conditions in Argentina, with the unions tied to a capitalist party, a key task of revolutionaries is precisely to struggle for a break with Peronism and the formation of a workers party based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

The government-union confrontation during the last month provided an unprecedented opportunity to fight to politically break the mass workers' organizations from the bourgeoisie, as part of the struggle to oust the treacherous pro-capitalist Peronist bureaucrats responsible for placing in power the present murderous anti-labor regime. Worried about pressure from the seething ranks, the CGT tops are seeking to appear as militant protectors of the members' standard of living.

The key to Juan Perón's original success in consolidating support among Argentine workers in the 1940's was the creation of a massive union bureaucracy and his provision of some modest wage gains and social welfare measures. In return, he served the ruling class well, zealously smashing all independent labor organizations. But this was based on Argentina's accumulation of foreign exchange during World War II. Already by the early 1950's the funds had run out and the "Benefactor" was smashing strikes by CGT unions. And when he returned in 1973 it was with a program of reaction down the line. His task: to smash the working-class militancy which the army had been unable to contain after the Córdoba uprising of 1969.

Strike Wave

So far, this decisive defeat has not been inflicted on the combative workers. An indication of the mood during the current wave of wildcat strikes was given by the *New York Times* (25 July) describing negotiations between workers and an unnamed general manager of an auto parts plant:

> "Tension was so high he [the manager] had hired armed bodyguards. On the final day of negotiations, he heard gunfire outside the building and jumped up from the bargaining table.
> "'Boss, we just machine-gunned your car,' the union representative told him. 'Now, why don't you sign?'
> "'I signed everything they put in front of me,' the businessman recalled."

Given the sentiments of their ranks it is easy to see why even the most conservative CGT leaders see a need for militant posturing. But it remains mere posturing, and before calling the July 7 general strike union tops made a point of asking workers "to remain calm and avoid alliances with militant leftists" (*New York*

Times, 1 July). A leader of the country's most powerful union, the Metal Workers (UOM), commented: "These workers can still be turned around, but we have to show them that their leaders will fight to protect their income."

During the last two years, in order to support the Peronist regime, these same leaders remained totally passive in wage struggles, often sabotaging strikes and supporting government intervention of the local unions. A classic case was the recent two-month strike by 6,000 steel workers at Villa Constitución, the center of Argentina's heavy metallurgical industry. In November 1974 a slate of dissidents was finally elected in the Villa local after a four-year struggle to end bureaucratic intervention by national UOM leaders. So when Villa Constitución union militants were jailed (200 of them) by Perón in March, UOM tops didn't lift a finger to defend them. Nevertheless, the steel workers responded with a 100 percent effective wildcat strike.

While there are any number of militant local unionists in Argentina, the key task is to break with the bureaucracy not only at the level of wage militancy, but also *politically*, by fighting for working-class independence from the anti-labor Peronist movement. With Peronism in power, this struggle is an elementary part of *any* labor action, for the ranks must be prepared to fight inevitable repression by "their" government. But ostensible socialists in Argentina have by-and-large failed in this respect, restricting their propaganda to the level of simple trade unionism, because "that's where the workers are at."

Fake Trotskyists

In the Villa Constitución strike, one such tendency, the Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), was in an excellent position to influence this militant and widely popular struggle, having two members on the elected strike committee. But although the PST claims to be Trotskyist it failed to provide anything resembling *political* leadership to the strike. An article drawing a balance sheet of the action (which ended in a bitter defeat on May 19, with more than 500 strikers fired and many still in jail), the PST's only criticisms of the strike leaders were that they had not overcome the isolation of Villa from other centers of labor militancy, and that they were not hard enough on the guerrillas (*Intercontinental Press*, 9 June)!

(During the strike an executive of one of the plants was assassinated by leftist guerrillas; also two police stations were attacked and an armored relief column ambushed. This stupid action only served to give credence to the government's "justification" for the arrest of the local union leaders: the supposed existence of a "terrorist plot of vast proportions" in the industrial belt north of Buenos Aires. But while Marxists criticize petty-bourgeois guerrillaists from a revolutionary perspective, the PST did so from a purely pacifist point of view. In spite of the military and police occupation of the zone, and the need for defense of the occupied factories, it did not call for the formation of workers defense guards.)

This "omission" of any calls for a *political break* of the organized workers movement from Peronism in the context of the strike was no accident. The PST and its predecessors have repeatedly capitulated to Peronism in every conceivable manner. During the late 1950's and early 1960's, Nahuel Moreno, the PST's "theoretician," was publishing a magazine "under the direction of General Perón and the Peronist Supreme Command." In 1972 the PST offered to vote for the Peronist FREJULI if 80 percent of its candidates were workers. Last year, these reformist social democrats masquerading as Trotskyists went even further, pledging to support "in all instances" the "institutional process" in a joint declaration with bourgeois parties, and later vowing to "fight for the continuity of this government..." (see "Death Squadrons Murder Argentine Leftists," *WV* No. 57, 22 November 1974).

The PST studiously avoids calling on the unions to break with bourgeois populism and form a workers party. In the past the Moreno group has occasionally talked about a workers party tied to the unions—but only when the Peronists were currently sporting a laborite mask. In a review of its history (Ernesto Gonzalez, "Qué es y qué fué el peronismo," *Revista de América*, May-June 1971), they write of the Partido Laborista (Labor Party) in 1945 as "the best possibility which the workers had to organize themselves independently." And commenting on CGT leader Vandor's Partido Obrero (Workers Party) of 1966, Gonzalez says: "What we did was support his break from the bourgeois leadership with the perspective of repeating the laborite experience." Elsewhere, writing of the PSRN (Socialist Party of the National Revolution), a pro-Peronist party created in 1954 by dissident social democrats and whose Buenos Aires section was controlled by Moreno, they comment that in joining it their aim was the construction of a "legal centrist political organization of the left" which would be "the opposite of a proletarian Bolshevik organization" (Nahuel Moreno, "1954, año clave del peronismo").

For Trotskyists the call for a workers party based on the unions is *not* the call for a centrist or reformist party: we constantly struggle for the revolutionary program which *any* workers party must raise if it is to defend the interests of the proletariat. As to the Partido Laboral, we have pointed out (in "Argentina: The Struggle Against Peronism," *WV* No. 23, 6 July 1973) that it "was simply an electoral vehicle for Perón" which quickly disappeared into the Peronist Party. Finally, Vandor's Partido Obrero was not a break with the bourgeoisie but a vehicle for supporting the Onganía military coup of that year.

While the forms vary, what is constant in the policies of these fake Trotskyists is their capitulation before existing misleaders. It is true, as they assert, that militant wage struggles can drive a wedge between the ranks and the union tops; they can also drive the bureaucrats to the left, toward a conflict with their capitalist masters. The recent strife between the CGT and Mrs. Peron vividly demonstrates this. But most importantly it proves that without a constant struggle for a political break with bourgeois populism, this split can be papered over and the tremendous opportunity to destroy the Peronist movement lost. If today the CGT leaders are able to swear loyalty to Peronist legislators and still remain at the helm of the unions, a good part of the responsibility lies with those like Moreno & Co. who failed to fight this policy of class collaboration in the past. ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

CP militants. In Aveiro, 10,000 Catholics rally to greet the local bishop upon his return from the Vatican and to protest the takeover of a church radio station by leftists.

• **July 15**: About 15,000 demonstrators gather outside Socialist headquarters. SP leader Mario Soares announces: "The country is mobilized from North to South." The crowd demands the ouster of Premier Vasco Gonçalves, considered to be close to the CP.

• **July 17**: In Porto, the country's second largest city, the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD) draws 20,000. Demonstrators chant, "A Free Press, A Free Portugal! Down with Communism!"

• **July 18**: Some 70,000 attend an SP rally in Porto. CP offices are destroyed in Lourinha and Cadaval; at Batalha a Communist meeting is broken up by rightists.

• **July 19**: "Socialists in Lisbon Stage Big Anti-Communist Rally" says a *New York Times* headline; about 60,000 participate. In Aveiro CP members are besieged in their office. Police report attacks on leftists in at least ten towns.

• **July 21**: Several thousand demonstrate in Leiria against alleged plans to install a "people's republic." A CP office is firebombed at Val de Cambra, another sacked at Estarreja; Communist Party militants fight off reactionary attackers in Mortagua and Moimenta da Beira.

• **July 22**: Several hundred demonstrators attack local CP headquarters.

Socialists Front for Reaction

Under current conditions in Portugal there is considerable deception on all sides. Leftist officers of the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA) claim to be defending union democracy while locking up elected Maoist labor leaders. The Popular Monarchist Party calls for socialism ("Swedish-style") and the head of the bourgeois PPD terms himself a "Leninist social democrat"! The Socialist Party has repeatedly chanted "socialist yes, dictatorship no." Upon inquiry, however, it turns out that what the SP favors is "Western-style" democracy, i.e., capitalism. But because of its opposition to sellout CP bureaucrats in the unions, the SP has managed to attract a considerable working-class vote.

But last week it was not the workers who turned out for Socialist demonstrations. In general they were about half the size expected and numerous observers report the presence of elements hostile to any suggestion of socialism. At the July 15 demonstration Soares and other SP leaders were repeatedly hissed, while a speaker from Rio Maior was applauded because of the burning of CP offices there. Another popular theme was criticism of the quality of the reception accorded "compatriots repatriated from Angola." *Le Monde* (17 June) commented on the reactionary atmosphere:

> "By taking the lead of the discontented, the party of Mr. Mario Soares risks becoming, to use the expression of a close collaborator of the prime minister, 'the Trojan Horse of reaction.' Such an evolution could rapidly provoke an upheaval within the party, which for the moment seems solidly behind its leadership. Several Socialist officials recognize the danger but, they say, 'we cannot renounce the struggle for democracy on the pretext that along the way one picks up cumbersome allies from the right'."

As we have repeatedly pointed out, the struggle of the social democrats is not for *workers* democracy, or even for bourgeois democracy, but rather to maintain capitalist rule. The Portuguese SP has participated in governments which issued anti-democratic no-strike and press censorship laws, approved a law enforcing the bureaucratic stranglehold of the Intersindical federation on the labor movement, and demonstrated in favor of an MFA document pledging to maintain capitalism. Soares is quite conscious of who his allies are, and has repeatedly appealed to NATO governments to put pressure on leftist officers in Portugal.

One of the rallying cries of the rightists has been to "defend *República*," the paper whose SP editor was ousted by a Stalinist-led workers' commission (with subsequent approval by the MFA). We have warned that such censorship and violation of freedom of the press is a threat to the workers movement and must be opposed, while denouncing the SP's campaign for "democracy" as in fact aimed at combatting the MFA and Stalinists from the right.

The ultimate logic of the Portuguese SP's policy is support for a reactionary coup and the bloody suppression of the militant workers which that would inevitably bring. This was the program of Scheidemann and Noske, who presided over the strangling of the German Revolution in 1918-1919. These respectable "socialists" naturally clucked their tongues over the brutal murder of Communist Party leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht; yet it was their own police who did the dirty work. No doubt Soares, too, will deplore the "excesses" of burning CP offices and beating Communist Party militants—but this will not change his treacherous course.

No Confidence in the MFA!

The Armed Forces Movement leaders have apparently weathered this crisis, but only for the moment. Already there have been two attempted rightist coups (September 28 and March 11), and in this last case there was no clear defeat of the rightists. Today, Soares and PPD leaders are bargaining with the new MFA triumvirate (Premier Gonçalves, President Costa Gomes, and security forces chief Carvalho) over the formation of a "government of national salvation" sympathetic to the "moderates." Yet tomorrow the SP leaders could prepare the way for a putsch led by Costa Gomes, Alves, Crespo and other elements in the MFA who are united primarily in their opposition to the CP.

That there is a substantial sector of the MFA and the general staff opposed to Gonçalves has been an open secret for months, although the CP and various Maoist and Castroist groups continue to chant "The people are with the MFA." While the CP has confidence in Gonçalves, and influence in the Fifth Regiment of the general staff, Carvalho has the support of more radical elements. Yet despite their socialist rhetoric and verbal tirades against capitalism, all wings of the MFA represent the officer corps of the *bourgeois* army. Their most fundamental commitment is to the maintenance of the armed forces, and thus of capitalist rule.

Both on September 28 and March 11, vigilance squads of the Communist Party played a major role in frustrating the rightist putschists' actions. Clearly any attempt by counterrevolutionary forces to put an end to the present prerevolutionary situation in Portugal would once again count upon decisive support from *within* the armed forces. Thus it is vital that the working class place no confidence in the bourgeois MFA, and instead organize itself independently to prepare to defeat another rightist offensive. In particular this means the *formation of united-front vigilance committees, workers militias and factory committees.*

In some of the most advanced sections of the Portuguese proletariat the embryo of such organizations already exists. Lisnave workers have a factory committee of delegates elected on a democratic basis and recallable at any time. On several occasions it has shown its capacity to mobilize the entire workforce to demonstrate against anti-labor actions by the demagogic left-posturing military government. The urgent necessity is for the extension of these factory committees, and a struggle to break all illusions in and political support for the MFA and its Stalinist supporters. Only by fighting for a unitary council of workers' commissions, factory councils, workers militias and vigilance committees, and for such a soviet-type organization to take power from the bonapartist generals, can the danger of counterrevolutionary putsch be decisively crushed. ■

SPARTACIST
édition française No. 9
Documents sur l'exclusion de la LCR
$.50 US/Canada 2,00 F.
pour toute commande s'adresser à:
Bruno Porquier
B.P. 57
95120 Ermont
France
ou
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

WORKERS VANGUARD

Danger of a Military Coup in Argentina

Perón Regime Collapses

Break with Peronism, For a Workers Party!

Atlantida

Isabel Perón with López Rega and the generals.

JULY 26—The mounting economic and political crisis in Argentina has proceeded at an accelerated pace during recent weeks, leaving the government in shambles and President Isabel Perón a mere figurehead on the brink of physical and mental collapse. If, as is widely rumored, a right-wing military coup is carried out in the coming days it will be a sharp blow to the workers movement internationally. Argentina, with the largest industrial proletariat of South America and large numbers of left-wing political refugees, is the last country on the continent south of Colombia not yet under military rule.

The frail widow of General Juan Domingo Perón has remained in power this long through no fault of her own. The Argentine economy is such a mess that even the generals and admirals have preferred to avoid taking the reins of power. An equally powerful deterrent is the militancy of the labor movement, which would have to be crushed by military plotters. Nevertheless, the international bourgeois press continues to cry out for the imposition of law and order and, as *Newsweek* (21 July) commented, "The smell of a dead government is already here."

Argentina may be already experiencing a coup in slow motion, and in any case, whether the executioner is a Peronist or a general, a tragedy of the magnitude of the bloody Chilean events of September 1973 is looming on the horizon. But Argentine leftists, including the ostensible "Trotskyists," have for years refused to take a revolutionary stance in the face of the popularity of Peronism among the working masses. They have conciliated this bourgeois populist current instead of focusing their efforts on breaking the working class from the political and ideological stranglehold of the "Supreme Benefactor of the Argentine Nation."

General Strike

On June 28 President Isabel Perón, draped in the mantle of succession of the "líder máximo," took action to exact from the Argentine workers the price of averting government financial bankruptcy. Denouncing Peronist labor leaders, she ordered the rescinding of wage increases negotiated in recent bargaining by the 3,000,000-strong CGT (General Confederation of Labor). The country's already raging inflation intensified to epidemic proportions in a matter of days following announcement of a currency devaluation of 50 percent. Prices rose by 100 percent last year, and in the single month of June they shot up by 49.9 percent—meaning that wage increases of 80 to 130 percent will be gutted in a matter of weeks.

But that does not concern the government or its dwindling number of apologists, mainly supporters of rightist strongman José López Rega. Citing inflation, falling production, an uncontrolled black market and guerrilla activity as signs of crisis, Mrs. Perón banged her palm on her desk during an angry televised speech, reminding workers that they had promised her late husband to make sacrifices to help the nation. "The only possible solution is to maintain a fair and healthy austerity program and to produce as much as possible as if we were in a state of war" (*New York Times*, 29 June).

Needless to say, there already exists a state of war—against the working class. Her "fair and healthy austerity program" involves decontrolling prices, freezing wages, massive devaluations of the peso and tripling the price of fuel. Multinational conglomerates, once the target of government criticism, have been praised by Mrs. Perón as a key to national economic recovery. There was also increasing talk of returning state industries to private hands.

Shortly after the president's speech, Labor Minister Ricardo Otero resigned and Peronist senators announced their support for the CGT's demands, which included the dismissal of López Rega (the minister of social welfare and Mrs. Perón's personal secretary and spiritual adviser of 10 years' standing). This practicing astrologer and head of a fascist wing of the Peronist movement was denounced in the press as responsible for the death squads of the Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance (AAA) which have murdered hundreds of leftists, labor militants and political dissidents in the last year.

The Peronist legislators (joined by members of the main opposition parties) proceeded to elect Italo Luder, a moderate Peronist, to the vacant post of president of the Senate. This was a clear slap at Isabel Perón, as Luder's new post puts him first in line of succession should the presidency become vacant. The military, also, chimed in to demand the ouster of the "power behind the throne," López Rega, in response to Perón's request that the generals enforce her orders.

Avanzada Socialista

Militant steelworkers protesting the arrest of union leaders during Villa Constitución strike.

Beginning on June 27, when the CGT called for a general strike against the wage rollback, manifestations of discontent snowballed in repeated wildcats and demonstrations. Among the most militant sectors have been metal, auto, construction and textile workers. Even as they announced the strike, conservative Peronist union leaders called a rally in Buenos Aires' Plaza de Mayo to support the president. But lukewarm cheers for Isabel were drowned out by curses at López Rega. A former police corporal who claims to have co-authored a book with the Archangel Gabriel, he is so universally hated that spectators stopped a soccer game last month to chant, "López Rega, López Rega—witch, witch, son of a bitch!"

Despite the resignation en masse of the cabinet on July 7, the labor protest lasted 38 hours and was the most massive in years, halting public transportation, commercial activity and most public services. A new cabinet was announced two days later, but although López Rega was missing the line-up consisted almost

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 75 — 29 August 1975

No More Chiles! Workers to Power!

L'Express

Rightist mob burns Communist Party documents after sacking CP headquarters at Vila Nova de Famalição.

Rightists Head for Showdown in Portugal

Arm the Workers—Split the Army! For a United Military Bloc to Stop Rightist Coup!

AUGUST 25—There is reported to be a deceptive calm in Lisbon during the last week. The premier, General Vasco Gonçalves, submits a document on economic policy; the president, General Francisco da Costa Gomes, swears in new members of the government; and everyone goes to the beach on Sunday. But this ominous pause, coming after a tempestuous anti-communist mobilization in late July and early August, is only a slight hesitation as the opposing sides position their guns and count their forces. Revolutionary militants must make no mistake: the Portuguese right and their international backers are preparing for a showdown, to put an end to the developing pre-revolutionary situation with a decisive blow.

The last-minute jockeying for power is the consequence of a growing division within the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) in which three sectors have crystallized: a right wing around Major Melo Antunes, a left wing around Gonçalves and a reputed "far left" around General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. Following a series of demonstrations in late July organized by the Socialist Party (which demanded the ouster of Gonçalves for being too close to the Communist Party) Melo Antunes and eight other top officers of the Supreme Council of the Revolution (the top body of the MFA) published a document denouncing the premier and calling for "socialism without dictatorship."

While the nine were suspended from the Council for indiscipline, the document has since reportedly been signed by the overwhelming majority of the officer corps. Moreover, two of the key signers, the commanders of the central and southern military regions, were left in control of their commands. In addition, General Carvalho, while publishing another document calling for "people's power" through "popular assemblies," has lined up with the "moderate" Antunes faction around the demand for the ouster of Gonçalves. With this imposing front assembled, Costa Gomes (who has earned the nickname, "the cork" by always coming out on top) told the premier he had until today to resign.

The rapid concatenation of events in Portugal and the fact that all sides claim to favor socialism has caused considerable confusion on the left. In addition, most ostensibly socialist groups have aligned themselves politically with either the Gonçalves/CP bloc or the left-to-right "unpopular front"—which extends from Carvalho and the Maoists through the SP and Antunes to the CIA, the Vatican and domestic fascists—and consequently distort events to justify their opportunist tailism.

Thus, the Antunes document talks of "construction of a socialist society" with "political pluralism" and rejects proposals which would lead to a "bureaucratic dictatorship." But this is just window-dressing for the gullible. The real concern of the rightist officers lies elsewhere—maintaining the discipline of the armed forces: "It is necessary to energetically reject the anarchy and populism which inevitably lead to the catastrophic dissolution of the state...."

The document goes on to refer to "the turbulent sea of arbitrary decisions of a Fifth Division, of an assembly of the MFA, of ad hoc military assemblies unexpectedly called,...of COPCON, of the unions, etc." It is clear that much more than a simple change of premiers is proposed. The rightist officers can accomplish their aims only by a far-reaching purge in the military, abolishing soldiers committees, eliminating the "advisory" unit assemblies in the armed forces, crushing the incipient workers councils, banning numerous left groups and (at least) totally regimenting the unions. This must be fought by every class-conscious worker.

There are also some misconceptions about the nature of the anti-communist mobilizations sparked by the SP in late

continued on page 9

BEGINNING NEXT ISSUE

WORKERS VANGUARD Goes Weekly

With the next issue, 12 September, WORKERS VANGUARD will be published weekly, in accordance with the increased capacities of the Spartacist League and with a full understanding of this transformation as a necessity—a political obligation to the working class which we, as a Leninist organization of international proletarian revolution, seek to lead to power.

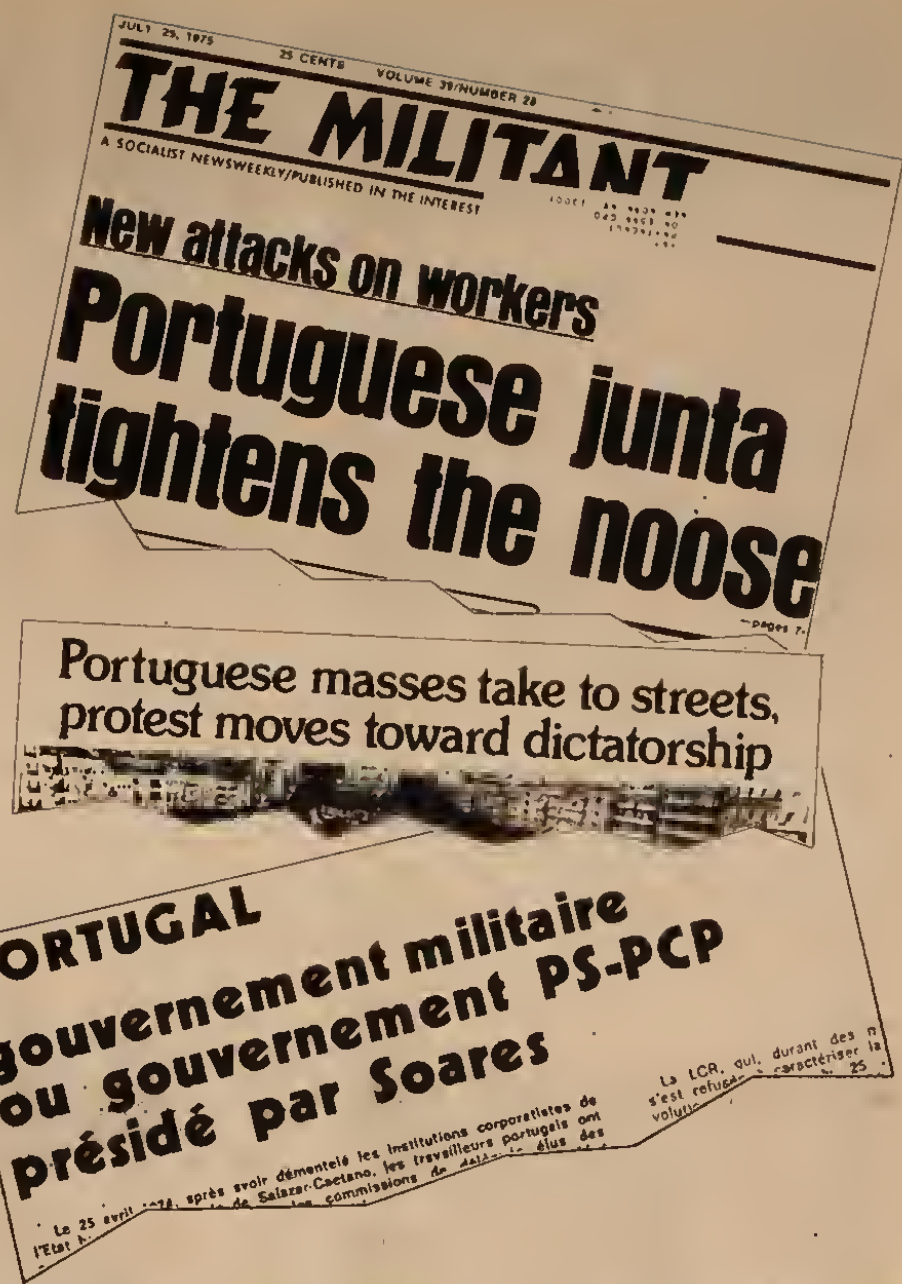
The inauguration of the weekly WV means that our readers will receive double the volume of Marxist reportage and analysis. Subscriptions will continue to be delivered rapidly with priority mail (until now obtained by paying the expensive first-class postal rates), and *at the same price* as the bi-weekly WV, $5 a year. The continued expansion of our circulation base is vital. Please subscribe *now*!

As a gesture of appreciation to present WV subscribers, they will receive roughly double the number of issues remaining on their subscriptions actually purchased. In turn, let us take this opportunity to remind our readers that financial contributions will go toward forging a powerful weapon of working-class struggle: not simply the best, but the *only* real Trotskyist weekly!■

SWP/OCI Tail Counter-revolution in Portugal

SEE PAGE 2

SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution in Portugal


JULY 25, 1975 25 CENTS VOLUME 39/NUMBER 28
THE MILITANT
A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTEREST
New attacks on workers
Portuguese junta tightens the noose
Portuguese masses take to streets, protest moves toward dictatorship
PORTUGAL
gouvernement militaire ou gouvernement PS-PCP présidé par Soares

SWP distorts nature of rightist mobilization in Portugal while OCI calls for Soares government.

AUGUST 21—As flames leap high from burning Communist Party offices and "moderate" generals plot a pro-NATO coup, the Portuguese working class is paralyzed by the lack of a revolutionary leadership. Far from organizing the overthrow of capitalism, the panicked Stalinists cling ever more desperately to so-called "progressives" in the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), political expression of the officer corps of the bourgeois military. To his standard slogan of "unity of the MFA and the people" Communist Party (CP) leader Alvaro Cunhal now adds a plaintive appeal for "unity of the MFA."

A substantial unity among the military commanders is, in fact, now being achieved as they turn against their erstwhile CP supporters to the accompaniment of a crescendo of rightist terror in the villages and towns of northern Portugal. Mario Soares' Socialist Party (SP) has been acting as front man for this counterrevolutionary mobilization, prating about democracy and "respecting the people's will" while Salazarist bishops, former PIDE agents, a Franco-backed "Portuguese Liberation Army" and the CIA incite backward peasants to terror attacks under the cry, "Death to the Communists!" Since the SP has considerable support among Portuguese workers, the stage has been set for a chaotic clash of proletarian against proletarian, with sinister forces of capitalist reaction preparing to strike in the confusion.

This perilous state of affairs cries out for a Trotskyist vanguard to expose the treachery of both major reformist workers parties—CP and SP—in tying the exploited masses to the class enemy. Yet once again the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) has proven incapable of providing revolutionary leadership in great events. The *República* affair sharply split this unprincipled fake-Trotskyist combine, one wing excusing censorship of SP views by CP-supported workers and the MFA, the other opposing it. On the key question of the class nature of the MFA there are now evidently three different characterizations in the USec, ranging from bourgeois military bonapartism to petty-bourgeois revolutionists.

But most scandalous of all is the recent behavior of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the French Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), who over the last few months have consistently tailed after the Portuguese social democrats. We urgently warn the militants of the SWP and OCI of the grave dangers of this line. As a *de facto* "red and brown" (leftists and fascists) coalition lines up behind Mario Soares, the very existence of the workers organizations (including the SP and USec supporters) is at stake. We call on you to force your leaders to abandon this treacherous line of "left" apologetics for counterrevolution before it is too late!

SWP: Denouncing the "Ultra-Left" Bourgeoisie

In the factional dispute which has rent the United Secretariat for the last six years, the SWP falsely poses as defender of Trotskyist orthodoxy against the guerrillaist centrist majority under Comandante Ernesto Mandel. Many have been taken in by this charade, and the Spartacist tendency has been unique in warning that Joe Hansen and his friends represent a thoroughly *reformist* current, seeking a deal directly with the bourgeoisie. This is vividly confirmed by the SWP's cynical covering up of the rightist offensive under way in Portugal since mid-July.

During recent months the SWP has warned against placing confidence in the demagogic left-talking generals and admirals of the bourgeois MFA, and opposed the closing of the *República* newspaper. But, as one could expect from consistent Kautskyites, it has portrayed abstract democracy as the pivot of events in Portugal, systematically obscuring the ominous rightist mobilization. Although the anti-communist terror began with the pillaging of CP offices in the town of Rio Maior on July 14, it took the *Militant* three weeks to even *mention* these fascist-style attacks, which now number in the dozens.

Meanwhile the SWP published article after article centering exclusively on the danger of dictatorship by the leftist officers. Its theme was "defense of the Constituent Assembly, which is where struggle for these rights ['suffrage and popular sovereignty'] focuses for the moment" (*Militant*, 8 August). Since at present there is no national organ of workers democracy, such as a soviet, which could immediately take state power in Portugal, dissolution of the constituent assembly would simply mean untrammeled bonapartist military rule. But to oppose this demand (which has been raised by various centrist groups) is one thing; to make "defense of the Constituent Assembly" the focus of agitation in the midst of a struggle for power pitting the majority of that assembly against the CP and leftist generals is quite another matter. There is no place for revolutionaries in a "red and brown coalition."

To camouflage the nature of the current anti-communist mobilization has been no easy job since virtually the entire bourgeois and left press has made abundantly clear what is going on. But the SWP proved up to the task. After two weeks of burning and looting of CP offices all across northern Portugal, the *Militant* (8 August) article was headlined: "Portuguese masses take to streets, protest moves toward dictatorship"! Moreover, as we reported in our last issue (see "Smash Rightist Threat in Portugal!" *WV* No. 74, 1 August), it was widely noted that many participants in the mass demonstrations sponsored by the SP in late July were from rightist parties and had no sympathy for any brand of ostensibly socialist politics. Even SP leaders admitted as much, but not the SWP! The *Militant* contends:

> "What is certain is that the real vanguard of the Portuguese working class at the present time participated in the SP demonstrations...."

It went on to apologize for the virulent anti-communism of these demonstrations:

> "Since the Communist party is the main political supporter of the military's attack on the democratic rights of the masses, it was inevitable that such mass mobilizations would express anti-Communist feelings...."

There are numerous eyewitness accounts in the bourgeois press of the reactionary tenor of these demonstrations, but the *Militant* dismisses them all as the product of "conditioned reflexes" by "foreign left-wing observers" and "local ultralefts." But if the *New York Times* and *Le Monde* are too "left-wing" for the SWP, there is the testimony of Emilio Guerreiro, head of the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD), who noted that slogans shouted at SP demonstrations showed that "not all its militants are leftist" and stated that "The SP has taken positions which, in my opinion, endanger freedoms in Portugal" (*Le Monde*, 17 and 24 July).

As to the game being played by the Socialist Party leaders, the rightist ex-President General António de Spínola, who fled to Brazil via Spain after the abortive reactionary putsch on March 11, "does not deny" press reports that he met with SP representatives in Paris in mid-July (*Le Monde*, 31 July). The social democrats' attempt to form a left-to-right bloc of all anti-CP forces could not be clearer. The SWP does have a few criticisms of Soares, of course, but mainly that the SP was "forced" into this "turn to the masses"! Should a rightist coup be successful in the coming weeks in part because of Soares' attempts to mobilize anti-communist reaction, the SWP must bear a share of the responsibility for this fateful event.

OCI: Soares to Power

A recent issue of the SWP's *Intercontinental Press* (4 August) favorably compared the OCI's position on the *República* affair to that of the French section of the United Secretariat, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR). While their current views on Portugal are similar, the SWP and OCI are not politically identical. Existing in a country without a strong social-democratic or Stalinist party, the American SWP's reformism has been expressed by tailing after the liberal bourgeoisie, a policy "theoretically" justified by constantly collapsing class issues into purely democratic demands. The right-centrist OCI, on the other hand, has a tradition of capitulation before the reformist apparatuses of the French labor movement, in particular before the social democrats, which it explains by reference to the anti-Leninist concept of a united-front *strategy*.

On Portugal the OCI's line in recent months can be summarized as "all the way with Mario Soares." Here, too, some conscious distortion of reality is necessary in order to maintain a pretense of Marxism. Following the elections for the constituent assembly on April 25, the OCI summarized the results in the headline: "Absolute Majority for the SP-PCP: A Vote for Class Independence. Portugal Voted for an SP-PCP Government" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 30 April-7 May). The opposite is the case. As the OCI well knows, both the CP and SP were part of a class-collaborationist popular-front government and both signed the "MFA-parties pact" relegating governmental power to the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement. Moreover, the

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Bi-weekly of the Spartacist League

Editorial Board:
Jan Norden (editor)
Liz Gordon (chairman)
Chris Knox (labor)
Karen Allen (production)
George Foster (advisory)

Circulation Manager: Anne Kelley

Correspondents:
West Coast: Mark Small
Southern: Joe Vetter
Midwest: Len Meyers
New England: R. Carling
West Europe: Joseph Seymour

Published by the Spartacist Publishing Company, Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001
Telephone: (212) 966-6841

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

TWU and UFT Can Lead the Way

For NYC Strike to Smash Big MAC!

Stop the Fare Hike—For Free Public Transportation!

AUGUST 23—With each successful blow to the New York City labor movement, Big MAC's insatiable appetite for blood grows. Last week after city unions capitulated without a fight to a pay cut and wage freeze, the mayor's office announced that more drastic steps lie ahead. As concession follows concession, new "emergencies" are suddenly discovered: according to Governor Carey, NYC needs to come up with over $2.5 billion on bank notes falling due by December or face default. And while the drive of finance capital is directed primarily at breaking city unions, all sections of the population are now being affected as subway and commuter fare hikes are announced, bridge and tunnel tolls climb, hospitals and fire stations are closed and the City University budget is slashed.

After almost ten months of continuous "fiscal crisis," the mood in New York is one of pervasive bitter anger as the city prepares to raise subway and bus fares almost 50 percent on September 1. In the past, much smaller hikes have provoked minor commuter riots and impotent protest schemes, such as a New Left subway gate-crashing spree in 1970. But there is a simple and effective way to stop the fare increase. The Transit Workers Union (TWU) has long stood for free public transportation, and a transit strike for no fare would immediately win massive public support. The power of the TWU is obvious: for 16 days in 1966 the union paralyzed the financial center of U.S. imperialism. Though its leadership was jailed it defied court injunctions until the Transit Authority settled at double its original offer.

There now exists an enormous opportunity for the TWU to take the lead as the appetite to face down Big MAC (the financiers' "Municipal Assistance Corporation") is shared by everyone from protesting SEEK students at City College to middle-class residents of Co-op City, who recently organized a solid and successful payments strike against state-ordered increases. However, in all likelihood this opportunity will be missed as the transit workers' hands are tied by a do-nothing reformist union leadership. TWU publicity director Sy Stern told a WV reporter this week that the union has no further plans to fight the fare increase beyond its passive August 19 demonstration. At that rally TWU president Matt Guinan hinted coyly at future actions and opined that "it may come to" refusal to pay the fare, as suggested by U.S. Representative Bella Abzug. Despite the hints, Guinan has made no move to mobilize his ranks for strike action.

NYC Teachers Under the Gun

The second major confrontation looming in the next two weeks affects more that 65,000 New York City teachers. On September 9 the United Federation of Teachers' (UFT) contract expires, and Big MAC is going for the jugular vein of the union whose strikes in the 1960's transformed it from a powerless professional association into one of the most powerful sectors of city labor. The negotiations are centering on Board of Education proposals to take back numerous union gains won in the past rather than on UFT demands for improvements in salary and working conditions. In addition to the wage freeze, city teachers are being asked to suffer 8,000 layoffs, reduction by half of paid sick-days (for those with under three years' seniority), lengthening of the workday and school year, heavier classroom loads and an end to paid sabbaticals.

Feeling pressure from his ranks, UFT president Albert Shanker (a right-wing Social Democrats USA leader and ardent Meany supporter) got himself thrown out of the city wage-cut negotiations late last month and took the occasion for some cheap shots at the lack of militancy of his rival Victor Gotbaum (member of the more "left" Democratic Socialists), president of AFSCME's District 37. "Vic Gotbaum got a good deal and in the process he stabbed a lot of other people," said Shanker (*New York Times*, 3 August) of Gotbaum's scummy agreement to graduated pay cuts for all city unions. AFSCME members will be hit less hard by these cuts, but only because they presently earn much less than other city workers. An "equal opportunity" betrayer, Gotbaum stabbed his own ranks as well, by agreeing to layoffs of another 1,000 provisional employees. In a direct attack on the poor and unemployed, this "socialist" demanded (and won) city agreement to bump minority workers hired under special CETA funds in order to replace them with laid-off AFSCME members.

NYC Transit Workers demonstrate on July 29 against the fare hike. WV Photo

Shanker's posture as tribune of the people against the narrow union parochialism of Vic Gotbaum is positively laughable. From the District 1 school board elections to the recent bureaucratic AFT convention in Honolulu, Shanker has appealed to racist sentiment in obstructing every struggle to aid oppressed minorities, from the speedy implementation of bilingual education in New York to busing in Boston. The Spartacist League defended the UFT strike in 1968 when the city tried to break the union through forced transfers of teachers, and urges a teachers' strike now to beat back the attacks on city workers. But this in no way means support to Shanker's policies. The UFT must seek community support to be victorious, and will find its path blocked so long as the union is identified with the man whose name has become synonymous among the black and Latin American populations with racist job-trusting narrow trade unionism.

Shanker's own insipid weekly *New York Times* column has made clear that his main tactic is a court suit, not labor action, against the pay freeze, despite a recent court ruling against the sanitation workers which held that when money is tight anything goes, including union contracts. However, the city "offer" is so bad that pressure from the ranks may yet force a strike. Teachers at City University organized under the PSC face similar cuts and a UFT strike could be strengthened by linking it to a joint PSC/student strike against budget cuts.

Decay of the Cities

When back in 1964 Barry Goldwater called for slicing off the East Coast and floating it into the Atlantic, his remarks were considered near-lunatic ravings of the far-right John Birch Society fringe. Today this sentiment finds its political expression in the Big MAC program: the determination of a unanimous ruling class to deal decisively with the running sores of big cities with their huge minority and poor populations and powerful unions. Not trusting their New York test case to the foot-dragging Mayor Beame and city council, who must face the wrath of the voters in the next elections, the corporate/bank combine is progressively taking operational control of key sectors of the municipal government.

Beame himself is finished while everyone connected with his administration is taking a dive to save their political lives. The mayor's own Board of Estimate won't let him into its meetings and the bourgeoisie watches with disgust as he grovels for a chance to prove that he can do the job. After a recent White House meeting one of Governor Carey's aides commented: "Rockefeller kept talking about how there is no tuition at City University and Beame would say, 'Mr. President, I was a graduate of City College and I wouldn't be here today....' I couldn't believe I was in the White House. It sounded like the letters to the editor in the Daily News" (*New York Times Magazine*, 17 August).

Beyond Beame's obvious incapacity to carry out his superiors' orders and his ludicrous Cedar Rapids style, the decision to put New York City in receivership to the direct rule of finance capital is an indicator of a more general hard line toward the "inner cities." As industry increasingly moves to the suburbs the bourgeoisie has developed an undisguised hatred for the decaying cities, which are left with a flood of unproductive welfare recipients and "illegal aliens," and is attempting to use the depression to drastically cut its costs.

For Militant Action and a Class Program

The increasing nastiness and brutishness of city life combined with Big MAC's master plan for across-the-board cutbacks opens a possibility for the labor movement to pull in behind it the vast majority of the NYC populace. This in no way implies a watering down of the unions' demands. Quite the contrary, what is needed is a strong, militant working-class pole which demonstrates its *will* and *power* to resist the capitalist attacks. The reformist Communist Party's eternal calls for moderation and a "people's anti-monopoly coalition" are in fact nothing but means to tie the masses to "progressive" sectors of the bourgeoisie.

Today it is possible to break through the vicious circle of union-black confrontations and organize the poor and much of the vacillating petty bourgeoisie against capital, provided that the labor movement puts forward an audacious program of transitional demands which can provide a real answer to the needs both of the workers and the non-proletarian exploited population. For New York at this moment, such a program must include:

- For a City-Wide General Strike, Led by the TWU and UFT, to Smash Big MAC. Expropriate the Banks, Smash the Wage Freeze, Rescind All Layoffs, Restore the Budget Cuts, Stop the Fare Hikes. For Free Public Transportation!
- No Lengthening of the Working Day. 30 Hours' Work for 40 Hours' Pay and a Full Cost-of-Living Escalator! End All Provisional and Other Second-Class Categories. Abolish the Civil Service. End Discrimination. For Union Control of Hiring on a First-Come First-Served Basis!
- Immediate, Unconditional, Unlimited Unemployment Compensation at Full Union Wages—Combine Welfare with Unemployment and SUB Funds at the Highest Rates! For a Massive Program of Public Works Under Union Control!
- Open the Corporation and Bank Books to the Workers Movement! Cancel the Debt—Expropriate the Banks!
- Cops Out of the Unions! For a Workers Party—Forward to a Workers Government!

In New York today the minority population can again be mobilized against the teachers, as it was in 1968; "community actions" led by Democratic Party politicians to collect garbage left by wildcatting sanitationmen can increase; demonstrations by unemployed blacks and CCNY students against construction workers can continue to spread...and the working class will remain impotent in the face of the worst anti-labor offensive in decades. But this tragic scenario need not occur. The labor movement must transcend simple trade unionism by putting forward a class-struggle leadership and a program which is not limited to the parochial defense of a particular group, but rather expresses the needs and interests of all the exploited and oppressed. This is the path to victory.■

WV Photo

Congresswoman Bella Abzug addresses NYC Transit Workers rally.

New Name, Old Rulers

Palace Coup Establishes "Islamic Republic" in Bangladesh

AUGUST 20—After three and a half years of colossal misrule in a poverty-ridden country wracked by interminable economic crisis and extraordinary corruption, the president of Bangladesh, Mujibur Rahman, was overthrown and murdered in a palace revolt last week. The demagogic *bangla-bandhu* ("father of Bengal") was replaced by his former minister of foreign trade, Khondakar Mushtaq Ahmed, a man described as "a stern Muslim and notorious anti-communist, hostile both to India and the USSR" (*Le Monde*, 16 August). Khondakar is generally regarded as "the Americans' man" in Dacca.

The coup was reportedly accompanied by a small blood bath among Rahman's close followers, particularly among the Jatiya Rakhi Bahini, a paramilitary gang of thugs not unlike Duvalier's *tontons-macoutes* in Haiti. In a symbolic move the new regime changed the name of the state from "People's Republic" to "Islamic Republic." It was promptly recognized by the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, whose army had laid waste to East Bengal in 1971 with an orgy of rape and indiscriminate mass murder.

The bourgeois press interpreted the coup as a move to conciliate Pakistan, and there is no doubt that the new regime seeks to gain popular support by affecting an anti-Indian stance. There have been numerous reports of widespread popular discontent with the Indian overlordship in Bangladesh. Ahmed and his cohorts no doubt also set their sights on drumming up some economic aid from Muslim oil-producing states. Last year Pakistan received over $800 million from Iran, Saudi Arabia, Libya and others, and while this is a pittance by world standards it is more than India could provide. Without some kind of aid the Bengali economy will remain in the state of virtual non-existence to which it sunk following devastating floods in August 1974.

Mujibur Rahman AP

Bangladesh was born on the points of Indian bayonets. As we noted at the time of the Indian invasion in December 1971: "India plans a long military occupation of East Bengal to achieve the aim of transforming East Bengal into a client state with formal independence" (*WV* No. 4, January 1972). This goal was accomplished by placing in power a quisling, Sheik Rahman, and his bourgeois Awami League, whose victory in the 1971 Pakistani elections touched off Yahya Khan's brutal "pacification" of East Bengal. The Indian army, seizing the opportunity to dismember Pakistan and worried about possible repercussions of successful anti-Pakistani guerrilla struggle on its own politically volatile state of West Bengal, moved in to take command to prevent leftists among the Bengali resistance fighters from winning more influence.

Because the struggle for Bengali national independence was subordinated to an Indian military takeover, the Spartacist League called for a policy of revolutionary defeatism on both sides, advising the Indian, Bengali and Pakistani soldiers to "turn the guns the other way," against their own bourgeoisies, in what had become a contest between rival capitalist regimes for strategic dominance of the Indian subcontinent. Not so the fake-Trotskyist SWP, which enthused over the "Bengali liberation struggle" in spite of its cooption by India, and the Healyite "International Committee," which gave "critical support" to Indira Gandhi's invasion.

Our position was vindicated when India all but annexed East Bengal. As an Indian general explained during the war for the "liberation" of Bangladesh:

> "We are taking territory and are not ashamed of it. Bangla Desh must simply be ours if it is to remain stable. Some semblance of democracy can be created but no one in Delhi or elsewhere pretends that is the real reason we are here. Bangla Desh will be like Calcutta, which we keep firmly under our thumb from Delhi, with no nonsense of local autonomy."
>
> —*Sunday Times* [London], 19 December 1971

Indian capital quickly moved to take over from departing Pakistanis, integrating the East Bengali economy with India's five-year plans and even spending $275 million to rebuild the transportation and communications networks needed for economic *Gleichschaltung* (subjugation). But Bangladesh soon proved to be not merely a bad investment but an all-around economic disaster. By 1974 the new nation's first five-year plan was abandoned while monsoon floods devastated agricultural production.

The economic ills of Bangladesh are due not only to the weakness of the native bourgeoisie and the impossibility of qualitative economic advance under imperialism—conditions common to all the backward capitalist countries—but have been severely aggravated by events since World War II. In 1948 the East Bengali bourgeoisie, overwhelmingly Hindu, fled to Calcutta when Pakistan was created as a predominantly Muslim state. The limited industry of what became East Pakistan, mainly jute mills, was nationalized out of necessity. Thus the present ruling stratum in Bangladesh is made up of pauperized petty-bourgeois elements striving to congeal themselves as a capitalist class by squeezing the last drop of surplus value from the Bengali worker and peasant masses.

Three and a half years of formal national independence have made abundantly clear that this "lumpen" bourgeoisie is incapable of accomplishing the most modest social reforms, much less liberating the working population from exploitation and poverty. The driving force of the petty-bourgeois Awami League politicians who took over the state apparatus was personal enrichment, not merely the accumulation of Mercedes Benz automobiles and luxury villas but a particularly desperate wholesale looting.

In spite of his leftist phrases and demagogic populism, the megalomaniac Rahman consciously tolerated this notorious corruption as part of his program to build an East Bengali bourgeoisie. His only notable accomplishment was to clear the Dacca slums by brutally driving out the poor. The *bangla-bandhu* (more accurately nicknamed the "Chiang Kai-shek of Dacca") unleashed vicious repression against all groups to the left of the Communist Party. Opposed as well by 14 bourgeois opposition parties, and unable to control widespread robberies and murders (there were reportedly more than 2,000 political assassinations in only 16 months), Rahman sought to reinforce his bonapartist rule late last December by declaring a state of emergency.

This move was proclaimed the beginning of a "second revolution" against "anti-social elements," banning all parties except the Awami League and instituting dictatorial presidential rule. Rahman's "purification drive" was enforced by the thugs of the single party's labor, youth and paramilitary groups against what were termed corrupt and pro-Pakistani elements. Like Indira Gandhi's recent crackdown in India, the mass jailings were directed against both left and right. The *New York Times* (29 January 1975) described the Sheik's new order:

> "Although a Parliament will be elected, the new Constitution authorizes the President to form 'a national party,' membership in which will be necessary to sit in Parliament or join the Government.... Anyone dissenting from party policy will lose membership.... By and large Parliament will endorse executive decrees; it can legislate, but the President has veto power and can dissolve Parliament indefinitely."

Rahman also instituted a takeover of the press by the government and Awami League.

While the President talked of fighting corruption and had already made a turn toward more conservative economic policies (notably by sacking his left-leaning minister of finances, Tajuddin Ahmed, last fall), through a combination of administrative incompetence and a desire to protect his loyal lieutenants Rahman proved incapable of carrying out the heralded shift. Having observed the successful destruction of the rickety Bangladesh economy, a group of young army majors evidently decided to oust the chief culprits. But lacking even the limited social vision of such military demagogues as Nasser of Egypt or Velasco of Peru, the rebels turned power over to ten ministers and six secretaries of state, all of whom

continued on page 7

SL/U.S. Summer Camp Marks International Growth, Prepares for Weekly *Workers Vanguard*

"When I first arrived here I felt a bit like Christopher Columbus.... There are many things I do not know about the United States but what I have seen at this camp is part of the future of the American working class." In these words the representative of the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD) summarized his reaction to the Spartacist League summer camp, held at the beginning of August, as he addressed the plenum of the SL Central Committee.

Notable events at the camp included, in addition to the Central Committee plenum, a trade unionists' conference convened by the SL Trade Union Commission; reports from the recent conference of the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the SL/U.S.; several educational panels and meetings of SL commissions. Much of the preparation for the plenum decisions took place at the commission sessions, whose scope is indicative of the concerns and activities of the SL in the present period: black work, archival, *Women and Revolution*, press, Partisan Defense Committee.

Speaking at the international symposium, the German comrade discussed the consolidation of the TLD, codified in its acceptance as a full section of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), with which the SL/U.S. is also affiliated. He noted with regret the absence of the Austrian comrades of the Österreichischen Bolschewiki-Leninisten, who were unable to send a representative to this year's camp, as were the comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.

A comrade from the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) reported on that organization's founding conference, the product of a successful regroupment of French iSt supporters with a left oppositional faction whose members were expelled from the French United Secretariat (USec) group. He stressed the excellent prospects for growth and the continued central applicability of the regroupment tactic, particularly in a country in which virtually every international current claiming to be Trotskyist has a sizeable section. The main organizational tasks of the LTF at present will be construction of an authoritative and cohesive national leadership and the development of systematic press capacity. The similarity between these concerns and those of the Canadian comrades was noted.

The expansion of the iSt was also illustrated by the presence of a representative of the Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia. The affiliation of the Italian comrades, whose political history goes back through the Italian USec grouping to the ultra-left Bordigist organization, represents a real deepening of our historical roots as well as a geographical expansion. The Italian comrade's presentation graphically illuminated for the supporters of the SL/U.S. the highly explosive situation of the Italian class struggle.

WV to Go Weekly in Fall

The overriding theme of the summer camp was the transformation of *Workers Vanguard* to a weekly frequency. The official decision to begin the weekly *WV* on September 12 was adopted unanimously by the Central Committee plenum, but preparations had been begun many months earlier. The inauguration of the only authentic Trotskyist weekly paper in the world poses an exciting challenge to our organization which will be felt in all aspects of our political work.

The leap to a weekly *WV* is the embodiment of the continuing evolution of the SL press from a basically programmatic, analytical paper to an active tool of intervention into the class struggle. As the report to the press commission emphasized, the press policy of the SL remains the same: aimed toward advanced workers. *WV* seeks to function as a collective organizer, whose role is integrated into the building of the party, neither counterposed to nor a substitute for other crucial tasks. In addition to the press commission, special meetings were also held centering on particular aspects of press work such as writing and editorial, sales, photography.

The main report from the youth conference by Spartacus Youth League National Secretary Sue Adrian saluted the stabilization of a monthly *Young Spartacus* and noted the valuable campaigns undertaken by the youth locals which have given the SYL an interventionist political profile. The report emphasized the importance of systematically consolidating a periphery, pointing out that the continued steady growth of the SYL (one third of the membership is new since the last camp) poses important responsibilities of education and cadre training.

A highlight of the summer camp was the presentation by the LTF comrade on his participation in the May-June 1968 events in France. His account illuminated the non-linear unfolding of class struggles and the need for a truly revolutionary organization rooted in the masses which can respond to political upheavals and seize the initiative. He emphasized that it is toward this aim that the iSt is patiently building now.

The main political report to the SL plenum stressed that "we are not immune" to the pressures which have led most of our ostensibly revolutionary competitors into stagnation, demoralization and multiple splits. "Our growth is satisfying but not qualitative," the reporter stated, noting that "a revolutionary party that does not take state power must become deformed and degenerated." He noted the twin dangers of passivity and impatience, stressing the role that a weekly *WV* will play in developing the organization's capacity to actively intervene in social struggles.

The report on the launching of the Partisan Defense Committee pointed out that the PDC must work to overcome the 50-year legacy of Stalinist and social-democratic sectarian betrayal of united defense work. The PDC seeks to carry forward the tradition of the International Labor Defense of the mid-1920's, led by James P. Cannon.

In presenting the statistics report, Comrade Nedy Ryan noted that these calculations are presented to the camp in the hopes of "making concrete our observations of our sociological relation to the real world." The figures showed that the great bulk (over two thirds) of the camp's participants were in their twenties, with the average age slightly over 26. As a result of the current economic depression, the statistics showed a significant number of "unemployed proletarians," primarily laid-off industrial workers. Some 47 percent of the camp's participants were employed blue-collar, white-collar and clerical workers; 41 percent of comrades attending the camp were union members; 12 percent were students. Roughly half the participants were college graduates.

Most significantly, 25 percent of the common movement (and 40 percent of the SYL) had been members for less than one year, while 18 percent had been members for one-two years and 50 percent for two-five years. Some 72 percent of those attending had been members of ostensibly revolutionary organizations before joining the SL/SYL. These figures are a living demonstration of the success of the SL's regroupment tactic.

Learning From History

Although much of the work of the summer camp focused on the struggle for "press consciousness," educational and historical subjects were not neglected. The main topics of the seminar on the black question were the history of slavery in the Americas and the early history of the civil rights movement. The latter presentation was given by Joe Vetter, long-time socialist activist in the South. He concentrated on the activities of the NAACP and Southern Christian Leadership Conference in the early 1960's, in particular highlighting the question of federal troop intervention, using detailed and concrete examples to expose the fallacy of the claim that the government can be pressured into defending the rights of blacks.

Another session of the camp was devoted to the Russian question. Main speaker James Robertson stressed that methodologically the evolved Trotskyist understanding of the nature of Stalinism is reflected in the chronology of the degeneration of the October Revolution. He pointed out that to locate the essential degeneration of the Russian revolution in 1921 leads logically to syndicalism; similarly, to place it in 1927 leads to Pabloism and in 1934 to proto-Stalinism. By 1921 the soviets had atrophied and were no longer a viable form of proletarian rule, but within the Communist Party itself there remained a contracted locus of workers democracy. The bureaucratic manipulation of the January 1924 party conference signalled a political counterrevolution by the emergence of the nascent bureaucracy; although the Stalinists had not yet developed the dogma of socialism in one country, "the men who ruled Russia, the way Russia was ruled and the purposes for which Russia was ruled" had changed.

For many participants at the summer camp, the most exciting session was the symposium on early Comintern history, which bore witness to considerable historical research, including the retranslation of documents on the organizational question from the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921. One presentation concentrated on the questions of cell and fraction structure while another centered on the dubious role of Paul Levi in the context of an evaluation of German Communism and the "March action." Publication of these and other historical materials is an important continuing responsibility of the SL, which as the nucleus of the vanguard party must function as collective memory of the working class.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188, M.I.T. Station,
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 923-7314
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 94101

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 879-7623
Canadian Committee of the International Spartacist Tendency
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C., Canada

SUBSCRIBE

Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)

U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

order from/pay to
Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia

Chavez Denounces Texas Farm Workers' Strike

HOUSTON, August 21—Cesar Chavez & Co. of the United Farm Workers (UFW) is unique in denying the existence of an agricultural labor organizing drive in Texas. Politicians, "law enforcement" officials and the bourgeois press, not to mention agribusiness bosses and the striking farm workers themselves, are well aware of the significance of the battle raging in Texas fields since mid-May, when farm workers met the beginning of the melon harvest in the Rio Grande Valley with a strike.

Though the banner of the beleaguered farm workers continues to be the UFW's Aztec eagle flag, Chavez' original indifference has turned to open hostility. Two days after grower Chestley Miller of the El Texano ranch in Hidalgo County "opened season" on striking farm workers, shooting and injuring ten of them in frenzied anger, on the grounds that they were on ranch property, Chavez sent the following telegram to strike leader Antonio Orendain:

> "We have just heard that the Walter Cronkite evening news carried a story covering actions attributed to the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO. It is the most sickening show of farmworkers carrying out violent acts against other workers we have ever seen in our history. We reject this absolutely as contrary to our noble efforts of building a union through nonviolence. We cannot and will not support these kinds of actions...."

Chestley Miller was released on $15,000 bond. He explained in a TV interview "...I shot 'em. The police told me I was in my rights. They were two miles from any road." On May 29 another ranch owner, Othol Brand, drove through a crowd of strikers to ram the pick-up truck they were using as a rally platform, then emerged from his car brandishing a pistol. The following day strike leader Armando Acosta was shot at from a pick-up truck as he returned to union headquarters after a morning of picketing at Brand's ranch.

Unfortunately, the growers' sense of solidarity exceeds the aid to the embattled strikers from the rest of the labor movement. Following the arrest of Miller, growers met to form an association for his defense and to mount an anti-union public relations campaign to combat the strikers. Each member is to be financially assessed for the effort according to the acreage he owns. The organized growers are pressuring Governor Dolph Briscoe to send in the Texas Rangers to maintain "law and order."

Many politicians, however, are reluctant to comply with this demand. In 1966-67 an organizing drive uncomfortably reminiscent of the present one—right down to its geography, its tactics and its leaders—was brutally smashed by the Texas Rangers. Several years later a federal court panel confirmed the strikers' allegations: the Rangers had openly and illegally sided with the growers in that struggle. Though the ruling was too late to aid the farm workers the politicians would rather avoid any unnecessary embarrassment.

The present strike should have been prepared for by drawing the lessons of the 1966-67 fiasco: the need for militant self-defense of the picket lines and mobilization of the entire Texas labor movement to defend the strike, by "hot cargoing" scab produce and, if necessary, a statewide general strike. However, Antonio Orendain seems determined to replay those tragic events once again. Orendain praised the Starr County sheriff's office for its new policy of "neutrality." He went on to indicate his own cooperativeness: "If I put too much pressure on, I can lose this neutrality. Really, this time they've been exactly on the line" (*Corpus Christi Caller*, 25 May).

Moderation on the part of the farm workers, however, has accomplished little. The strike moved north along with the melon harvest, into western Texas and the Panhandle. The first day of picketing in the Pecos area July 23 was greeted with the arrest of 27 farm workers, including eight juveniles. Almost every day sees new arrests as all roads have suddenly become "private." Orendain recently called for the focusing of national attention on Reeves and Pecos counties so that "the law might be observed." He issued a public statement claiming, "The sheriffs are using their powers as law officers to stop legitimate labor organizing activities and to interfere with the farmworkers First Amendment rights."

Though some cantaloupes may have rotted in the field, the strikers did not move north from Starr and Hidalgo counties on the wings of victory. Though growers were forced to raise wages to $2.50 per hour from the federal minimum of $1.80 (and less) which they had been paying, they succeeded in preventing representation elections at three key ranches in Hidalgo County. When growers sought an injunction against picketing by the farm workers on the grounds that the union doesn't represent the majority of their workers they laid the legal basis for elections to determine the truth or falsity of this assertion. Upon realizing the implications the growers filed an amendment to their suit three days after the deadline for such amendments. Orendain criticizes the judges because "they bent over backwards and accepted it."

More to the point is the fact that regardless of legality the courts, like the cops, are ultimately going to serve the companies. Illusions on this question lead directly to betrayal. Though Orendain is presently on the outs with the UFW tops—posing as a militant "maverick" his differences with Chavez are minimal, primarily tactical. His rhetoric is less pious and he believes that organizing Texas farm workers should have higher priority than the UFW leadership wants to grant.

In line with the UFW's policy of dissociating itself from the strikers, Texas regional UFW director Bill Chandler sent an open letter to UFW supporters pointing out that Orendain is not on the staff of the UFW. It goes on:

> "The Texas strikers are not members of the UFW. They are not affiliated with the UFW. They do not maintain the UFW commitment to nonviolence which is so much a part of the UFW beliefs....
> "We believe that farmworker interests nation-wide will be best served if such action as Orendain has shown is kept to a minimum while the entire Union works toward the central goal."

The "central goal" which the UFW bureaucrats use to excuse their inexcusable betrayal of the Texas farm workers is, of course, implementation of the new California farm labor bill which provides for representation elections. The fact is, however, that Orendain also sees such legislation (allowing government intervention into union affairs) as the way to secure contracts for Texas farm workers. At an August 3 rally he declared that "California is only the beginning." Legislation is "essential and necessary," he said, and "the only way for Texas farm workers to win their rights."

The *Militant* of the Socialist Workers Party, along with the rest of the fake-lefts, uncritically touts Orendain as a class-struggle militant union leader. This is a disservice to the Texas farm workers, who without a penny of aid in strike benefits, have demonstrated their willingness to stake their precarious livelihoods against the possibility of a union victory. They have not succumbed to the impulse to attack the "illegal" Mexican farm workers who work in Texas, but have instead been very successful in appealing in solidarity to both "green-carders" and "illegals" to gain their support for the strike.

> **"If we had to sit on our butts and wait for Cesar Chavez to come around, we might have to wait ten, fifteen, maybe twenty years!"**
>
> **—Jesús Luna, Texas farm worker leader, 6 July 1975**

The fact is that the courageous farm workers are being as cynically used by Orendain as they are ignored by Chavez. The same legalism, pacifism and moralism are as fundamental to the farm worker misleadership in Texas as elsewhere. The arch-reactionary Catholic church is proclaimed an ally of the workers. And while Orendain attempts to scandalize the growers by showing how unreasonable they are in refusing to negotiate with clergymen who offer themselves as mediators, the Reverend Eugenio Canas typifies the Church's contribution to the struggle by exhorting strikers to "love thy enemy as well as your neighbor" (*McAllen Monitor*, 2 June).

Orendain refuses to fight the Chavez leadership of the UFW and never even mentions any conflict with it. He considers his estrangement from the UFW bureaucracy to be temporary and that, in effect, his efforts in Texas will be harvested by the official union at a later date. Orendain's intentions are not to organize a militant farm workers' strike backed up by the active solidarity of the labor movement, to force union rights for oppressed agricultural workers. He has attempted merely to raise the issue of unionization and to disrupt the melon harvest so that pressure could be generated leading to legislation for government-run elections. But neither in Texas nor in California nor anywhere else in the capitalist world does the government represent the interests of the workers. Any policy relying on the bosses' government is inevitably doomed to failure. It is high time for a class-struggle alternative and a farm workers' victory.■

Contributions to the Texas farm workers can be made payable to: Texas Strike Fund, Route 1, Box 149-B, Alamo, Texas 78516.

NMU Militants Blast Protectionist Grain Boycott

The following resolution by the Militant-Solidarity Caucus of the NMU, opposing the boycott by maritime unions of grain shipments to the Soviet Union, is reprinted from a supplement to the Caucus' publication, the Beacon, *dated 27 August. At the August New York port meeting, NMU officials refused to allow this (or any other motions from the ranks) onto the floor for discussion.*

Whereas, AFL-CIO Maritime unions and George Meany (AFL-CIO President) have declared a boycott of grain shipments to the Soviet Union, supposedly to "protect American consumers and American shipping interests"; and

Whereas, these grain sales and shipments will increase prices only because of the corruption and market manipulation of the grain monopolies; and

Whereas, this grain boycott is based on protectionist policies which if generalized throughout the world would raise prices, reduce trade and cut down maritime jobs in particular; and

Whereas, the boycott falsely ties maritime workers to the interests of the profiteering conglomerates which control the shipping industry, instead of putting forward a program of militant labor struggle against the business interests for the things we need (and even if 33 percent of the shipments are secured for U.S. bottoms the shippers are not sure this would mean the use of any more ships, nor is there any guarantee they would be unionized and with full manning scales); and

Whereas, Meany's call for a boycott based on anti-communist super-patriotism and patching up the economic chaos created by big business ties labor to the conglomerates while at the same time opening unions to anti-labor attacks such as that from Secretary of Agriculture Butz who said "unions...should stop...featherbedding practices that jack up...prices"; and

Whereas, the grain boycott is a ruse and discredit to labor since it is clear that it is mainly an anti-Soviet Union ploy considering the many other practices of the business interests which the union officials have never taken action against, such as milk price fixing, gasoline price hikes because of a phony "oil crisis," rent increases, transit fare boosts, a general skyrocketing of food prices, etc.; and

Whereas, the business interests attack the Soviet Union because of the gains it represents for labor with a planned and centralized economy, although the ruling bureaucracy there represses the workers of the Soviet Union;

Be it therefore resolved, that the membership at this NMU meeting condemn the boycott of grain shipments to the Soviet Union because it is an economic ruse, a capitulation to protectionism, and a big business attack against the economic gains of the Soviet workers; and

Be it also resolved, that a real program to strengthen the labor movement and create jobs for maritime and all workers, and to stop inflation, must include:

1) an independent trade union price control committee with powers to mobilize solid union actions;
2) union action for full employment through shorter working hours with no cut in pay, and full cost-of-living protection, instead of protectionist grovelling; and
3) international labor solidarity—for a strong labor struggle against the international conglomerates, defending the Soviet Union from the attacks of business interests around the world, while at the same time supporting the struggle of Soviet workers to rid themselves of the privileged bureaucrats running the government, just as we must oust the pro-company officials who are running our union onto the rocks.

Vote UFW—Teamsters Out of the Fields!

Farm Workers Convention: Fighting for Survival

FRESNO—On August 28 the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act will go into effect. In short order a five-member board appointed by Governor Brown will be deluged with petitions from farm workers on ranches throughout the state requesting government-supervised union representation elections. Although Cesar Chavez expresses public optimism, the United Farm Workers union has already run up against roadblocks in the new legislation which could easily spell defeat in its battle against the agribusiness moguls and their Teamster allies. Saddled with a legalistic, pacifist and, above all, class-collaborationist leadership, the UFW is struggling for its life.

The Second Constitutional Convention of the United Farm Workers of America (AFL-CIO), held here on August 15-17, clearly revealed the dangers which threaten to shipwreck the embattled union. Nervous rank-and-filers complain of stepped-up grower intimidation, labor federation officials hint at a withdrawal of support and lawyers report a legal conspiracy to prevent UFW organizers from reaching workers in the fields. Just a few days before the convention a large UFW rally in Merced was broken up by club-wielding cops, to which Chavez responded by suing the local police department! At the convention he bureaucratically rammed through resolutions and presented no strategy but "application of the law."

The entire policy of Chavez & Co. is founded on maintaining the goodwill of a few capitalist politicians, Catholic bishops and their cohorts in the UAW and AFL-CIO bureaucracies. Thus Chavez liquidated strike activity in the summer of 1973, capitulating before the violence of the Teamster/grower/government alliance. When two farm workers were killed and hundreds arrested that summer, he scattered dedicated UFW organizers across the country to engage in impotent consumer boycott activity.

The results were disastrous. While the official convention tally boasted 534 delegates representing 71,359 workers, it is generally known that only about 7,000 of these workers are currently covered by Farm Workers union contracts. The rest are "covered" by Teamster sweetheart agreements, maintained by a combination of maneuvers ranging from the blatant gun-wielding intimidation to negotiating token wage gains in order to outflank the severely weakened UFW. Chavez sought to escape from this impasse by supporting passage of Governor Brown's compromise labor relations bill last May, and is clearly banking everything on a favorable outcome in government-run representation votes. Based on the growers' desire for some semblance of labor peace in the fields, Brown's bill amounts to government arbitration and should have beeen opposed by class-conscious workers.

Already the board has set up serious obstacles to UFW efforts to sign up farm workers for elections next month. The law requires that 50 percent of the peak harvest workforce at a particular ranch must sign cards calling for an election. On the last day of the convention union counsel Jerry Cohen explained some of the legal problems presented by the act:

Access to the fields: So far the board has refused to allow UFW organizers access to ranches to talk to the workers. Especially at ranches under IBT contract this gives the Teamster strikebreakers an enormous advantage. According to the *Fresno Bee* (16 August), board chief Bishop Mahoney "said there is some question as to whether the board has the authority to grant access to private property." Thus once again Chavez' alliance with the church hierarchy means upholding the capitalists' holy property rights against the workers' interests.

Petitions: The board has not decided whether dues-deduction cards the Teamsters coerced farm workers to sign should constitute a petition.

Ballots: Likewise the government arbitrators have not determined if the UFW's Aztec eagle symbol can appear on the ballot. Since many farm workers can't read, use of the union symbols is vital to enable them to express their opinion. But again, Bishop Mahoney is "concerned that workers may be more familiar with one union symbol than another" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 19 August)!

Despite the ominous signs, the Chavez leadership wasted the convention's time with a deluge of lengthy skits, musical acts, demonstrations for prominent speakers, a Sunday wedding ceremony for two organizers, and so forth. The first batch of resolutions were rushed through early on Friday. Then resolutions 15 through 41, including a resolution on the controversial "illegals" question, were hurriedly adopted en bloc during the last hour of the convention on Sunday. Delegates had had no opportunity to discuss the resolutions and most people in attendance (including fraternal union guests) were completely in the dark as to the content of the resolutions. Many delegates were unaware that they had even been passed.

Following the convention Chavez announced the content of the resolution on "illegal aliens" to the press. Attempting to cover up his disgusting campaign to deport undocumented workers, the resolution calls on the U.S. Congress to grant "amnesty" to illegals *if* the growers continue to bring them in to scab. Instead of appealing to the rest of the labor movement to fight for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers Chavez appeals to the very government which staged the deportation campaigns! In the same vein, another resolution reaffirms the union's dedication to non-violence, going so far as to assert that it would be better to have no union than to see the death of a farm worker *or grower*!

Chavez had other means than entertainment to avoid open floor fights. The entire convention was heavily patrolled by large squads of sergeants-at-arms who endlessly eyed the audience. Their job, of course, was not to expel agents of the capitalist class—indeed, several of the featured speakers were capitalist politicians, such as Lieutenant Governor Mervyn Dymally. At the 1973 convention these squads were used to expel reporters from the left press, including *Workers Vanguard*, and the UFW called in Fresno police to clear away left-wing literature tables outside the hall. It was obvious to anyone who remembered the 1973 events what would happen this time if a left opposition developed on the floor. When it comes to maintaining his own power base Chavez does not believe in non-violence.

Among various speeches by union dignitaries at the convention, the threatening remarks by California Labor Federation secretary-treasurer John Henning were noted both by the delegates and the capitalist press. Few missed the point of his lecture: "You can't lose the elections and survive as a union," he emphasized. Furthermore, "you have to do the job...nobody can do it for you...." If you fail, he said, the UFW will be a "museum piece."

While the convention served as a platform for the bourgeois politicking of such notables as former SDS leader Tom Hayden, now campaigning to win the Democratic Party nomination for U.S senator, it was only in the short question-and-answer sessions that the enormous anxiety of the farm worker ranks managed to find expression. Friday evening many delegates stated their fears about attending the convention, some saying they were already fired or expected to be fired when they returned to the ranches. Questions about how to stop such firings were evaded with suggestions to get legal service from local UFW offices, or with empty threats to widen boycott activity.

A question about how to deal with "illegals" was met with hesitation by Chavez. As the audience began to chant "organize, organize," Chavez shrugged his shoulders and mumbled "organize them." Evidently the UFW ranks, unlike their treacherous leadership, prefer class solidarity to fratricidal back-stabbing and take issue with Chavez' policy of fingering "illegals" to the immigration authorities for deportation.

On Sunday a question arose as to how to deal with the vicious attacks by sheriff's deputies. Chavez replied that when those deputies are recruited from among "your sons and daughters," then "things will change." When asked what to do if a grower refuses to negotiate after the UFW wins an election, Chavez glibly answered that "we could apply the law to them"! Clearly the UFW ranks are feeling intense pressure from employers and their government for which Chavez has no answer.

Class-conscious workers must support the UFW against the strike-breaking Teamsters in the upcoming elections, but the traitorous Chavez leadership has ensured that this will be far from enough to stop the Teamster/grower alliance. Only a class-struggle leadership based on a fundamental break from class collaboration can show the way forward. Stop the produce at the source—strike the fields! Issue a call to "hot-cargo" scab produce, as longshoremen did in 1965! Appeal to the Teamster warehouse workers, cannery workers and transport workers for solidarity against the Fitzsimmons gang! For militant defense of the picket lines and a state-wide general strike to defend the UFW! Teamsters out of the fields—no reliance on the state agricultural board! Full citizenship rights for foreign workers! Break from the capitalist parties—build a workers party to fight for a workers government!■

UPI

UFW leader Cesar Chavez talking to farmworkers in California this month.

Bangladesh...

(continued from page 4)

belonged to the previous government (*Le Monde*, 18 August). Thus the business-like corruption fighters of the "Islamic Republic" turn out to be the same clique (minus Rahman and a few others) who ran the "People's Republic" into the ground!

Whether or not the change of image will enable these parasites to entice Arabian and Iranian royal governments to fork over some oil gold, it is clear that old masters and a new name will not solve the myriad problems of Bangladesh: for this task only the program of proletarian revolution is adequate. The fate of the working masses of East Bengal is closely bound up with that of West Bengal and the entire Indian subcontinent. Socialist opponents of Indira Gandhi, particularly those misled into supporting the popular front of social uplifter J.P. Narayan, should pay close attention to the course of the "new" regime in Dacca. Should their unholy alliance of left and right succeed in taking power in India, it would have no more capacity to abolish corruption, poverty and national oppression than the bourgeois "reformers" who now rule Bangladesh.

Three and a half tragic years of Bangladesh "independence" should serve as a powerful proof (among too many others) of the inability of any section of the bourgeoisie, or even the radical petty bourgeoisie, to solve any of the fundamental social, economic and political tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in the colonial and ex-colonial countries. Only permanent revolution, through the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat (supported by the peasantry) by united working-class action throughout the whole subcontinent, linked to revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, can free the exploited masses of Bengal and bring about national emancipation, prosperity and socialism.■

Detroit, July 29: cops move against black youths protesting killing of Obie Wynn. Detroit News

Black Youths Riot Against Detroit Cops

DETROIT—This city is a giant tinderbox of racial and class tensions. The economic depression and drastic cutback in auto production have produced an "inner city" unemployment rate of 23 percent, the highest in the country. Meanwhile city services have been slashed to a minimum as Mayor Coleman Young has laid off almost a quarter of the city workforce. And while murder and the general crime rates soar, and the lumpenized population grows due to prolonged ghetto unemployment, there is a massive exodus of Detroit's white population to the segregated suburbs.

In this context it is not surprising that the slaying of an 18-year-old black youth by a white businessman in northwest Detroit in late July sparked two nights of angry street violence. The entire city expected a repeat of the 1967 riots, in which the National Guard and then federal troops occupied the ghetto areas and at least 40 were killed. The liberals credited "progressive" black Mayor Young and the "restraint" of the cops for the fact that the rioting was quickly contained this time. But it took a massive mobilization of police and firepower to do it, and the lid could easily blow off tomorrow over school busing, police brutality, jobs or any number of issues.

The case of the killing of Obie Wynn is a classic example of the race and class bias of capitalist "justice." Andrew Chinarian, the killer, is the owner of a bar frequented by white policemen but located in the predominantly black Livernois-Fenkell community. He claims that Wynn turned on him with a "glinting object" when he confronted a group of youths who were allegedly tampering with his car in the parking lot behind the bar. However, the autopsy showed that the victim was shot in the back of the head.

A crowd soon gathered outside the bar and became enraged when it was learned that Chinarian was simply released after questioning, with no charges filed against him. In contrast, three precincts were mobilized to disperse the crowd with tear gas and clubs. Police re-arrested Chinarian hours later only to release him once again on a paltry $500 bond. As word of Chinarian's release reached the Livernois-Fenkell area young blacks exploded in outrage, taking to the streets. In their frustration they pelted cops with stones and bottles, overturned cop cars and set fire to numerous store fronts.

Chinarian was later charged with second-degree murder and a $25,000 bail posted, but a comment by Lieutenant Ray Smith, the officer responsible for releasing Chinarian, dramatically highlighted the injustice: "I released the man," said Smith, "because he's a bar owner, a business man, and a citizen of the area." In contrast, swift and brutal treatment was meted out to the blacks who responded to the senseless killing of Wynn. Over one hundred were arrested and given charges ranging from malicious destruction of property and larceny to murder.

Despite the bourgeois press' praise of the police for their "conscientious self-restraint", there were numerous complaints of police provocation and brutality. Mayor Young himself was forced to admit, "I know there are police provocations. A white cop shot a gas grenade at me last night. We'll have all the black cops that we can get out there tonight. There's just not enough to go around" (*Detroit Free Press*, 30 July). But changing the color of the face on the other end of the revolver does not change the oppressive character of the occupation force. It was necessary to demand that the cops be disarmed and removed from the area immediately and to call for the organization by labor, black and neighborhood groups of self-defense against cop terror.

Far from defending the black masses, Young seized upon this incident to demonstrate that a black city machine can be an effective weapon for policing Detroit's majority black population. The mayor walked the streets for two nights in the riot-torn area attempting to persuade blacks to "cool it," something former police commissioner John "Blackjack" Nichols (Young's opponent in the 1974 elections) could have done only at great peril to his life. But Young has proven unable to deal with the fundamental problems which give rise to the tensions and frustrations which periodically erupt in massive ghetto rebellions. His primary concern has been to contain Detroit's working masses through his "bring the cops to the people" campaign—the creation of a "sensitized" police force in touch with the people through hundreds of "mini-stations" around the city.

Not only does Young pass off the crisis of the bourgeoisie onto the backs of working people through layoffs, wage cuts and cutbacks in services, but this supposed champion of black people is not even willing to fight for their democratic rights! In blatant capitulation to white pressure, Young has been in the forefront of the fight to abort a busing plan for Detroit's public schools. Two separate plans—one offered by the Board of Education and the other by the NAACP—both of which would have involved extensive busing, were stopped in the courts. A third, ordered by Judge Robert DeMascio on August 16, will in fact *decrease* integration of Detroit's

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)

☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Boston ...

(continued from page 12)

they were failing. Their opposition to the Spartacist League's campaign for black and labor defense of the buses was symptomatic of their systematic unwillingness to politically challenge the labor bureaucrats or the black reformists. While militant trade unionists fought in the Boston Teachers Union, United Auto Workers, Communication Workers, National Maritime Union, and elsewhere for support to busing and for the mobilization of integrated workers defense guards to smash the racists, the SWP and YAWF joined the chorus of black liberals and nationalists in writing off the labor movement.

In major demonstrations in December and May these groups subordinated themselves to the political interests and conceptions of aspiring black Democrats. On December 14 YAWF hitched its wagon to one William Owens, a militant-talking bourgeois politico fresh from electoral victory in the state senatorial race and eager to establish a national reputation. In a politically irrelevant dispute over the route of march, Owens engineered a criminally adventurist confrontation with the police which narrowly avoided disaster. YAWF, the best builders of the senator's march, were also the most eager kamikazes.

On May 17, the SWP and its creature NSCAR joined hands with Atkins on a red, white and blue-draped platform and pledged their defense of the constitution. The SWP was even more vociferous than the NAACP in its demand for the dispatch of federal troops to Boston. If busing foe Gerald Ford does decide to realize the SWP's program and send his imperialist armed forces into Boston, they will far more likely be used to suppress black yduths in Roxbury (just as they were used in Detroit in 1967) than to defend the rights of black people.

As Boston moves, apparently inexorably, toward widespread racial violence, nothing stands between the city's besieged black population and the increasingly frenzied anti-busing backlash except the dubious and at best wholly unreliable "protection" of federal troops. If in the course of a racial clash troops or police did in fact episodically move against bands of white racists or stood between an embattled black minority and a more powerful military force of white terror, revolutionaries would certainly not at that moment demand, "Troops Out." But under no circumstances would socialists build dangerous illusions in the military arm of the capitalist state by calling for troops to Boston.

Faced with marauding white racist gangs, blacks in Boston can be expected to defend their communities. The SL supported the Columbia Point residents' defense of their lives and homes last year. But chimerical proposals for an aggressive strategy of "black self-defense" would be perilously provocative. Such slogans could well intersect the understandable impulse of oppressed blacks for retaliation—for example punitive expeditions into white neighborhoods—and could have tragic consequences, encouraging desparate blacks to play the racists' game when the cards are overwhelmingly stacked against them.

The only way out of this ominous impasse is the call, raised by the Spartacist League, for united labor-black defense. Only the social power of the trade unions and the presence of significant numbers of whites among the defenders provide a means for unlocking the intensifying racial polarization confronting Boston's black people. This perspective means a political struggle within the pro-busing forces, and above all within the unions against the class-collaborationist misleadership, to turn the tremendous organized strength of the labor movement toward active support of the basic rights of all the working people.■

Joanne Little Acquitted

Drop All Charges!

Joanne Little AP

AUGUST 15—After little more than an hour of deliberation, a Raleigh, North Carolina, jury acquitted Joanne Little of second-degree murder charges in the death from stab wounds of jailer Clarence Alligood. The "not guilty" verdict was virtually a foregone conclusion by the end of the trial, as the prosecution presented no case whatever. Beyond the humiliating procedures usual in rape cases (insinuations of "loose morals," accusations of enticement, attempts to "break" the female victim by repeated brutal questioning about specific details of the traumatic experience), the state tried to convict Little simply for being a black woman prisoner who defended herself from sexual assault by a white jailer.

The bulk of the defense evidence was provided by Joanne Little herself, who described how Alligood held an ice-pick to her face while forcing her to perform acts of oral sex. She stated that she was able to grab the ice pick and stab her assailant, then fled in terror. The atmosphere of the trial was captured by a *New York Times* (13 August) report of the prosecutor's brutal "cross-examination":

> "Repeatedly, the chief prosecutor, William Griffin Jr., asked Miss Little in a sharp sarcastic voice: 'You didn't holler, you didn't scream, you didn't fight him off?'
>
> "Finally, Miss Little, who answered the questions put to her quietly, but with an air of defiance, said: 'Mr. Griffin, if you had been a woman, you wouldn't have known what to do, either. I didn't know whether he was going to kill me or not....I was scared so I just let him....'
>
> "...At one point, the prosecutor, in almost a shout, asked, 'Did you go down on your knees in front of the bunk?' where the jailer was sitting. When Miss Little remained silent, the prosecutor shouted the question again, then again and finally a fourth time before the witness answered, quietly and flatly: 'He forced me down....'"

From the courageous testimony of several women prisoners (who could suffer reprisals at any time) it was established that the jailer had a long history of sexual harassment of female inmates at the Beaufort County Jail.

The prosecution investigation was conducted "in a lot of confusion," as the state's star witness, Willis Peachey, admitted on the stand. In addition, there were numerous indications of an attempted cover-up of the evidence. The cell and dead body were washed up, but the original examination did turn up tell-tale evidence of semen on the thigh of the dead jailer, who was found naked from the waist down. Also, Alligood's trousers (which reportedly had no rips or holes, indicating they were off during the struggle for the ice pick) were "lost" for a period, and no attempt was made to find fingerprints. The prosecution barely even attempted to present evidence, relying instead on racist prejudices and quotes from the Bible: "Joanne Little has broken the law of god...and the law of North Carolina," the state's attorney bellowed.

The case against Little was so weak that after the prosecution rested and before any defense presentation, even Judge Hobgood reduced the charges from first- to second-degree murder. After the trial the jury stated what most of the reporters covering the trial had already noted, that the state had proved nothing. One juror said: "I was always waiting for the state to bring something in, kind of like a bombshell, I was surprised when the state rested" (*New York Times*, 16 August). The prosecution obviously knew it hadn't a leg to stand on and wanted to get the trial over quickly in order to end the unfavorable publicity for North Carolina.

Although there was never any doubt that the killing was a clear case of self-defense, the state originally went after Joanne Little with a vengeance. In prison hell-holes where women are regularly subjected to sexual abuse, where TV cameras scan every inch of the cells including the showers, her example of self-defense infuriated and frightened the authorities. (And with good reason. Only a few weeks before the Little trial opened inmates rioted at a North Carolina women's prison.) A spirit of vengeance permeated the trial. Judge Hobgood sentenced the chief defense attorney, Jerry Paul, to 14 days in jail for remarks made during jury selection and William Kunstler was held in contempt of court.

Joanne Little was lucky. Except for the massive nationwide and international publicity, she would have been quickly railroaded. The state's "sloppy" investigation underlines the capriciousness of capitalist class justice, for under normal circumstances no evidence at all would have been necessary to convict a poor black woman prisoner for resisting a jail guard. (And only because she had the good sense to flee after the incident was Little spared the fate of so many found beaten to death in their cells "trying to escape.")

Fortunately the Joanne Little case became a cause célèbre as numerous demonstrations and newspaper articles transformed it into a major political trial. Her defense fund was enormous (over $300,000 by the beginning of judicial proceedings), thus covering the astronomical costs of running a first-rate legal defense. She was not only able to secure a full team of lawyers and legal assistants, experts on jury selection and stenographic reports for possible appeal, but her legal advisors were able to obtain expert testimony from a famous criminologist.

The acquittal was an important victory, but we must not lose sight of the fact that other Joanne Littles are convicted with impunity. Today 81 prisoners are being held in the cells lining North Carolina's death row. This time the unusual occurred, largely because a broad defense campaign was waged, but the victims of capitalist injustice are many, and recent traditions of non-sectarian political defense are weak.

Although Joanne Little has been acquitted she is not free. Currently out on $15,000 bond pending appeal of a seven-to-ten year sentence for breaking-and-entering, the charge on which she was originally jailed, her life would be in constant danger should she be sent back to prison. We must not permit this to happen. Despite a favorable verdict, it is still necessary to demand: Drop the charges! Free Joanne Little!■

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

July. The Socialist Workers Party, for instance, tries to paint a picture of healthy leftist rejection of CP bureaucratism by revolutionary-minded workers, with a few minor incidents involving reactionaries on the sidelines. The fact that by mid-August more than *50* offices of the Communist Party and other left groups had been sacked and burned in northern Portugal is nowhere mentioned by these fake-Trotskyists.

A flavor of what is really going on comes through clearly in accounts of an August 10 rally in Braga which was addressed by Msgr. Francisco Maria da Silva. Da Silva, who is known as a supporter of the former right-wing corporatist Caetano regime, spoke elliptically, but his supporters shouted back, "'Order yes, anarchy no,' 'Radio Renacença is ours,' 'Long live the Portugal of Fatima,' 'Long live the Portugal of Holy Mary,' and chanted 'Christ the King'" (*Le Monde*, 12 August). As soon as the rally was over several hundred of the participants attacked the CP headquarters screaming "Death to the Communists."

Another of the myths being circulated is that the "sectarian" CP wants to dominate the government and rejects alliances with the Socialists. The SWP goes so far as to make comparisons with Stalin's ultra-left "Third Period," presumably implying that the Portuguese CP had miraculously become "bureaucratic centrist." But the reality is that the CP is terrified at its present isolation and has repeatedly offered to unite with just about anyone save openly fascist forces. The real crime of the Stalinists is their class-collaborationist reformism, their attempts to tie the proletariat to the "progressive" bourgeoisie. The six week-old government crisis in Portugal has been caused by a hard right thrust by the SP and military officers close to it in order to remove the CP from any semblance of power and to decisively smash any and all elements which threaten "social harmony."

Melo Antunes

Informations Ouvriers

The treacherous role of General Carvalho and various Maoist groups in the whole scenario should be clearly understood. Carvalho poses as the great admirer of the Cuban Revolution, personal friend of Fidel Castro and the like, but is in fact the most dangerous element of all the MFA leaders. For the moment he is content to let SP-influenced majors replace his main enemy, Gonçalves, in order to get rid of the CP. But as soon as Antunes and Fabião are discredited, Carvalho could step in as the leader of a *rightist* coup and fulfill his dream of playing the role of Napolean Bonaparte. The Maoists, by blindly tailing after him and lining up with the priests and fascists against the CP (all in the name of fighting "Soviet social-imperialism"), are concretely preparing not only their own destruction but also the annihilation of flower of the Portuguese proletariat.

While not every popular front ends in a bloody Chile-style massacre, events in Portugal have gone too far to be peacefully resolved. With the institution of unit assemblies apparently now extended throughout the armed forces, the spread of workers commissions and reports of at least some leftist army units giving military training to these commissions, nothing short of a massive crackdown by the top officers can enforce capitalist "law and order."

If Portugal is to avoid becoming another Chile (or another Spain, or another Indonesia), no confidence can be placed in the MFA or any sector of the bourgeois officer corps to defend the working masses. It is necessary to organize democratically elected workers councils, recallable at any time, in order to mobilize the entire working class in defense of its organizations. Also necessary is the arming of the proletariat and the formation of workers militias, as well as the splitting of the army by forming soldiers committees in opposition to the command structure of the bourgeois military.

A command center, too, is needed for such a proletarian resistance, and must be formed by unifying the workers councils, soldiers councils, self-defense groups into a national soviet, the basis for a workers government. And while continuously fighting for the establishment of soviet forms of workers power which alone can enable the proletariat to decisively crush the counterrevolutionary offensive, it is essential also that the Marxist vanguard take advantage of possibilities for a temporary military bloc with the Communist Party and those officers willing to fight a reactionary putsch.

The Portuguese working class has suffered through 18 months of repeated betrayals by the CP and SP leaders, the incredible confusion of Maoist and centrist organizations who tail after those who tomorrow would be their butchers, and now more than a month of reactionary mobilization. But there has yet to be a sharp defeat of the working class such as would demoralize its militants to the point of failing to resist a reactionary onslaught. The "moderate" officers are well aware of this, and there is no doubt that the main deterrent holding them back from striking at once is the spectre of civil war. Revolutionary leadership can only come from those who take advantage of every available moment to organize a Trotskyist party, in the struggle to re-create the Fourth International, which is the indispensable tool to organize the necessary proletarian resistance and lead it forward to a soviet republic.■

Rival Maritime Unions Gang Up on SUP

Scabbing, Raiding and Union-Busting in West Coast Sailors' Strike

SAN FRANCISCO, August 22—In a blatant union-busting move smeared with personal corruption, S.F. Mayor Joseph Alioto is backing efforts by Pacific Far East Lines (PFEL), a locally based shipping company headed by his son, John Alioto, to break the Sailors' Union of the Pacific (SUP). Still worse, the mayor has been aided with an orgy of scabbing by the National Maritime Union (NMU), Marine Cooks and Stewards (MCS) and International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU). Their shameless raiding shows how completely worthless are the union bureaucrats' phony convention resolutions on waterfront unity and makes the struggle to defend the SUP an acid test of real maritime labor solidarity.

The ostensible legal rationale for the attempt to break the SUP is the plan by PFEL to sell its Australia run, including four LASH vessels and two container ships, to the New York-based Farrell Lines for the sum of $47 million. In the process, PFEL is seeking to transfer jurisdiction over approximately 200 jobs involved to the NMU, even though the Pacific route jobs have been under SUP jurisdiction for many years. Thus the sale amounts to a runaway shop. Besides the jobs involved, SUP and MFOW (Marine Firemen's union) pension funds are also threatened as the PFEL contributes approximately 27 percent of the total monies in those funds (*Marine Fireman*, 18 July).

In a report to the membership, the MFOW president warned that the sale would "enable Alioto to undercut other shipping companies in West Coast trade by operating with NMU cheap labor cost vessels." It is well known that the SUP and MFOW have generally better wages and manning scales than their East Coast counterparts because of more militant trade-union traditions of the West Coast unions. However, West Coast sailors are also saddled with narrow business-unionist leaders who have allowed the union strength to dwindle over the years, to the point where the SUP today reportedly has less than 3,000 members. It is vital to the SUP and MFOW that there be a militant fight *now* to protect the jobs, since in 1977 PFEL plans to terminate another ship, the *Mariposa*, and a year later the *Monterey*.

The SUP and MFOW are currently in contract negotiations with the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), giving added significance to the PFEL's union-busting move. The last contracts expired on June 15, but in typical business-union fashion sailors have been working on a day-to-day basis without a contract, despite a golden opportunity to link up with ILWU longshoremen who were in contract negotiations during this period.

Strike Explodes

On July 10, to protest against the PFEL sale, the two unions adopted a "no sign-on" policy for the ships involved. The issue came to a head ten days later when in a disgusting scabbing operation MCS bureaucrats signed a fink crew onto the *Thomas E. Cuffe*, one of the ships being struck. It is also reported that among those shipping through the MCS hall were NMU deck hands. By four o'clock that afternoon, the SUP and MFOW had thrown up a 200-strong picket line at Pier 96, tying up the *Japan Bear* and *Hawaii Bear*. A small counter-picket was set up by the MCS, but was prevented from boarding these ships. In a display of class solidarity, rank-and-file Teamsters, machinists and longshoremen refused to cross the SUP/MFOW lines. The strike received sanction from the S.F. Labor Council, Teamsters Joint Council 7 and other labor groups.

On the East Coast the raiding was condemned by an opposition grouping in the NMU, the Militant-Solidarity Caucus, whose special 28 July *Beacon* supplement denounced the scabbing by their union officials and stated that the SUP should continue to crew the ships in question regardless of what company owns them.

SUP strikers manning picket lines in July. WV Photo

Meanwhile, Ed Turner, leader of the Marine Cooks and Stewards, refused to say whether he had ordered the scabbing. Earlier he indicated that the MCS would not support the SUP/MFOW against the company, and then signed a new contract with PFEL. Ironically, just weeks beforehand the MCS agents conference report stated that "cooperation among the three Pacific District unions is not only possible but desirable." But as Morris Weisberger, leader of the SUP, said, "with friends like these, who needs enemies?" (*West Coast Sailors*, 25 July).

On July 26 the strike spread to Los Angeles where SUP pickets tied up the *Australian Bear*. U.S. marshalls were moved in and, claiming there was military cargo aboard, they urged ILWU officials to unload the ship. When this failed, the marshalls claimed to have deputized non-union scabs and for three hours began to discharge cargo. As a consequence ILWU locals 13, 63 and 94 each notified employers that if this was not stopped, they would shut down the port of Los Angeles. Faced with this threat, the PFEL relented and work was halted once more.

The Alioto Connection

Meanwhile, "friend-of-labor" Joe Alioto is pulling all stops to support the union busting effort of his son's company. SUP leader Weisberger revealed that the mayor sent a telegram to Seafarers' International Union (SIU) president Paul Hall (the SUP and MFOW are West Coast affiliates of the SIU), urging him to intervene on the Alioto family's behalf since, according to the telegram, the sale is "absolutely indispensable to make the company viable" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 30 July). Alioto not only confirmed the telegram to Hall, who had supported Alioto's bid for governor in 1974, but defended it with incredible hypocrisy, saying that since he had helped so many unions in the past, "Why can I not help a member of my family in the present circumstances?"

The mayor is also counting heavily on his close relationship with ILWU president Harry Bridges to bust the SUP strike. On July 28 PFEL president John Alioto sent a letter to officials of ILWU Local 10 offering to meet the following day and openly calling on the longshoremen's union to take over 50 container maintenance jobs traditionally handled by the SUP. The ostensible basis for the offer was that the ILWU has a "better record" of supplying minority workers than the SUP, which is notoriously lily-white. Since the PFEL must abide by federal anti-discrimination laws, he contended, the ILWU was preferred (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 August)!

This sudden concern for the welfare of blacks reeks with self-serving hypocrisy considering Mayor Alioto's blatantly racist "Operation Zebra" campaign last year, when he ordered S.F. police to indiscriminately round up all young black males. Moreover, Alioto's LASH barges employ the almost exclusively white Operating Engineers! For the SUP, though, this maneuver shows how their union's racist record on hiring has now opened them up to possible scabbing by unemployed minority workers.

The meeting between ILWU Local 10 leaders and PFEL management took place on July 29 and caused a split in the union leadership. It also highlighted graphically the class collaboration of the ILWU bureaucracy: the company representative was Charlie Velson, who is PFEL vice-president as well as being a member of ILWU Local 34 (clerks) and former assistant to Bridges during the 1971 longshore strike! Local 10 president Larry Wing, although he had just capitulated to Bridges in the contract fight, denounced the proposed deal and walked out of the meeting. In his July 31 "Longshore Bulletin" Wing correctly called the PFEL proposal "strikebreaking and raiding."

Unfortunately, however, PFEL is supported by four Local 10 officers along with the chief and assistant chief dispatchers, who issued their own "Longshore Bulletin" the next day. Calling the SUP strike simply "a family fight as far as we're concerned between the *offshore* sailors' unions," they denounced Wing and asked, "Does Local 10-ILWU come *first* or does some other union have your loyalty?" It is now reported that the pro-raiding group of Local 10 is attempting to impeach Larry Wing. If they pull this off, he would automatically be replaced by a pro-Bridges International loyalist.

The only real, continuous opposition to Bridges has come from *Longshore Militant*, a newsletter published by two long-time ILWU militants, Stan Gow and Howard Keylor. At a meeting of the Local 10 executive board on July 24, Gow was the *only* board member to vote against raiding (Wing abstained). In an emergency leaflet dated August 4, Gow and Keylor called for a fight to "end race and sex discrimination in all maritime unions" and warned that "the rank and file must not allow our local to be prostituted to serve the interests of the shipowners." They demanded an end to jurisdictional raids and scabbing, and pointed to the need for a joint maritime union fight for 8 hours pay for 6 hours work in order to create additional jobs.

The fate of the SUP/MFOW action against PFEL is now under negotiation with the PMA and the PFEL. Although on July 22, an S.F. Area Arbitrator declared the unions' picket lines to be legitimate, behind-the-scenes maneuvering produced a court injunction against the picketing on August 1, alleging that the SUP was illegally attempting to impose conditions on the PFEL sale.

For seamen and longshoremen, faced with a scarcity of jobs and incessant infighting among the union bureaucrats, one thing is clear: only by ousting the present scab misleaders can genuine maritime labor unity be achieved and the tie broken with the capitalist shipowner politicians. Only by fighting for a full class-struggle program can the fratricidal traditions of pro-capitalist business unions be replaced by the struggle of all workers against the exploiters.■

SUBSCRIBE TO

Young Spartacus

monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

75

$2 / 11 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co., Box 825 Canal St. P.O., New York, N.Y. 10013

SWP/OCI...

(continued from page 2)

SP campaigned in tandem with the capitalist PPD and *against* the CP.

This false interpretation was then expressed in an opportunist political line when the OCI began raising the slogan for an "SP-CP Government Headed by Soares" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 18-25 June) or, more recently, for a "Soares Government" (*Informations Ouvrières*, 23 July-6 August). If ever there was an example of reformist parliamentary cretinism, this is it! To call for a Soares government while the SP is leading an anti-Communist mobilization is like calling for a Scheidemann and Noske government in Germany in early 1919! Those who make this call should ponder the fate of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the German Communist Party who were assassinated by agents of that social-democratic government in the latter's desperate effort to strangle the revolution. With its present political line, the OCI (and presumably the SWP as well) would applaud the installation of Mario Soares in Belem Palace as the Portuguese Scheidemann!

Revolutionary Trotskyists are far from indifferent to the fact that the masses still have illusions in their CP and SP misleaders. On several occasions the Spartacist League has called for reformist workers parties to take power in their own name and carry out a revolutionary program. The reformists' refusal to break with bourgeois allies, or their failure to defend the workers' interests once in power, can be a powerful educational tool in convincing the social-democratic and Stalinist ranks of the need to split from the labor lieutenants of capital in order to form a truly Leninist vanguard party.

But the demand for a CP-SP government is not a slogan for all seasons. In Portugal prior to the April 25 elections this year there was no ostensibly democratic national representative body which could serve as the framework for a CP-SP government. Only a coup d'état or an insurrection could have brought it about. Since Marxists do not call for a bonapartist regime (such as would result from a putsch) and an insurrection implies that the masses have already broken with the pro-capitalist reformists, it would have made no sense to call for a CP-SP government (although we did call on the reformists to break from their bourgeois allies, including the MFA). After the formation of the constituent assembly the SL briefly called for a CP-SP government, while continuing to call for the formation of democratically elected workers councils (*WV* No. 71, 20 June).

However, when the SP initiated a broad anti-Communist mobilization following its resignation from the coalition government on July 11, to call for Soares to power would mean asking for strangulation of the workers organizations, particularly the "far left" groups and nascent organs of workers power (such as the Lisnave workers commission). When the reformists literally place themselves on the other side of the barricades from the revolutionary workers, unleashing (or fronting for) a reactionary terror campaign against them, only those with suicidal instincts could call for placing these betrayers at the head of the government. Ostensible Trotskyists should recall that Lenin dropped the slogan of a Menshevik-Social Revolutionary government responsible to the soviets when Kerensky launched a ferocious witchhunt against the Bolsheviks following the July days of 1917.

Confusion and Rotten Blocs

The United Secretariat and its various sections have been all over the map on Portugal. Not only did the majorityite French LCR make apologies for Stalinist-organized censorship in the *República* affair while the minorityite American SWP opposed the suppression of SP views, but *La Gauche* (the newspaper of the USec's Belgian section, reflecting the views of majority leader Ernest Mandel) reportedly also condemned the closing of *República* (according to *Informations Ouvrières*, 18-25 June). Moreover, there is not even unity in the minority, for while the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST) agreed that it is necessary to oppose a press takeover by the MFA in advanced capitalist countries, it supported a similar move by the military regime in Peru last year (*Intercontinental Press*, 21 July). This is indicative of broader differences in the USec minority, as the PST also disagrees with the SWP characterization of Allende's government in Chile as a popular front.

Even more dramatic proof that the USec is an unprincipled rotten bloc, *as are both of its constituent factions*, is a dispute within the minority over Portugal. After characterizing the MFA for some time as a bourgeois bonapartist formation (which is the view of the SWP), the Portuguese sympathizers of the minority, the Partido Revolucionario dos Trabalhadores (PRT) recently published a "necessary rectification" sharply changing its views. It is wrong, says the PRT, "to 'standardize' everything as proletarian or bourgeois," and the MFA must be understood as a "new phenomenon, a momentary result...of the Portuguese Revolution."

The reason given for the changed evaluation is that the MFA, a "petty-bourgeois movement," has "introduced another organization, another power into the bourgeois Armed Forces, a dual power." The article goes on to refer to a "semi-soviet tendency" in the MFA, and to COPCON (General de Carvalho's elite strike force) as "the most radicalized expression of the rank-and-file democracy which is developing in the barracks" (*Combate Socialista*, 10 July). The same view, that there is a "semi-soviet," "petty-bourgeois" "progressive sector of the MFA" is also reported to be held by the Argentine PST.

The instabilities in the USec rotten bloc are sharply highlighted over Portugal. While the petty-bourgeois centrist USec majority continues its on-again, off-again gyrations, currently trying to tail after the CP, the Maoist-led workers commissions and "revolutionary officers" of the bourgeois MFA—all at the same time! minorityite elements in this fake-Trotskyist swamp may coalesce around the grotesque reformist impulse to front for the counterrevolutionary mobilization. It is far from certain that even this divergence will compel a split, as both USec wings have repeatedly demonstrated their eagerness to subordinate political line to petty factional maneuvers. Presently the main pressure for split appears to be coming from the SWP, which may want to use Portugal as the lightning rod to generate a new unholy alliance between the SWP and PST and the right-centrist OCI.

We cannot permit these antics to obscure the crucial point: the Portuguese working masses face the grave danger of a bloody repression, politically disarmed in advance. Despite the presence of *two* (what else?) sympathizing groups in Portugal, the USec, in all its myriad revisionist shadings, has proven itself incapable of providing the revolutionary leadership whose lack stands between the Portuguese workers and the prospect of victorious proletarian revolution. It falls to the international Spartacist tendency to take up the banner of Trotskyism which the USec revisionists besmirch.

Toward the Reforging of the Fourth International!■

Detroit...

(continued from page 8)

heavily segregated school system.

While busing cannot solve the problem of achieving quality education for all or prevent the channeling of blacks onto the lowest rungs of the economic ladder, integration and equal access to existing educational facilities are basic democratic rights which must be defended, if necessary through massive mobilization of labor, black and community organizations. But Young simply wants to keep the lid on at any price, refusing to take even token steps to alleviate the desperate plight of Detroit's black population for fear of disturbing the status quo.

Bourgeois politicians like Young who pose as "defenders" of the black masses while catering to racist reaction offer no solution for Detroit's black population. While the ruling class and its government find race riots inconvenient and costly, they certainly prefer fratricidal racial conflict to a united working-class offensive against racial oppression and capitalist exploitation. Only the forging of a revolutionary workers party, fighting in the interests of the working class and all the oppressed, can unite workers—black and white—to fight their common enemy, the bourgeoisie.■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 9, Summer 1975

—Black Women Against Triple Oppression
—German Social Democracy: Work Among Women
—United Secretariat Betrays Women
—Joan Little Must Not Be Sent to Death Row!
—Sheila Rowbotham: Hiding From History
—Anti-Abortion Laws: Weapon of Church and State

Subscription rate: $1 for 4 issues
Make payable, mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, New York 10001

Maoist Thug Attack in Melbourne

A vicious and unprovoked gangster attack on members of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand (SL/ANZ) was carried out in Melbourne on July 30 by the Maoist Radical Student Movement (RSM) and its supporters at LaTrobe University. Badly outnumbered, the three Spartacists received injuries from repeated kicking. One of our SL/ANZ comrades, Andrew Georgiou, was pushed into a plate glass window, resulting in a deep laceration wound requiring hospital treatment and 50 stitches.

The cowardly attack came at a protest demonstration against provincial premier Rupert Hamer of the bourgeois Liberal Party. One of the SL/ANZ placards read: "Down with Hamer! Down with Capitalist Parties!" This communist attack on the class enemy enraged the Maoists, who sought to restrict the demonstration to prison reform. In addition to defending the bourgeois politician from the political attack of the Trotskyists and physically assaulting our comrades, the Maoist scum also tried to finger SL/ANZ supporters to the university authorities and police.

The Maoist thug attack has received national press coverage in Australia and embarrassed the LaTrobe administrators and even other Stalinist and reformist groups (though they, too, are well-known for their gangster attacks on political opponents to their left). A motion was subsequently passed by the LaTrobe Clubs and Societies Council calling for the disaffiliation of the RSM. The Spartacist Club, however, voted against the motion and opposes disaffiliation of the Maoists.

It is necessary to vigorously denounce the RSM's use of violence and expose the political bankruptcy at its source, but exclusion by the university authorities is not the answer. (The precedent would soon be used against other left groups as well.) The *Campus Spartacist* of 31 July pointed out that it is the workers movement that must be organized to defeat such assaults and teach these Stalinists some lessons in proletarian democracy:

> "The RSM must be exposed as the wretched national-chauvinist reformists that they are through open *political struggle* not by acts of bureaucratic political censorship and suppression by the Clubs and Societies Council. The Spartacist Club wants the Maoists on campus where we can politically destroy them."

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.
650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

Boston on the Brink of Race War

BOSTON, August 21 The escalating wave of violence in Boston points ominously in the direction of outright race war when Phase Two of the court-ordered busing program goes into effect this September. The last month's events demonstrate a marked deepening of white racist frenzy in the streets and the possibility of widespread black counterviolence.

For three successive weekends the stench of a pogrom hung over Carson Beach in South Boston as hundreds of youths gathered with bats and hockey sticks to keep their turf lily-white. On July 27 six black traveling salesmen were chased from the beach, and one was hospitalized. A week later a leaflet distributed door to door by the South Boston Defense League successfully mobilized a large force. When a rumored demonstration by black people did not materialize, the mob let off steam by attacking passing cars with black and Puerto Rican passengers.

Boston cops form barricade between black and white demonstrators at Carson Beach. Boston Globe/Tom Landers

On the following Sunday, August 10, they got their confrontation. Black leaders organized a "picnic" at the beach, reminiscent of Southern civil rights demonstrations of a decade ago. The seven hundred black "picnickers" were cordoned off from twice that number of local whites by a massive police force. Rocks and bottles flew back and forth over the police lines for more than an hour until the cops used motorcycles and horses to clear the beach. Ten people were arrested and 40 injured, including a black woman run down by a police motorcycle.

The days following this dangerous foray onto Carson Beach were marked by violence in both white and black areas. In a distorted response to the racist violence they have faced for the past year, black youths from the city's decaying housing projects lashed out indiscriminately, stoning cars driven by whites and severely beating their occupants. The police responded with routine brutality. Several projects were besieged and the residents terrified by the use of attack dogs. A black-owned bar was stormed, and the patrons were clubbed and sprayed with mace.

In the tense weeks preceding school opening a grim scenario is unfolding. Phase Two opens new areas of the city to the busing program although one all-white neighborhood, East Boston, will remain segregated. The extension of busing into these areas, especially Charlestown (a social and ethnic mirror image of South Boston), will almost surely be met with violence by the racists, who have demonstrated the ability to mount large armed mobs on a few hours' notice. Black children may pay in blood for the crimes of reformist misleaders who preach reliance on cops and courts to secure and defend the democratic rights of black people. For their part, the Boston Police Patrolmen's Association has made its sympathies amply clear by its financial contributions to ROAR, the umbrella anti-busing organization. In the many attacks on black people, the police have either been conspicuously absent (as on the first day of school last September when a mob of white youth had a free hand in trashing school buses taking black children home from South Boston) or else criminally slow to act (as in October when a black Haitian worker was dragged from his car and nearly beaten to death, or in December when a lynch mob kept black students trapped in South Boston High School for several hours). Seething with race hatred, "Boston's finest" certainly cannot be relied upon to defend black children on the buses.

On the other hand, the evidence of Carson Beach and its aftermath is that the liberal pacifist strategy of the NAACP and its small-time carbon copy, the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), will not be able to contain the rage of black youths who have watched their brothers and sisters harassed and attacked in South Boston this past year. Without a political leadership to provide an alternative to the hard race lines drawn by the capitalist system, the road is open to bloody, large-scale confrontations between blacks and whites. This will give the police the opportunity to point their guns in the direction to which they are accustomed.

Concretely, some 2,000 state and local police are scheduled to be involved in the first day of Phase Two. Units of the Massachusetts National Guard are being briefed in case they are deployed in Boston. Their new commander is state public safety secretary Charles Barry, who as a deputy superintendent of the Boston police directed last September's brutal occupation of the Columbia Point housing project after the black tenants organized to defend themselves from racist vigilantes. The isolation of the city's black minority and the deepening racial polarization could lead to a massacre of black people, by white racist mobs, by the police/National Guard or by both. It is toward the creation of integrated defense forces based on the trade unions and tied to black and community organizations that labor and black militants must work in order to cut through this polarization and provide an adequate defense for the school buses.

Major responsiblity for this ominous situation belongs to the vacillating policies of liberal bourgeois politicians. They have performed a *danse macabre* with the racist forces, alternating steps toward desegregation with capitulation at every level. While upholding school desegregation programs in Boston, Louisville, Denver and other cities, the Supreme Court overruled cross-district busing in July 1974. This allows the court to pose as champion of integration and black people's rights while leaving the status quo fundamentally unchanged. Suburban schools with better teachers and facilities are off limits to poor and working-class children from the cities.

Don Preston/George Rizer

Police cordoning off Bromley-Heath housing project in Roxbury during racial clashes last month.

Meanwhile, the reshuffling of black and white students from one decaying city school to another exacerbates the opposition from whites and broadens the base of support for racist politicians like George Wallace or Boston's Louise Day Hicks.

However, the credibility of such demagogues relies on their ability to provide legal channels for anti-busing forces. The federal courts have so far denied all the appeals launched by the Boston School Committee. While politicians at every level from Gerald Ford down have disavowed "forced busing," thus encouraging the racist mobilization against it, the peaceful and legal forms of obstruction have been eliminated step by step. Legislative attempts to repeal the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act were blocked by federal court orders, and the racists' panacea of a constitutional amendment outlawing busing, although it picked up broad Congressional support is clearly a far-off prospect.

Locally, as the September school assignments were mailed out, police forces beefed up for opening day and other measures taken to prepare for Phase Two, local politicians read the writing on the wall. While making clear their personal opposition to the plan, Boston's mayoral candidates, Joseph Timilty and incumbent Kevin White, have conspired to entirely eliminate the issue for the election. This marks the first time for years that the anti-busing forces have not had a vociferous spokesman in the campaign. With the resignation of one member, even the arch-racist School Committee may develop a majority of "moderate" anti-busers who counsel co-operation with the court order. The door is wide open for the growth of incipiently fascist elements which thrive on the violent extraparliamentary mobilization of racist vigilantes.

While the deepening polarization objectively cries out for an independent working-class policy to avert race war, the approach of so-called socialist organizations over the past year has merely vacillated between the two poles within the bourgeois camp. The most grotesque response was that of the Maoist Revolutionary Union which embraced objectively racist policies with their slogan of "People Unite to Smash the Busing Plan." These one-time uncritical enthusiasts of Panther-style black nationalism are now consciously tailing the most backward sentiments of white workers. Only a few days before the violence began at Carson Beach, these vile opportunists led an anti-busing demonstration against Phase Two at the State Board of Education.

Other groups, notably Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), temporarily shelved their enthusiasm for black separatism as they watched the struggle over busing deepen into a national attack on the few tenuous gains won by black people over the last two decades. While opportunistically defending busing, which is counterposed to their usual panacea of "community control," these fake leftists defined their policies within the limits set by various black liberals that

continued on page 8

Now Weekly!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 76 — 12 September 1975

Goncalves Capitulates–Rightist Generals Consolidate

Portugal Facing Bloodbath?

Boston-area police training for riot duty this month. Boston Herald American

SEPTEMBER 8—For 16 months a pre-revolutionary situation has been churning in Portugal. Until a few weeks ago, at the major crisis points the political constellation of forces each time lurched to the left: 9 July 1974—rightist premier Palma Carlos dismissed; 28 September 1974—General Spinola ousted; 11 March 1975—reactionary coup frustrated. In December 1974 a proposed economic plan calls for integration of private industry; in April 1975 the banks are nationalized; in July 1975 the remaining major trusts are taken over. Workers commissions spread, vigilance committees appear, ("advisory") democratic assemblies are instituted in the military units.

But revolutions have a certain rhythm and such a gradual leftward shift cannot continue forever. As the fundamental limits of capitalism are endangered, the reactionaries begin to mobilize, using every means at their disposal: economic boycott and sabotage, mobilizing petty-bourgeois and obscurantist elements against the workers, military conspiracy, imperialist threats. So it has been in Portugal also. And as the rightists stepped up their drive for a showdown the pendulum's left swing slowed down and then appeared to stop in mid-air.

The ouster three days ago of General Vasco Gonçalves from his post as premier may mark the beginning of a sharp swing back to the right. As has been typical of the complex maneuvering of the last six weeks of governmental crisis, the situation is still murky and the whole process was carried out in a deceptively peaceful manner. First, President General Francisco da Costa Gomes dismissed Gonçalves as premier on August 29, but simultaneously nominated him as armed forces chief of staff (an equally or even more powerful position). After this met stiff resistance from top generals, Gonçalves finally capitulated at a meeting of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) in Tancos on September 5.

This outcome, although it involved little more than some "lapel-pulling" at Tancos, was prepared by large anti-Communist demonstrations in July, the burning of scores of Communist Party (CP) offices and open threats of a putsch from the rightist commanders. And while the shift to the right is small (the new premier is ostensibly "non-aligned" and leftist officers still have considerable weight in the MFA's highest body, the Supreme Revolutionary Council), it is clear that the anti-Communist generals have occupied important positions of strength in the last 10 days' maneuvering.

The Portuguese workers must not be fooled by peaceful appearances. The intentions of the "moderate" officers were made clear by the "Document of the Nine" which focuses on the need to combat "the anarchy and populism which inevitably lead to the catastrophic dissolution of the state...." The document and its authors' actions have made clear that their aims can be accomplished, as we wrote in our last issue, only "by a far-reaching purge in the military, abolishing soldiers committees, eliminating the 'advisory' unit assemblies in the armed

continued on page 11

For a Labor and Black Mobilization to Defend the Buses!

Racist School Boycott in Boston

SEPTEMBER 8—As schools open this fall across the country, anti-busing forces are stepping up their national drive to obstruct school integration. The sharpest confrontation last week came at Louisville, Kentucky, where racist violence rocked the city for days. The democratic rights and even the very lives of black people are at stake in a half dozen major cities as court suits, school boycotts, mass marches and angry mobs seek to block court-ordered busing plans. But the focal point of the racist mobilization again promises to be Boston.

Only a massive show of force today barely contained the seething violence of the anti-busing movement as Boston public schools opened their doors. Nearly 2,000 local and state police, backed up by federal agents, lined the streets and accompanied school buses bringing black children to many formerly all-white schools in the city. Another 600 National Guardsmen waited on call. South Boston High School, the scene of repeated mob violence last year, was cordoned off by police barricades for three blocks in all directions.

City-wide school attendance was less than sixty percent, and in key locations like South Boston, Roxbury and Charlestown High Schools it was less than thirty percent as the result of a white boycott. White lumpen youths from housing projects in Charlestown attacked police with rocks and bottles, and one police cruiser was shot at. Later in the day the same gang vandalized several cars parked in a bus staging area, setting one on fire. They then surged into nearby Bunker Hill Community College where they assaulted a black student and broke his arm.

As was to be expected, the cops concentrated their repression against the supporters of busing. Of 80 people arrested today, 74 were members of the Committee Against Racism (CAR), a pro-busing group dominated by Progressive Labor Party (PL). They were

continued on page 11

Greetings to Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD

The Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands hails the weekly *Workers Vanguard* as an important step forward in our international struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International. The weekly will represent a powerful weapon for our tendency for the international regroupment of Trotskyist forces on the firm basis of the Transitional Program. In the last years *Workers Vanguard* has been an important instrument in the crystallization and education of our international political tendency, as well as for the struggle to forge the vanguard party of the working class in the U.S. The weekly means a qualitative leap in the capacity of the Spartacist League/U.S. to intervene with its correct political line in the struggles of the American proletariat and is a powerful boost to the international Spartacist tendency.

Opportunists, from the IC of Healy to the German Spartacusbund, have long seen the production of a "mass paper"—sacrificing Marxist clarity for "agitational" effect—as a necessary "stage" in the construction of the vanguard party. *Workers Vanguard* has been, in contrast, a Marxist newspaper in the best tradition of the political struggle of Lenin and Trotsky, a newspaper which is both a vital interventionist organ and a political educator. The weekly *WV* is a major step forward.

Best comradely greetings,
For the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands
(Trotskyist League of Germany)
Section of the iSt

Dear comrades:

To produce a weekly newspaper is not easy, to produce a weekly *Workers Vanguard* is difficult indeed. The fact that you are able—without neglecting the other tasks which are posed for revolutionaries—to produce on a weekly basis the newspaper which has expressed our politics in the clearest and fullest manner means a powerful step forward in the struggle for the reforging of the Fourth International.

Forward in the struggle for the construction of the International Trotskyist League, forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International.

With communist greetings,

Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten
(Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists)
Sympathizing section of the iSt

Dear comrades,

We greet with enthusiasm the transformation of *Workers Vanguard* from a bi-weekly to a weekly.

We have no doubt that your decision will be important in strengthening the political struggle in Europe, as well as in consolidating the Spartacist League in the North American workers movement. The political and organizational determination needed to publish a weekly *Workers Vanguard*, together with the proposal to strengthen the international Spartacist tendency's journal *Spartacist*, expresses the SL/U.S.' determination to proceed forward in affirming the principles of Trotskyism.

For the rebirth of the Fourth International!

Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia
(Spartacist Nucleus of Italy)
Sympathizing section of the iSt

Greetings from Ligue Trotskyste de France. Passage from bi-weekly to weekly constitutes enormous step forward for SL and for international Spartacist tendency as well. Forward to rebirth of Fourth International.

Ligue Trotskyste de France
(Trotskyist League of France)
Sympathizing section of the iSt

Protectionism Divides the Working Class

Call Off Anti-Soviet Grain Boycott!

The Meanyite burcaucracy of the AFL-CIO has once again become the vanguard of anti-communism in this country. A sign on the Houston docks supporting the International Longshoremen's Association (ILA) boycott of grain exports to the Soviet Union reads: "No wheat to Russia. Let Commies starve. Give U.S.A. lower prices."

The Spartacist League categorically opposes the Meany/Gleason grain boycott both because we defend the Soviet Union (a bureaucratically degenerated workers state) against American imperialism and because we oppose all forms of U.S. nationalist economic protectionism, which set the workers of different countries at one another's throats.

We oppose the grain boycott through a campaign *within* the labor movement, mobilizing the ranks against the Meany/Gleason misleaders. We do not call upon the capitalist government, courts and police to prevent implementation of the anti-communist policies of the union bureaucracy. We do not support the court order against the Houston ILA, because this sets a precedent for the future against international labor boycotts which we will advocate and support, such as against the Chilean junta.

Anti-Soviet Labor Fakers

The grain boycott is being pushed in the name of economic protectionism for the maritime industry, anti-communist jingoism and holding down food prices. The different parties involved in the boycott give very different weightings to these three proclaimed goals.

The ILA acting on behalf of the other maritime unions is simply interested in increasing the amount of grain carried in American-flag ships and increasing the rates charged by Soviet shipping in competition with the U.S. maritime industry. And it now appears that Brezhnev's government is willing to make concessions in the face of Teddy Gleason's blackmail.

The ILA has a long history of anti-Soviet flagwaving, the flag being taken down if the price is right. During the early 1950's, the ILA refused to unload a shipment of Russian furs. This cold-war patriotism was quietly discontinued when $65,000 was handed over to a union business agent.

George Meany's anti-Soviet stance is less venal, but therefore more serious than Gleason's. Just recently, the AFL-CIO president made a big show of hosting Russian writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who called upon the West to launch a crusade against "godless communism" in order to restore in Russia the "good old days" of Tsar Peter the Great. However, even Meany's role in the grain boycott is unalloyed hypocrisy.

Walter Bennett

AFL-CIO chief George Meany and President Ford.

In 1973 (the latest year for which figures are available), U.S. exports of machinery and transport equipment to the USSR totaled $204 million (U.S. Department of Commerce, *U.S. Exports*, 1973). Most of these shipments received the usual government export subsidies and bank trade credits. Yet one does not hear a cheep out of Meany about "giveaways" to the Soviets when industrial, union-made exports are involved. Meany's anti-communist fanaticism becomes quite discreet when it conflicts with the vested interests of the Steelworkers, Machinists and Electricians; only when farmers are concerned does Meany's anti-Soviet consumerism know no bounds.

Blaming Higher Prices on the Kremlin

For years the AFL-CIO officialdom has waged a major campaign for import protectionism, which, if successful, would deprive American working people (as consumers) of the benefits of the international division of labor. The very same issue of the *AFL-CIO News* (August 16) which denounces grain sales to the USSR as the sole cause of all inflation opposes cutting tariffs, that is *lowering* the price of imports, until unemployment falls below five percent (i.e., most likely never, so

continued on page 10

Chile: Two Years of Junta Terror

September 11 marks the second anniversary of the coup d'état in Chile that overthrew the *Unidad Popular* (UP—Popular Unity) government of President Salvador Allende. This was no run-of-the-mill "banana republic"-style coup in which one petty despot replaces another with scarcely an iota of political change. An acute pre-revolutionary situation had ripened with the emergence of embryonic dual power formations as the leftist coalition was increasingly unable to contain a militant working class. Thus the central goal of the reactionary putschists was not merely the ouster of a shaky regime but the bloody annihilation of the organized workers movement. As put by Air Force General Gustavo Leigh, the most vociferous member of the junta, "we want to cancel the last fifty years of Chilean history."

To accomplish this the generals and admirals unleashed a wave of terror on a scale never before experienced in Latin America. An orgy of indiscriminate murder during the first few weeks after the coup left more than 20,000 leftists, workers and peasants dead. Estimates of the number of political prisoners arrested, sent to concentration camps and (many of them) severely tortured range from 95,000, according to the Catholic Church, to 300,000 (a Radical Party figure). Today more than 5,000 remain in various jails and detention centers, while

Esquerda Socialista

Early 1975 photo of Bautista Van Schouwen hospitalized under detention in Valparaiso because of severe injuries received under torture.

an estimated 80,000 have gone into exile.

The arbitrary quality of the initial bloodbath was followed by increased selectivity. But the junta still continues its policy of periodically flooding workers' quarters and shantytowns with police and army units, rounding up all males, many of whom are hauled off for "further questioning" (i.e., torture). Although, in order to improve its public relations image, the government has made a show of willingness to send prisoners into exile, new political detentions in Santiago alone run about 40 a week, according to the *New York Times* (25 May 1975).

The first pronouncements by the junta stated its determination to wipe out the "disease" of Marxism and "politics." All leftist and workers parties were banned, and even the center-right Christian Democrats were declared to be "in recess." The labor federation (CUT) was outlawed and many individual unions dissolved, to be replaced by corporatist *gremios* (yellow unions) with leaders trained by the CIA-backed American Institute of Free Labor Development. And these draconian measures took their toll. The Socialist Party was utterly destroyed due to its loose organization and heavy infiltration, while the Communist Party's infrastructure was badly damaged. In an immediate sense the junta and its imperialist backers had achieved their aims.

Astronomical Inflation and Mass Starvation

Just as the mass murders were a deliberate policy of General Augusto Pinochet's anti-communist regime, so too was reducing the vast majority of workers to a near-starvation level of existence. It hoped by this means to control the inflation which plagued Allende and to attract U.S. and European investments. The inflation, however, continued and even accelerated under the junta. For the year ending in August 1973 prices rose by 323 percent, the highest rate in Chile's history, yet in the first year after the coup the rate nearly doubled to 611 percent (according to the government's own statistics). Last year the rate dropped to "only" 355 percent but it is currently rising again due to severe shortages of goods. Many small and medium manufacturers of mass consumption items have been forced to fold because of lack of a market.

The price increases were concentrated in the basic necessities (again deliberately), which had been controlled under the UP regime. Thus the cost of powdered milk rose by 5,488 percent from September 1973 to June 1975 and bread, which stood at 11 escudos per kilogram at the time of the coup rose to 1,100 escudos this May. Unemployment presently stands at 15 to 20 percent, much of it accounted for by the systematic firing of all known leftists. It is not surprising, therefore, that the junta is universally hated among the working-class and poor population, to the point where the government was recently forced to arrest leaders of its own yellow "unions" who protested over provisions of a new labor law.

The severe depression and disruption of the Chilean economy has also led to a sharp drop of confidence in the regime from both domestic and foreign business interests. Despite extensive denationalization of industry, Chile's external financing has failed to improve. At a meeting last March, the "Club of Paris," a cartel of imperialist banks controlling a large part of the foreign debt of Asian, African and Latin American countries, refused to substantially alter Chile's onerous schedule of repayments. And while the junta has begun paying off the U.S. conglomerates for the nationalized mines, income from copper sales has fallen by almost 50 percent in the last year (from $1.8 billion to $1 billion). Meanwhile, desperately sought new investment totals a paltry $2 million (*New York Times*, 6 May).

Having prepared their moves in close coordination with the CIA, the *gorila* generals had expected an immediate avalanche of loans and aid from grateful imperialist backers after the coup. But while always ready to spread around a few million dollars in order to buy the overthrow of a hostile government, U.S. capitalists are still interested in the profit

Chas Gerretsen/Gamma

The Chilean military junta looks on as goose-stepping troops pass in review.

picture, which in Chile is extremely bleak. Even right-wing coups are not always good business and today everyone from Chase Manhattan Bank to the Pentagon appears willing to see the present Chilean rulers replaced by a more "liberal" regime. The situation is so catastrophic, in fact, that the ultra-rightist General Leigh, a junta leader, recently announced his opposition to the government's deflationary policy which, he said, had caused "intense suffering to the more deprived classes of the country" (*Le Monde*, 26 August).

Recomposition of the Popular Front

The bonapartist military dictatorship has always lacked any sizeable social base of support outside of the officer corps. Although it initially enjoyed the approval of all the bourgeois parties and the Catholic Church hierarchy, this positive allegiance rapidly dissipated. For about the last 20 months all but the hard-line ultra-right have sought to put a certain distance between themselves and Pinochet, playing a game of semi-opposition.

Pinochet's provocations accelerated this trend, systematically driving away all moderate conservative elements. The demagogic populist-posturing defense minister after the September 1973 takeover, General Bonilla, was purged last year and then died in a March 1975 helicopter "accident." And to show how little the government cared about support from the right-wing parties, Renán Fuentealba (leader, along with Bernardo Leighton, of a wing of the Christian Democratic Party) was barred from reentering the country on the grounds that he had been "politicking" while abroad.

The utter failure of the free-market and heavily repressive "Brazilian-model" economic policy has pushed even sectors of the rightist National Party to publicly criticize the regime. With this "broad basis" for opposition the reformist workers parties have been reconstituting and expanding the class-collaborationist popular-front coalition which from 1970 to 1973 systematically paved the way for the bloody coup. By preaching reliance on the "constitutionalist" officers and

continued on page 8

L'Express

Residents of Santiago search for food in a garbage dump outside the city last year.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013 Telephone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 Domestic subscriptions $5.00 per year

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Ranks Fight Purge in ILWU Local 10

Bridges Power Play in S.F. Longshore Union

Local 10 President Suspended—Sues Union in Bosses' Courts

SAN FRANCISCO, September 4—Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) has been thrown into a deep internal crisis growing out of a split in the union leadership over the issue of raiding in the recent strike by the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) and the Marine Firemen's Union (MFOW) against the Pacific Far East Lines (PFEL).

During that strike the Local 10 executive board responded to an offer by PFEL owner and Bridges' pal John Alioto to "give" the longshoremen 50 to 75 container maintenance jobs traditionally handled by the SUP by passing a pro-raiding motion instructing the Local's officers to go out and get those jobs.

While Local 10 president Larry Wing had previously directed longshoremen to respect the SUP/MFOW picket lines, he abstained on this motion. (The only executive board member to oppose the pro-raiding motion was Stan Gow, a supporter of the *Longshore Militant*, a class-struggle opposition newsletter in Local 10.) However, on July 31, a week after the pro-raiding motion was passed, Wing, to his credit, denounced the proposed deal and walked out of a meeting between the Local 10 leadership and the PFEL.

Wing several times made public his opposition to the raiding. In his July 31 "Longshore Bulletin" he correctly called the PFEL proposal "strikebreaking and raiding." And in another "Longshore Bulletin" dated August 14, discussing a meeting between the PFEL and the SUP/MFOW over the issue of job assignments the PFEL had offered to the ILWU, Wing states:

> "I assured them (the maritime unions) that Local 10 also was not interested in being used as a pawn by PFEL to raid another union's work and that we intended to continue to do the work we always have done at Pier 96."

Purge Attempt

As Wing is Local 10's president and therefore chief negotiator responsible for signing new contracts, his opposition to the raiding squelched the deal between Alioto and Bridges followers in the Local 10 leadership. In response, pro-raiding forces in the Local launched a petition drive to impeach Wing on the purposely vague charges of malfeasance and misfeasance in office. In so doing they hoped to get rid of Wing while at the same time avoiding a debate by the membership on the raiding issue.

Claiming that over 25 percent of the Local had signed the petition (the union constitution requires 15 percent), Bridges loyalists in the executive board, led by Vice President Watkins and Secretary-Treasurer Smith, moved to suspend Wing as president pending election of a trial committee at the next regular membership meeting. Wing, in turn, appealed to the membership at the August 21 Local meeting to uphold him in his ruling that the petition was unacceptable since it leveled no specific charges against him, and that therefore no trial committee could be elected.

Five times during the August 21 meeting the ranks voted to uphold Wing in his ruling, over the vociferous objections of Bridges loyalists. In doing so the membership showed excellent sense on two counts.

Firstly, Wing's opposition to raiding and scabbing was a principled act of basic union solidarity and not grounds for his removal from office. It is the pro-raiders—Smith, Watkins, Mosely and Co.—who are playing into the hands of the maritime bosses and their divide-and-rule schemes. Raiding by the ILWU in this instance could only open the door to bloody inter-union warfare on the waterfront. It could only mean worker against worker, not the workers against the bosses. The only winners would be Alioto and the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) capitalists.

Secondly, to have accepted the proposition that there is a constitutional basis for suspending and trying Wing in the absence of specific charges would have committed the Local to a dangerous precedent. Any union officer on the outs with the Bridges machine could find himself suspended and facing a trial on charges of "malfeasance and misfeasance in office." And any unionist with a grain of militancy must of necessity be on the outs with a sellout artist like Bridges.

Wing Goes to Court

Wing rightly refused to recognize his suspension as valid. And when the executive board voted to remove him as chairman he protested by walking out with several of his supporters. (According to a *Longshore Militant* leaflet, he was also joined by Stan Gow, who walked out to express his solidarity with the decision of the membership on August 21 rejecting Wing's suspension. Gow indicated he has no intention of boycotting board meetings, however, as this would leave the Bridges forces unchecked.)

Wing also moved to circulate a petition bringing Secretary-Treasurer Carl Smith up on charges for proceeding to suspend Wing in the face of the August 21 union meeting. This ploy can only further obscure the air and contribute to the atmosphere of charge and countercharge that is tying the Local up while the PMA steps up its attacks on the union.

Worst of all is Wing's main strategy to get his job back—*a court suit directed against the union.* In filing such a suit Wing invites the capitalists into the internal affairs of the union. The courts, like the police, prisons and army, are part of the bourgeois state—they exist only to protect the property and interests of the capitalist class. Thus Wing leans on the self-same forces as Bridges, who puts his trust in his pals in the PMA and capitalist politicians to give longshoremen a "break." Wing, of course, claims his motivation in bringing the suit is above reproach. In the Local 10 "Longshore Bulletin" he says:

> "...I have no other recourse but to petition the courts on behalf of Local 10 and myself in order to safeguard Local 10's property and bank accounts."

But Wing's suit, especially that part of it gleefully quoted by pro-Bridges Vice President Watkins shows a less-than-altruistic concern for "Local 10's property and bank accounts." It reads:

> "That petitioner be reinstated as President of Local #10 and wherefore, Petitioner prays that damages be awarded in accordance with proof thereof; that Petitioner be awarded his costs of suit; and for such other and further relief as the court deems just and proper."
>
> —"Longshore Bulletin," 4 September

By taking the union to court Wing has transformed his case from a legitimate struggle against arbitrary and disgusting action by the Bridges machine into an attack upon the ILWU. He is treading in the exact same footsteps as one Stan Weir, a longshoreman who turned a struggle against the Bridges bureaucracy's de-registration of B men into a court

Luis Carballar

ILWU Local 10 president Larry Wing.

suit against the union. Although Weir's suit has been dragging on for years, it is still active and threatens to cost the union hundreds of thousands of dollars, raising the potential of some kind of government intervention into the union. Wing's court suit should make it crystal clear that he is no alternative to Bridges and Co. It points to the urgent necessity to construct a principled opposition to the present ILWU misleadership.

Racial Tension

Among the most dangerous aspects of the current dispute in Local 10 is a sharp rise in racial tension among the membership. From the outset both Alioto and the pro-Bridges forces have portrayed the proposed raiding as part of a struggle against the job-trusting, lily-white policies of the SUP and MFOW. We warn the black members of the ILWU—this "anti-racist" posture on the part of Alioto and the Bridges bureaucracy is pure cynicism. Alioto wants minority workers on his Pier only so he can continue to qualify for the federal government's capitalist gravy train. Where was John Alioto when his father, San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto, pulled the South African style "Operation Zebra" campaign last year? And where were Harry Bridges and his friends in Local 10 during Zebra? They had not one word of criticism for their "friend-of-labor" Joe Alioto! Bridges and Alioto hold out the prospect for 50 to 75 new jobs. But how many thousands of jobs has Bridges, in collaboration with the maritime bosses, frittered away over the last two decades?

The pro-Bridges forces have been aided in their game of whipping up racial hysteria by acts such as Wing's warm support to the recent San Francisco police strike. ILWU militants must demand that Wing repudiate this disgusting show of solidarity with the direct oppressors of the workers and racial minorities.

For a Class-Struggle Alternative

The way to struggle against racism and for a decent life for ILWU members and all workers is not the way of the Wings and Bridges—not the way of court suits or collaborating with the capitalists, fomenting raiding or promoting racial hysteria. The way forward lies through an unrelenting fight to oust misleaders such as Bridges and Wing and replace them with a leadership committed to the struggle to put an end to capitalism and the racism it spawns, not just in words but in deeds.

The lessons of the current crisis in Local 10 were perhaps most clearly expressed in a leaflet distributed by ILWU militants Stan Gow and Howard Keylor:

> "We need a leadership which doesn't stooge for PMA, Alioto and the Democratic Party. We need a leadership that also realizes the capitalist courts are no friend of labor; one that will not compromise with Bridges' class collaboration, accepting "lesser evil" two year contracts. The only way forward for the ILWU and the workers movement is through a program based on the absolute independence of the working class. The present union leadership opposes such a program and its stranglehold must be broken. Then, instead of hall men being pitted against steadymen and the ILWU against other unions in a mad scramble for jobs, we'll be able to launch an all out fight, economic and political, for jobs for all against the PMA, the shipping lines, and the government that protects their interests."

Longshoremen must demand an end to the bureaucratic wrangling in Local 10. Wing must drop his lawsuit against the union; Smith, Watkins and Co. must stop their drive to oust Wing in opposition to the expressed will of the membership. With the PMA becoming daily more aggressive in attacking working conditions and jobs, what is needed is *not* inter-union raiding and appeals to the bosses' courts to intervene in the unions, but rather a united struggle by all of maritime labor against the capitalist offensive. This requires a relentless struggle against the betrayals of *all* of the competing bureaucratic misleaders. ■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current issue includes—

- Civil War in Angola
- No State Aid to Parochial Schools!
- Mao Sacrifices Guerrillas on Detente Altar
- SWP/YSA Defends "Right" of Free Speech for Fascist Scum!
- Buckley Goes to Pot
- Iranian Students Protest with Hunger Strikes

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
$2/11 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

The Hoffa Myth

The kidnapping and possible murder of James Hoffa have thrown a spotlight on the intimate connections between a section of the labor bureaucracy and organized crime in the U.S. The press is filled with references to Robert Kennedy's Senate investigation of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) in the late 1950's as well as stories of more recent mammoth rip-offs of the union pension funds. On Hoffa's whereabouts speculation abounds: some say he is in hiding, others claim he has become a victim of former gangster pals in a "business" deal. Many point the finger of suspicion at Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons, who holds down Hoffa's former job, which he has been scrambling to retrieve ever since being paroled from prison in 1971.

Although Fitzsimmons' underworld ties are not so well advertised by the media, it is he who has been the "godchild" of the mob ever since he took over the post of president. And Hoffa has been threatening to rock the boat. The precious cargo in the Teamster hold is an estimated $1.5 *billion* in pension funds, one of the largest financial lending sources in the country. Hoffa was reported to be preparing to tell the government about gangland control and pension fraud in the Fitzsimmons regime. Concurrently, rumors were "leaked" that in return for such services a stipulation of his parole preventing the former Teamster chief from seeking union office might be lifted.

With so much at stake, the Hoffa-Fitzsimmons rivalry broke out into a state of virtual war in Detroit's IBT Local 299 during the last year. Among numerous incidents, the Local's pro-Hoffa president had his cabin cruiser blown up while Fitzsimmons' son (another official) had his Lincoln Continental destroyed by a bomb. According to the *New York Times* (10 August), "organizers and officers on both sides were slugged and shot at so often that all are now under orders never to go out alone."

After so much evidence of corruption and ties to mobsters, liberal commentators are continually amazed to find that many rank-and-file truck drivers still yearn for the "good old days" when "Jimmy" ran the union with an iron fist. What the big business press consciously avoids mentioning is the other side of the Hoffa myth, the image of a tough trade unionist. This reputation for militancy was both the result of and a contributing factor in the transformation of the Teamsters from a weak, regionally autonomous craft union into the largest (2.2 million members) and most powerful union in the U.S. today.

But "Jimmy the con man" and "Jimmy the tough trade unionist" are the same Hoffa, and his Janus-faced image is only an expression of the contradictions inherent in "pure-and-simple trade unionism." Its political vision limited to getting the best deal possible from the companies ("a bigger piece of the pie"), simple trade-union militancy is unable to challenge the capitalist system as a whole. It is powerless in the face of economic depression and, irrespective of the "good will" or "honesty" of various union reformers, inevitably gives rise to sweetheart deals with the bosses, violations of labor solidarity and the formation of a weighty bureaucratic apparatus to suppress rank-and-file discontent.

Trotskyists Brought Militant Industrial Unionism to the Teamsters

Hoffa got to be president of the Teamsters not simply because he had more muscle, slicker accountants and better connections with the mob. His "constituency" was over-the-road drivers and he organized them on industrial union lines. The rest of the organization is split up according to "craft" divisions, with bread truck drivers separate from beer truck drivers, milk truck drivers, bus drivers and every other conceivable subcategory, each with its own particular commission rates and different wage structure. Hoffa's power came from the extension of the large general freight locals (with a single standard scale for hourly and per-mile wages) from their initial base in the Midwest to the South and Southwest, and eventually throughout the country.

Although Hoffa knew a thing or two about industrial unionism, he didn't introduce it to the Teamsters. He frankly admits that his knowledge of union organizing came straight from the Trotskyist leaders of Minneapolis' 1934 citywide truck drivers' strike. Out of that strike emerged a powerful General Drivers Local 574 (later Teamsters Local 544 after IBT president Dan Tobin rescinded his expulsion of the militant local from the union) covering all crafts not included in other charters. Farrell Dobbs, a leader of the Minneapolis local and of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party (SWP), took this principle of united working-class action against the capitalists and extended industrial unionism to inter-city trucking by initiating the North Central District Drivers Council (NCDDC) in 1937.

Hoffa got his start by organizing workers in a Detroit Kroger warehouse into Local 299. By 1937 he had risen to become "unofficial" head of the Local, and shortly afterwards he was assigned the Michigan district of the NCDDC. In that capacity he worked under Dobbs as the latter forced trucking bosses to sign the first area-wide contract in August 1938, covering 125,000 general freight drivers in Michigan, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Nebraska, South Dakota, North Dakota and adjacent areas. Hoffa credits Dobbs as his teacher:

> "I learned a great deal in those days, but I would have been a dunce not to have done so. I was studying at the knee of a master who understood all the intricacies of organizational work, fathomed the responses and reactions of employers, and comprehended the many problems of his union at home base. Instinctively Farrell Dobbs always thought ahead and planned accordingly."
>
> —Donald Rogers and James Hoffa, *The Trials of Jimmy Hoffa*, 1970

But for all of Hoffa's talk about his teacher Farrell Dobbs, the business unionist and the revolutionary were profoundly separated during the course of the class struggle. When the Trotskyist leaders of Local 544 opposed World War II as an imperialist war, Teamster chief Tobin joined President Roosevelt to drive "reds" out of the union. Eighteen SWP and Local 544 leaders were thrown in jail under the anti-communist Smith Act, while IBT officials were shipped in from other cities to pirate the Minneapolis local. Hoffa was the key hatchet man dispatched from Detroit for this purpose.

Hoffa the Business Unionist

Hoffa became the vice president of an expanded Central States Drivers Council (CSDC) in 1941 and was the major power in it by the end of the war. Using his base in the CSDC, he directed organizing in the southwestern and southern states, managing to unionize drivers in the Deep South at a time when few other occupations in the region were organized. When then-president Dave Beck met his downfall before the McClellan Senate subcommittee investigation of union racketeering in 1957, Hoffa was the ranking power in the Teamsters. Shortly thereafter he became union president.

From the Trotskyists Hoffa had learned organizing techniques which were instrumental in producing the area-wide master contract. Chief among them was the "secondary boycott" or "hot cargoing" of non-union cartage. Already-unionized drivers refused to handle freight for unorganized companies targeted in the drive. Once over-the-road drivers joined the union, they in turn became a key factor in signing up local cartage drivers and warehousemen.

The effectiveness of this technique was enhanced by the diffuse character of the trucking industry, where it was relatively easy to play one employer off against another. (As recently as 1960 the number of interstate for-hire carriers operating under ICC permits exceeded 17,000 and 80 percent of these had annual gross revenues of under $200,000. Moreover, since very few operators have licences to operate over all trucking routes, they generally depend on other companies to forward freight to many destinations.) Most important, Hoffa understood how militant union tactics could be used to carve out a place *within* the capitalist system.

While Hoffa picked up industrial unionism and organizing methods from Dobbs, their goals were miles apart. Personal aggrandizement, not workers power, was Hoffa's aim. The SWP, in contrast, not only "thought ahead and planned," but integrated its union organizing into the broader struggle to lead the working class to the overthrow of capitalism. Thus the 1934 Minneapolis strike was directed by a democratically elected strike committee and mobilized not only truck drivers but also their wives and masses of the unemployed. Hoffa's organizing campaigns were invariably run bureaucratically, with minimal participation by the workers.

The "tough trade unionist" disavowed any intention of opposing the "free enterprise" system. As one company official put it:

> "Hoffa knows the trucking industry better than probably 99% of the owners. He knows what he wants and he knows what he can get. That is why his demands are never out of line with what the industry can pay."
>
> —quoted in B.J. Widick, *Labor Today*, 1957

This means that Hoffa's demands were actually much less than "what the industry can pay," and he often shoved sellout contracts down the throats of the membership. In Bay Area negotiations during 1961 Hoffa succeeded in eliminating the wage differential between northern and southern California drivers, at the expense of the better-paid northern California division.

The Government Goes After Hoffa

Hoffa's venality and corruption were legendary. His pension settlement alone was estimated at $1.2 million. Among his business associates and the directors of various Teamster welfare and pension plans were characters with reputations ranging from shady to well-known underworld kingpins. He was also notorious for jurisdictional raiding against weaker unions, and IBT opposition to the AFL-CIO merger hinged on the Teamsters' unwillingness to sign no-raiding pacts with CIO unions. For purely commercial purposes Hoffa would even loan Teamster funds to companies whose employees were engaged in bitter strikes. As one of his followers said, "Jimmy is no angel."

Beginning in the late 1950's Hoffa became the object of a massive government vendetta, with five criminal proceedings in seven years, most of them braintrusted by Robert Kennedy, first as counsel to the McClellan Subcommittee and later as U.S. Attorney General. Finally the feds managed to convict him on two counts of jury tampering in March 1964. In order to get a conviction the FBI kept Hoffa under continual surveillance throughout the trial, illegally bugging conversations with his lawyers. The chief prosecution witness, Edward Partin, was an ex-Teamster official with a long criminal record. He had been facing indictment on 26 counts of misuse of union funds when he was employed by the government to entrap Hoffa. Later, in March 1971, Partin recanted his testimony in an affidavit submitted to the

continued on page 10

UPI

Jimmy Hoffa with Robert Kennedy during 1958 Senate investigation of corruption in Teamsters Union.

UPI

Teamster head Frank Fitzsimmons

Eleven Years of Spartacist Press

The Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD!

The appearance of the first weekly issue of *Workers Vanguard* marks an important step forward for the Spartacist League. The official decision to launch the weekly *WV* was taken at the recent plenum of the SL Central Committee, but political and organizational preparations for this leap had already been initiated in Political Bureau discussions beginning in the winter of 1974. The motivation for our determination to undertake a weekly press was stated in the main political resolution presented to the last National Conference of the SL:

> "A weekly frequency would transform *WV* from an organ which mainly projects and immediately draws the lessons of the work of the SL but is not itself a rallying weapon, into an organ which initiates and leads the activity of our supporters. With a weekly press we would remain a propaganda group, but with the capacity for limited and exemplary agitation over selected campaigns and major political events."
>
> —"Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League of the U.S.," 10 August 1974

With the transformation to a weekly, *Workers Vanguard* will thus increase the interventionist capacity of the SL. The expansion of available space will also allow for a greater variety of subject matter, while the rapid growth of the Spartacist tendency internationally places special requirements on *WV* to provide extensive international coverage and analysis. The achievement of a weekly represents a significant gain—indeed, a mere four years ago the SL had never had a regular press!—but this promising beginning will become a deformation if the weekly *WV* is unable to live up to the standards set for it by its predecessors. The weekly *WV* is intended to stand squarely in the tradition of the SL press, as a high-level heavily programmatic and polemical organ.

The occasion of the first weekly *WV* is an appropriate time to review the history of the SL press and to examine its basic guiding conceptions. Key aspects of press policy were outlined before the cadres who were to found the Spartacist League had a press or even an independent organization. Differing press conceptions were prefigured in a discussion in the spring of 1961 between two leaders of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the Socialist Workers Party: the now notorious Tim Wohlforth, then head of the RT, and James Robertson, currently National Chairman of the SL. The RT had to face the possibility of an early expulsion from the SWP, propelling the RT into independent organizational existence with extremely small forces. It was projected that hard choices would be necessary in the short run between crucial elements of organization. Robertson argued that the first functionary of an independent group should be a national secretary, while Wohlforth tended to favor an editor. This divergence over hypothetical allocation of resources implied conflicting priorities of programmatic cohesiveness vs. immediate public face. Wohlforth later made his "Potemkin Village" press policy manifest in the *Bulletin* of his Workers League: a garbage organ of fake-agitational character.

A further delineation of press perspectives emerged from a meeting of the New York Revolutionary Tendency on 13 November 1963. In the context of a discussion on "long-term perspectives," RT leader Shane Mage projected a mimeographed newsletter of somewhat abstract and non-factional cast, to be distributed only to subscribers. Other RT supporters recognized Mage's liquidationist thrust, fully in keeping with his position that the application of democratic-centralist norms to the organization was premature. The intention which emerged from this debate was to aim for a bi-monthly printed newspaper of a more interventionist nature.

Although meager resources hampered the organization's ability to put this policy into practice on any regular basis, the first issue of *Spartacist* succinctly stated our conception:

> "We intend our periodical to be a propagandist publication directed toward the same two aims which we have hitherto pursued exclusively within the confines of SWP membership. We want to *influence* such radical and leftward moving groups or sections as aspire to Marxist clarity and direction. We frankly state in advance that the purpose of our action is to further a revolutionary regroupment of forces within this country such that a Leninist vanguard party of the working class will emerge. Secondly, we want to *win* individual supporters for our viewpoint from among radical youth, militants in the civil rights struggle, and seek to create modest nuclei within key sections of the working class. Critical to our success will be the ability of our comrades to both be involved as revolutionists in the social struggles of our times and to undertake effective inquiry into the pressing theoretical and political issues posed for Marxists today."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964

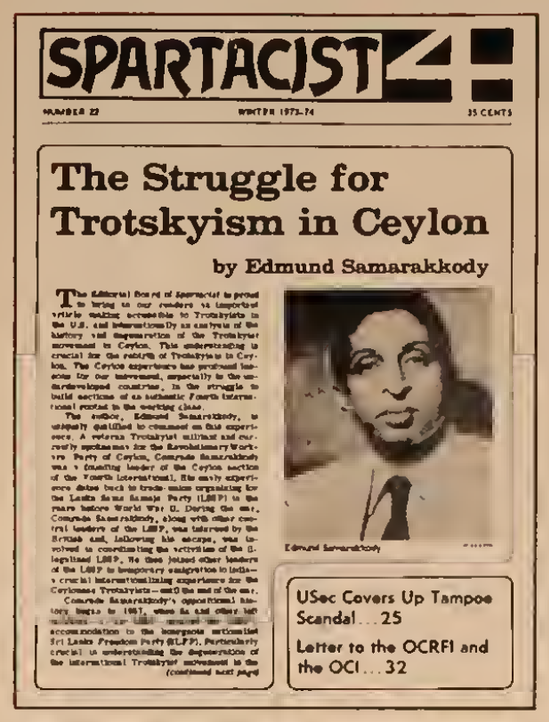
In the years that followed the formation of the Spartacist organization (the Spartacist League was founded in 1966), many articles of lasting value appeared in *Spartacist*. To note only a few, "Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965), an account of Castro's repression of the Posadistas based on a trip to Cuba by a Spartacist comrade in the summer of 1964, was recognized as definitive by both the radical and the bourgeois press; "Centrism and the Fourth International" (1934) by Leon Trotsky was reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967; "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (*Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967) incorporated the experiences in struggle of Spartacist supporters in the black movement in both the North and South; "Chilean Popular Front" (*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970) forthrightly exposed the dangerous consequences of class collaboration at a time when virtually the entire ostensibly socialist movement was mindlessly enthusing over Allende. During these early years a high priority was also given to the production of the *Marxist Bulletin* series, which provides the documentary record of our origins and history.

However the infrequency and irregularity of the SL press were a central weakness and a fetter upon the growth of the organization. On 16 October 1967 Robertson wrote to SL West Coast spokesman Geoffrey White summarizing the difficulties surrounding the production of *Spartacist* and projecting bringing into the national center a full-time editor. Although the proposal was implemented, the year 1968 saw no particular improvement in press frequency and concluded with a faction fight which virtually monopolized the cadres and resources of the SL.

But by early 1971 the organization had begun to grow rapidly and a regular press had become not only urgently necessary but also evidently possible. A Political Bureau meeting on 28 April 1971 projected the transformation of *Workers' Action*, a trade union-centered publication produced on the West Coast, into the central organ of the SL as an 8-page monthly. Subsequent PB discussions centered on the prerequisites for making this leap, especially the strengthening of the national center. The perspective was summarized in the "Memorandum to the CC on the Transformation of the Spartacist League," drafted in August 1971 and adopted in September by a Central Committee plenum. The document summarized the great objective opportunities, both domestic and international, confronting the organization and noted:

> "...almost every aspect of struggle and motion has found us compelled to intervene, and in a way qualitatively at variance with our self-designation as an *unstable sub-propaganda group*. Since our intervention has been as a *vanguard nucleus* while the reality of our forces has been as a sub-propaganda group, in the past three years we have found ourselves functioning under great tension and vastly overextended...."
>
> "As we have recognized from our inception, a regular and frequent press is central to our existence as a propaganda group. Now that the SL also finds imposed upon us the tasks of, and key elements in the capacity to be, the nucleus of the vanguard party, the inability to resolve our press question would reduce us to a mockery...."
>
> "The name *Workers Vanguard* is appropriate to the kind of paper we intend. From the vantage point of the vanguard it is appropriate to treat the struggles of all of the oppressed and in a fully Marxist fashion, while centering on the class struggle...."
>
> —"Memorandum to the CC on the Transformation of the SL," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part III

The leap to a more regular and frequent press was seen as occurring concurrently with other central tasks, notably international expansion, increased industrial implantation, the founding of a national youth organization and the systematic pursuit of opportunities for work among blacks.


SPARTACIST

NUMBER 22 WINTER 1973-74 35 CENTS

The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon

by Edmund Samarakkody

Edmund Samarakkody

USec Covers Up Tampoe Scandal...25

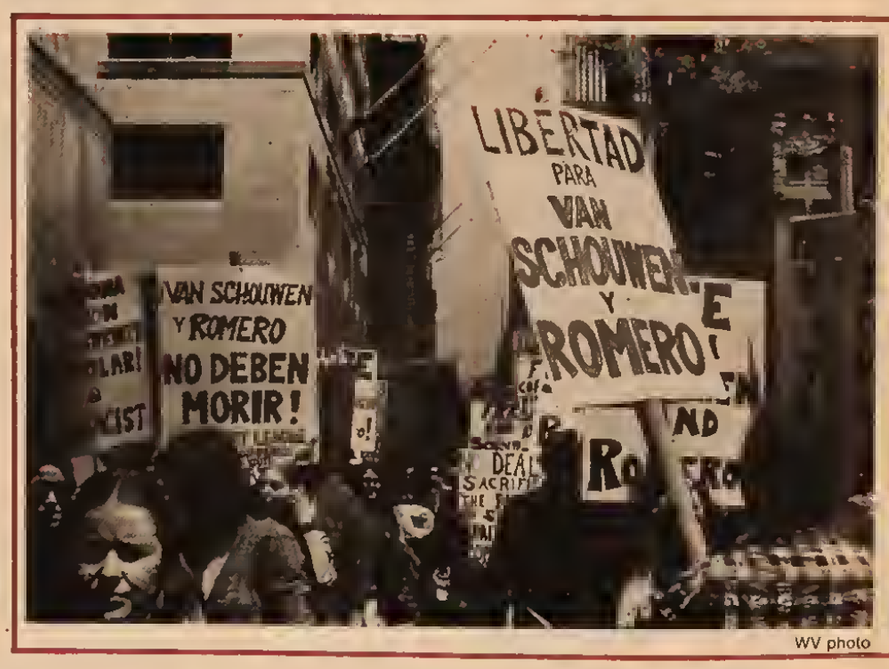
Letter to the OCRFI and the OCI...32

SPARTACIST exposed United Secretariat cover-up of its corrupt Ceylon section.

The first issue of the 8-page monthly *Workers Vanguard* appeared in October 1971. From April to November 1972 *WV* oscillated in length between 8 and 16 pages; it was stabilized as a 12-page monthly in December. The first bi-weekly issue appeared on 27 April 1973 and was 8 pages long. Immediately thereafter *WV* became a 12-page bi-weekly.

The weekly *WV* is the main organ of the Spartacist League/U.S., supplemented by a variety of other publications which extend the scope and audience of the SL press. The Spartacus Youth League, disciplined youth section of the SL, produces its own monthly paper, *Young Spartacus*. *Women and Revolution*, edited by the SL Women's Commission, appears three times per year. *Spartacist* has subsequently become the organ of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), edited under the direction of the iSt's Interim Secretariat, and is now issued irregularly in English, French, German and Italian. In the Spanish-language key documents of the iSt have been published in the format of *Cuadernos Marxistas*. English-language *Spartacist* is now intended to center on international and documentary materials.

The SL press has come a long way in recent years. The inauguration of the weekly *Workers Vanguard* represents an enormous increase in the impact of our program. Yet this moment, which is of great satisfaction for all SL supporters, was prefigured by all the earlier struggles of a fighting propaganda group striving to become the vanguard party of the proletariat. In taking this step we are merely seeking to fulfill the role projected in the first issue of *Spartacist* almost a dozen years ago.



WV photo

WV photo

Left: WV spearheaded an international campaign to save Chilean MIR leaders Romero and Van Schouwen.

Right: Class struggle sharpens in Portugal. WV sent a special correspondent in summer 1974.

Eleven Years of Spartacist Press

The Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD!

The appearance of the first weekly issue of *Workers Vanguard* marks an important step forward for the Spartacist League. The official decision to launch the weekly *WV* was taken at the recent plenum of the SL Central Committee, but political and organizational preparations for this leap had already been initiated in Political Bureau discussions beginning in the winter of 1974. The motivation for our determination to undertake a weekly press was stated in the main political resolution presented to the last National Conference of the SL:

> "A weekly frequency would transform *WV* from an organ which mainly projects and immediately draws the lessons of the work of the SL but is not itself a rallying weapon, into an organ which initiates and leads the activity of our supporters. With a weekly press we would remain a propaganda group, but with the capacity for limited and exemplary agitation over selected campaigns and major political events."
>
> —"Perspectives and Tasks of the Spartacist League of the U.S.," 10 August 1974

With the transformation to a weekly, *Workers Vanguard* will thus increase the interventionist capacity of the SL. The expansion of available space will also allow for a greater variety of subject matter, while the rapid growth of the Spartacist tendency internationally places special requirements on *WV* to provide extensive international coverage and analysis. The achievement of a weekly represents a significant gain—indeed, a mere four years ago the SL had never had a regular press!—but this promising beginning will become a deformation if the weekly *WV* is unable to live up to the standards set for it by its predecessors. The weekly *WV* is intended to stand squarely in the tradition of the SL press, as a high-level heavily programmatic and polemical organ.

The occasion of the first weekly *WV* is an appropriate time to review the history of the SL press and to examine its basic guiding conceptions. Key aspects of press policy were outlined before the cadres who were to found the Spartacist League had a press or even an independent organization. Differing press conceptions were prefigured in a discussion in the spring of 1961 between two leaders of the Revolutionary Tendency (RT) of the Socialist Workers Party: the now notorious Tim Wohlforth, then head of the RT, and James Robertson, currently National Chairman of the SL. The RT had to face the possibility of an early expulsion from the SWP, propelling the RT into independent organizational existence with extremely small forces. It was projected that hard choices would be necessary in the short run between crucial elements of organization. Robertson argued that the first functionary of an independent group should be a national secretary, while Wohlforth tended to favor an editor. This divergence over hypothetical allocation of resources implied conflicting priorities of programmatic cohesiveness vs. immediate public face. Wohlforth later made his "Potemkin Village" press policy manifest in the *Bulletin* of his Workers League: a garbage organ of fake-agitational character.

A further delineation of press perspectives emerged from a meeting of the New York Revolutionary Tendency on 13 November 1963. In the context of a discussion on "long-term perspectives," RT leader Shane Mage projected a mimeographed newsletter of somewhat abstract and non-factional cast, to be distributed only to subscribers. Other RT supporters recognized Mage's liquidationist thrust, fully in keeping with his position that the application of democratic-centralist norms to the organization was premature. The intention which emerged from this debate was to aim for a bi-monthly printed newspaper of a more interventionist nature.

Although meager resources hampered the organization's ability to put this policy into practice on any regular basis, the first issue of *Spartacist* succinctly stated our conception:

> "We intend our periodical to be a propagandist publication directed toward the same two aims which we have hitherto pursued exclusively within the confines of SWP membership. We want to *influence* such radical and leftward moving groups or sections as aspire to Marxist clarity and direction. We frankly state in advance that the purpose of our action is to further a revolutionary regroupment of forces within this country such that a Leninist vanguard party of the working class will emerge. Secondly, we want to *win* individual supporters for our viewpoint from among radical youth, militants in the civil rights struggle, and seek to create modest nuclei within key sections of the working class. Critical to our success will be the ability of our comrades to both be involved as revolutionists in the social struggles of our times and to undertake effective inquiry into the pressing theoretical and political issues posed for Marxists today."
>
> —*Spartacist* No. 1, February-March 1964

In the years that followed the formation of the Spartacist organization (the Spartacist League was founded in 1966), many articles of lasting value appeared in *Spartacist*. To note only a few, "Freedom for Cuban Trotskyists!" (*Spartacist* No. 3, January-February 1965), an account of Castro's repression of the Posadistas based on a trip to Cuba by a Spartacist comrade in the summer of 1964, was recognized as definitive by both the radical and the bourgeois press; "Centrism and the Fourth International" (1934) by Leon Trotsky was reprinted in *Spartacist* No. 9, January-February 1967; "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom" (*Spartacist* No. 10, May-June 1967) incorporated the experiences in struggle of Spartacist supporters in the black movement in both the North and South; "Chilean Popular Front" (*Spartacist* No. 19, November-December 1970) forthrightly exposed the dangerous consequences of class collaboration at a time when virtually the entire ostensibly socialist movement was mindlessly enthusing over Allende. During these early years a high priority was also given to the production of the *Marxist Bulletin* series, which provides the documentary record of our origins and history.

However the infrequency and irregularity of the SL press were a central weakness and a fetter upon the growth of the organization. On 16 October 1967 Robertson wrote to SL West Coast spokesman Geoffrey White summarizing the difficulties surrounding the production of *Spartacist* and projecting bringing into the national center a full-time editor. Although the proposal was implemented, the year 1968 saw no particular improvement in press frequency and concluded with a faction fight which virtually monopolized the cadres and resources of the SL.

But by early 1971 the organization had begun to grow rapidly and a regular press had become not only urgently necessary but also evidently possible. A Political Bureau meeting on 28 April 1971 projected the transformation of *Workers' Action*, a trade union-centered publication produced on the West Coast, into the central organ of the SL as an 8-page monthly. Subsequent PB discussions centered on the prerequisites for making this leap, especially the strengthening of the national center. The perspective was summarized in the "Memorandum to the CC on the Transformation of the Spartacist League," drafted in August 1971 and adopted in September by a Central Committee plenum. The document summarized the great objective opportunities, both domestic and international, confronting the organization and noted:

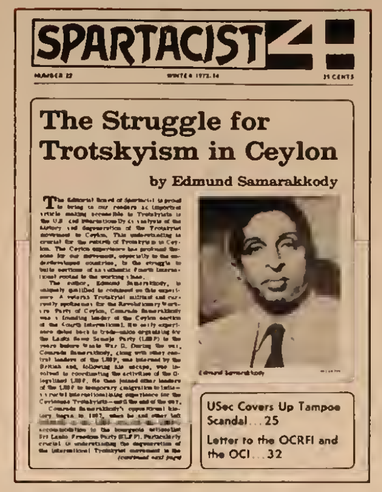
> "...almost every aspect of struggle and motion has found us compelled to intervene, and in a way qualitatively at variance with our self-designation as an *unstable sub-propaganda group*. Since our intervention has been as a *vanguard nucleus* while the reality of our forces has been as a sub-propaganda group, in the past three years we have found ourselves functioning under great tension and vastly overextended...."
>
> "As we have recognized from our inception, a regular and frequent press is central to our existence as a propaganda group. Now that the SL also finds imposed upon us the tasks of, and key elements in the capacity to be, the nucleus of the vanguard party, the inability to resolve our press question would reduce us to a mockery...."
>
> "The name *Workers Vanguard* is appropriate to the kind of paper we intend. From the vantage point of the vanguard it is appropriate to treat the struggles of all of the oppressed and in a fully Marxist fashion, while centering on the class struggle...."
>
> —"Memorandum to the CC on the Transformation of the SL," reprinted in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part III

The leap to a more regular and frequent press was seen as occurring concurrently with other central tasks, notably international expansion, increased industrial implantation, the founding of a national youth organization and the systematic pursuit of opportunities for work among blacks.

The first issue of the 8-page monthly *Workers Vanguard* appeared in October 1971. From April to November 1972 *WV* oscillated in length between 8 and 16 pages; it was stabilized as a 12-page monthly in December. The first bi-weekly issue appeared on 27 April 1973 and was 8 pages long. Immediately thereafter *WV* became a 12-page bi-weekly.

The weekly *WV* is the main organ of the Spartacist League/U.S., supplemented by a variety of other publications which extend the scope and audience of the SL press. The Spartacus Youth League, disciplined youth section of the SL, produces its own monthly paper, *Young Spartacus*. *Women and Revolution*, edited by the SL Women's Commission, appears three times per year. *Spartacist* has subsequently become the organ of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt), edited under the direction of the iSt's Interim Secretariat, and is now issued irregularly in English, French, German and Italian. In the Spanish-language key documents of the iSt have been published in the format of *Cuadernos Marxistas*. English-language *Spartacist* is now intended to center on international and documentary materials.

The SL press has come a long way in recent years. The inauguration of the weekly *Workers Vanguard* represents an enormous increase in the impact of our program. Yet this moment, which is of great satisfaction for all SL supporters, was prefigured by all the earlier struggles of a fighting propaganda group striving to become the vanguard party of the proletariat. In taking this step we are merely seeking to fulfill the role projected in the first issue of *Spartacist* almost a dozen years ago.


SPARTACIST

The Struggle for Trotskyism in Ceylon

by Edmund Samarakkody

USec Covers Up Tampoe Scandal...25

Letter to the OCRFI and the OCI...32

SPARTACIST exposed United Secretariat cover-up of its corrupt Ceylon section.

Spartacist publications program now encompasses five languages.

"Women, Culture and Class Consciousness" (W&R No. 7) received "fan mail" for months.

WV photo

WV photo

Left: WV spearheaded an international campaign to save Chilean MIR leaders Romero and Van Schouwen.

Right: Class struggle sharpens in Portugal. WV sent a special correspondent in summer 1974.

U.S. "Technicians" Head for Near East

Kissinger's Sinai Pact: Imperialist Fist

SEPTEMBER 7—No matter how token or sordid are the diplomatic maneuvers of U.S. imperialism, they are invariably presented with elaborate bombastic fanfare. And so it was with the "Sinai Pact," initialed by Egypt and Israel on September 1 and officially signed three days later. President Ford praised the pact as not only "a great achievement" but as "one of the most historic certainly of this decade and perhaps of this century" (*New York Times*, 2 September).

The U.S. president chose to remain silent on whether this "great achievement" was greater and more historic, or will prove to be more permanent, than all the other "understandings" (both public and secret), ceasefires, truces and armistices that have failed to end the permanent state of war existing between Israel and the surrounding Arab states since the inception of the Zionist state in 1948. These "agreements" now lie broken and abandoned, like the destroyed tanks and planes that cover the Sinai sands, tombstones to the meagre results of a quarter century of "shuttle diplomacy."

U.S. Imperialism and Israel

Various "Third Worldists" contend that Israel is simply a direct military-garrison extension of American imperialism in the Near East, that its expansion everywhere and under any conditions is supported by the U.S. However, after both the 1956 and 1967 wars which resulted in Israeli occupations of the Sinai, the U.S. has called for Israeli withdrawal from the peninsula. In 1956 Eisenhower put direct economic and political pressure on Israel, threatening to cut off U.S. Zionist aid and German reparations and thereby forcing a rapid retreat by this "*schnorring*" (Yiddish for begging) state. Likewise, following the June 1967 war in which Israel occupied the Golan Heights, the West Bank and the Sinai, the U.S. formally supported UN Security Council Resolution No. 242 demanding "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories of recent conflict."

There is no question that American imperialism is committed to the continued existence of the Zionist state in the Near East. Israel serves as a bastion of anti-communism, as a lightning rod to deflect the hatred of the dispossessed Arab masses away from their ruling classes, and to do certain dirty work for imperialism such as building CENTO air bases in Turkey, training paratroopers in Uganda (including General Idi Amin) and the Iranian secret police.

But the principal interest of U.S. imperialism in the Near East is control of and access to "safe and secure" sources of oil, which in turn is dependent upon maintaining "political stability" in a region ruled by reactionary capitalist elites, whether they be the Saudi royal family or Ba'athist colonels. As long as Israel contributes to this "political stability," Washington is quite willing to provide a plethora of weapons to the Tel Aviv generals. In the extreme, it is prepared to plunge the world into a nuclear holocaust in order to preserve Israel, as demonstrated by Nixon's "Condition 3" alert of all U.S. forces in the 1973 October War.

But the U.S. also realizes that if Israel is too successful militarily, if the defeats it inflicts on surrounding Arab states are too decisive and humiliating, then this also will upset the fragile stability of these regimes. The State Department has not forgotten that Israeli military successes in the 1948-49 war were rapidly followed by a military coup in Syria, mass uprisings in Iraq, the assassination of Transjordan's King Abdullah, the overthrow of King Farouk and ousting of the British from Egypt.

Therefore, U.S. imperialism has always imposed certain limitations on Zionist expansionism, including insisting on a buffer zone between Egypt and Israel in the Sinai and a well-armed Jordan. Thus the recent pact is tied to the Ford administration's attempt to sell King Hussein $240 million worth of Hawk anti-aircraft missile batteries, knowing full well that it was a lack of just such air cover which kept Jordan from participating fully in the October War. No doubt the Sinai pact was also a reward to Egyptian President Sadat for throwing out 6,000 Russian advisors in 1972 and opening up Egypt to foreign capital investment.

What's in the Sinai Pact?

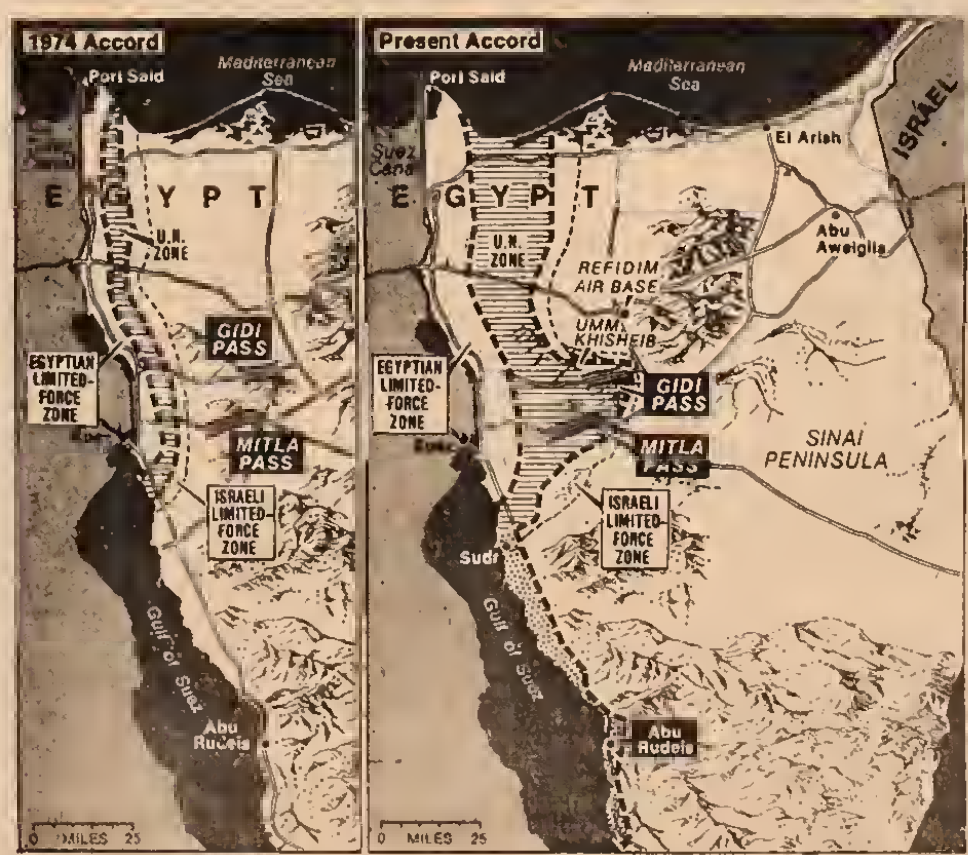
According to the *Wall Street Journal* (2 September), an Israeli official is said to have quipped about the Sinai pact that "Israel gives, Egypt gets, and the U.S. pays for it." In particular, Egypt is given back a thin corridor along the Gulf of Suez which includes the Abu Rudeis oil fields and Egyptian troops in the "limited force zone" on the east bank of the Suez Canal are permitted to advance eight miles further eastward. Israeli troops must withdraw from the strategic Mitla and Gidi passes, which now become part of the UN "buffer zone" patrolled by the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF).

In return, Egypt publicly agrees to refrain from a naval blockade against Israel's access to the Red Sea from the Gulf of Aqaba, a blockade which Egypt had in practice already ended, and to permit non-military cargoes on non-Israeli ships to pass to and from Israel through the Suez Canal. Further, Sadat agreed to renew the presence of the UNEF annually for two or three years. However, a similar UNEF set up after the 1956 war was simply swept aside by Nasser in May 1967 in preparation for the June War, and a UNEF presence can be vetoed at any time by any of the five members of the UN Security Council (including the Soviet Union and China). But (Maoists please note) up to now China has cooperated with the Near East machinations of the "superpowers" by not vetoing the UNEF.

The U.S. will pay Israel for this agreement a promised $350 million annual compensation for the loss of Abu Rudeis—which Israel earlier stole from Egypt—thus proving that at least some crimes pay. In addition the U.S. has promised approximately $2.5 billion in military aid and loans, including its most advanced fighter-bomber, the F-15, and advanced electronic surveillance systems developed by the U.S. for Vietnam. An open question is whether the Pentagon will sell Israel the Lance surface-to-surface guided missile, which because of its accuracy and expense would only be desired for launching nuclear weapons. In addition, Washington will probably supplement the oil sheikdoms' subsidies to Egypt with a few hundred million dollars in aid, including (if shuttle-weary Kissinger keeps to a prior promise) nuclear power plants for both Egypt and Israel.

Another U.S. "payment" for the Sinai pact is even more ominous: the direct involvement of American "technicians" in manning early-warning and surveillance outposts in the UN buffer zone. These "technicians" will formally be civilians, but in fact they will inevitably be ex-military officers now employed with the Central Intelligence and National Security Agencies who have the necessary experience to operate such equipment.

continued on page 9



New York Times

New accord allows Egyptian forces to advance to eastern edge of old UN zone set up in 1974 and recover oil fields at Abu Rudeis in the far south. Israelis are to withdraw from Gidi and Mitla Passes, and U.S. is to control early warning systems in them.

Chile...

(continued from page 3)

alliance with the "progressive" bourgeoisie, Allende lulled the vigilance of the working class and blocked the road to the formation of an authentic workers and peasants government, based on democratic soviets, which would destroy the bourgeois state. Instead the UP coalition formally pledged to work within the limits of the constitution, to suppress workers militias and not to interfere with the armed forces. In an effort to buy off the commanders, Allende even *increased* the military budget by more than 60 percent over previous years!

The Popular Unity coalition in power was unable to win any more substantial bourgeois forces than the small Radical Party and marginal left-Christian Democratic formations (initially the MAPU and later the Christian Left). Particularly during the last month of the UP, Allende repeatedly sought to entice the Christian Democrats (CDP) into the government. It is the absence of the CDP in the government which the reformist Communist Party (CP) has always pointed to as the main factor leading to the coup. The Stalinists have succeeded in convincing the other parties of the popular front in exile—the "coalition of Rome"—of this line.

Moreover, sectors of the Christian Democrats have recently given hints that they might be willing to go along with an expanded coalition. Leighton has reportedly attended at least one conference with former leaders of the UP, and at a conference in Venezuela this summer individuals representing the Leighton/Fuentealha wing of the CDP signed a joint statement with the Radical and Socialist parties (*Washington Post*, 18 July).

It is appropriate that this latter meeting was sponsored by the German Social Democrats' "Friends of Friedrich Ebert Foundation," as Ebert (German chancellor after the overthrow of the Kaiser) was one of the main traitors responsible for drowning the 1918-1919 German revolution in the workers' blood.

While for now the "center" CDP leaders are unwilling to go beyond flirtations with the Rome coalition, there is no doubt that in the event of an insurrectionary overthrow of the junta they would (as happened in Italy and France in the wake of the German defeat in 1945) rush to join a government of "national salvation" with the CP and anyone else. *Its purpose would be to halt the revolution, to disarm the workers, crush all incipient organs of dual power and preserve the bourgeois state.* The Stalinists and social democrats are well aware of this, and it is precisely to be the guarantor of capitalism that they appeal to the liberal bourgeoisie to form a "broad anti-fascist alliance."

MIR Collapse

Of all the leftist groups, the Castroist Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR) best weathered the tremendous repression immediately following the coup. However, beginning with the murder of its main leader, Miguel Enriquez, last October 5, the MIR has suffered extremely heavy casualties to the point where its existence as a functioning movement is in doubt. By all accounts, approximately 20 of its top cadre have been killed and twice that number are in jail, amounting to most of its central committee. One member of the MIR's political commission, Humberto Sottomayor, was expelled from the MIR for seeking asylum in the Italian embassy and two others, Bautista Van Schouwen and José Bordas, are held by the junta. (Van Schouwen is paralyzed as a result of severe injuries received under torture and is presently being held at the Valparaiso Military Hospital.)

The MIR is also in a shambles politically, reportedly with numerous internal factional differences, as a result of a sharp right turn since the coup.

Lacking a coherent Marxist program, the organization has shifted erratically with every major political event. At first seeking to replicate Castro's march into Havana at the head of a peasant guerrilla army, it called for a "bullets-not-ballots" abstention in the 1970 elections. Seeing Allende's popularity, however, the MIR did an about-face, giving "critical support" to the "*compañero presidente*" from 1970 to 1973, and even provided his personal bodyguard.

But while it once talked of the choice between "socialism or fascism," beginning in late 1973 the MIR again switched gears and now calls for a bigger and better popular front, in effect posing *bourgeois democracy* as the alternative to the junta. While it has joined the "Committee of the Chilean Left Outside Chile" (the Rome coalition) and signed a February statement with the parties of the former UP calling for a political bloc of "all anti-fascists," the MIR has sought to pose to the left of the CP by denouncing the latter's aim of uniting with the *entire* CDP, including former President Eduardo Frei who was obviously involved in preparations for the coup.

Instead, the MIR appeals only to "all the left parties and the sectors representing the democratic petty bourgeoisie of the Christian Democratic Party" to form "a broad resistance front against the dictatorship" (interview with Andrés Pascal Allende, Miguel Enriquez' successor, in the MIR's *Correo de la Resistencia*, March 1975). This distinction is entirely phony. What the MIR calls the petty-bourgeois democratic sector of the CDP, or those who had, "*before the coup declared their opposition to such a move*" (*Rouge*, 6 April 1974), is the Leighton/Fuentealba wing. But in late August 1973, in one of the major moves preparing the coup, the *entire* CDP congressional delegation voted for a National Party resolution denouncing the UP government as acting outside the bounds of legality. Just as does the reformist Communist Party, the MIR favors unity with the class enemy, including with those directly implicated in preparing the massacre of tens of thousands of Chilean workers and peasants!

What Unity?

Recent reports from Chile speak of increasingly open expressions of mass discontent. This May a wave of spontaneous, short strikes swept the country and in August, after the junta announced the firing of 16,000 miners and 8,000 "superfluous" railroad workers, *Reuters* reported a wave of protest. There are also reports of various kinds of clandestine resistance formations among the working class.

As the generals' grip weakens it can be expected that more and more outbursts of popular anger will take place, and as the possibilities of such actions increase, the tactic of the united front will be of great importance. In organizing a strike or a clandestine workers commission, it is obviously vital to achieve united action with Stalinists, social democrats and even Christian Democratic unionists. But particularly under clandestine conditions, where questions of security are paramount, tactical united fronts with reformist misleaders who are the most bitter strategic enemies of the revolutionary communists can only be episodic and limited.

The main task of Chilean revolutionaries at this time continues to be the struggle to draw the lessons of the popular-front disaster, steeling the workers with the program of working-class independence and thereby preparing the political destruction of the treacherous CP, SP and MIR, who with their class-collaborationist policies paved the way for the coup and would in the future short-circuit a proletarian uprising if they got the chance. The struggle to build an independent Trotskyist party, as part of the struggle for the rebirth of the Fourth International, must be the axis of the action of those who would preserve the Chilean workers and peasants from a repeat performance of September 1973.■

Sinai...

(continued from page 8)

Needless to say, "protection" of such "U.S. civilians" has often been the pretext for full-scale U.S. military invasion. Even a leading bourgeois politician like Senate majority leader Mansfield has reacted to U.S. involvement in the Sinai with the statement, "One Vietnam is one too many," and Pentagon hawk Senator Jackson (a strident pro-Zionist) is opposed to the "civilian" commitment.

In the meantime, Israel will continue even under the "most historic" Sinai pact to occupy the West Bank, Golan Heights, Gaza strip and 85 percent of the Sinai. The Palestinians are still deprived of their right to self-determination. And all the state powers in the region are busily squandering their resources on building up arsenals for the next war, which may involve nuclear weapons and in which the chance for "superpower" involvement has been heightened by this very Sinai pact.

Israel out of the occupied territories!
No U.S. presence in the Sinai!
No U.S. aid to Israel or Jordan!
For the right to self-determination for the Palestinian and Hebrew nations—For a bi-national workers state as part of a socialist federation of the Near East!■

CORRECTION

A statistical error appeared in "SL/U.S. Summer Camp Marks International Growth, Prepares for Weekly *Workers Vanguard*" (*WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975). The article stated that some 72 percent of those attending the plenum of the SL Central Committee had been members of ostensibly revolutionary organizations before joining the SL. The figure should have read "52 percent."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
76

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)
☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Miners...

(continued from page 12)

coal trusts to break a strike. Fuming over Miller's strong denunciations of the strike and his incessant orders to return to the pits, miners here are particularly incensed that UMW lawyers have often refused to represent miners in court for "illegal" picketing. In one such hearing, August 26 in Charleston, Judge K.K. Hall found five men in contempt of court, and fined each $500—payable to the Amherst Coal Company! Though miners filled the chambers during these kangaroo court proceedings, union lawyers were nowhere in sight.

Miller has sent telegrams to officials in the wildcatting areas instructing local leaders to identify UMWers on picket lines. This outrageous company-finking has caused signs and chants of "Miller is a scab!" to mushroom in miners' rallies throughout the striking areas. At Drawdy Falls Roadside Park, a traditional meeting place during wildcats, 2,500 miners rallied for three hours on August 24, despite intermittent rain storms, to shout their disapproval of Miller. A march was also held the following day in Charleston when 400 miners protested the injunctions and jailing of Howze.

Beginning at the Quarrier Street Federal Building—headquarters for the hated Judge Hall—miners chanted "Arnold Miller—You can't sell us out," "No work—No coal," "Stop the injunctions," and "We demand the right to strike." After forcing the closing of UMW's District 17 headquarters, solidarizing with postal workers' informational pickets at the Charleston P.O. and jeering outside the Kanawha Coal Operator Association offices, the miners were set upon by local police, who had several times earlier tried to block their path with patrol cars. While the cops had backed down earlier to chants of "Move 'em or we'll overturn 'em!" this time they blocked Capitol Street and, after a heated exchange, seized the keys from the marchers' soundtruck. Miners and cops clashed with nightsticks and fists as the miners chanted "Get the keys, get the keys." The miners got the keys and marched back to the Federal Building for speeches, leaving at least one guardian of the law sprawled on the sidewalk.

With this demonstrated widespread militancy, a group centered in District 29—the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike—has played a prominent public role. Originating in the 1974 contract fight, the Right to Strike Committee described itself in a letter published in the November 1974 issue of the Maoist Revolutionary Union's *Revolution*: "The Right to Strike Committee is a group of rank-and-file coal miners united to organize and fight for a STRONG CONTRACT which *includes* the RIGHT-TO-STRIKE written clearly into the grievance procedure" [emphasis in original].

Unofficial strikes are highly vulnerable to sabotage by the union bureaucracy and are often adventurist. However, in this case the powerful tradition among miners of refusing to cross a picket line and the massive wave of militant anger caused by the jailings and court injunctions, with the additional factor that the job action was launched by local union officials, created conditions for a wildcat coal strike that would not simply be a rout and had possibilities of real success. The Right to Strike Committee correctly sought to broaden the strike demands and a current Committee leaflet rightly calls for an end to injunctions, reopening of the contract to include the right to strike, and amnesty for all individuals, locals and the UMW as a whole from court penalties.

But the group has apparently decided to restrict itself to these popular issues. This is at the expense of waging the necessary political battle for a class-struggle program that alone can free miners from the grip of Miller and *all* stripes of impotent reformism. Despite its obvious aspiration for union leadership, the Right to Strike Committee currently has a program *more limited* than was Miller's in 1972, and should logically dissolve if the right to strike is won!

While the Committee desires to "keep the judges and government out of our union" (quoted in *Revolution*, December 1974) its leaders apparently do not see that even "critical support" to Miller's election (which was the Revolutionary Union's position), was an invitation to government intervention. While of course opposing the gangster Boyle, the Spartacist League refused to support the "reformer" Miller's election precisely because his reliance on Labor Department intervention spelled a grave threat to the independence of the union from the bosses and their state. We countered to the Boyle vs. Miller dead end the perspective of building a class-struggle opposition, which would fight not only for the right to strike but also for strikes to unionize the 30 percent of bituminous coal fields still unorganized, for full cost-of-living protection, a shorter workweek with no pay loss to make jobs for all, expropriation without compensation of the energy monopolies that own the mines and labor's political independence through the formation of a workers party and a workers government.

The Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike is not such an opposition. Not only has it failed to raise such a full class-struggle program, but it shuns crucial social issues right under its nose: the anti-abortion, anti-busing and notorious anti-"dirty school book" movements being led by local reactionaries and the Ku Klux Klan. Anxious to insure a monopoly for its narrow brand of simple trade unionism, the Committee is not above abusing elementary norms of workers democracy. At the Charleston rally a District 17 miner distributing a leaflet advertising a Kanawha Valley Association rally against racism was told by Committee members he would be "trashed" if he continued his leafletting.

Forging the necessary class-struggle leadership for the UMW will surely not be an easy task. A miner who announced at a recent rally in the southernmost tip of West Virginia that he was a member of a communist organization was nearly lynched for his declaration. Yet the militant miners have already experienced the bankruptcy of reformism: sacrificed at the coal companies' altar by Boyle, they are now betrayed by Miller. Both today's wildcat and tomorrow's inevitable battles require the creation of a class-struggle leadership. This is the prerequisite to fulfilling the aspirations expressed by a young Boone County miner, who was speaking for thousands of disgruntled miners, "We're not quitting, we're going all the way!"

Victory to the miners' strike! Drop all charges, fines, sentences, subpoenas and injunctions against miners and their union!

Re-open the contract to include the right to strike, full cost-of-living escalator clause and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to create jobs for all!

Oust Miller and all the bureaucrats—For a class-struggle leadership in the unions! Break with the Republicans and Democrats—Build a workers party to fight for a workers government!■

FORUM:

TOWARD THE CANADIAN SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

Speakers:

Murray Smith:
Trotskyist League of Canada
Central Committee

Peter Moreau:
Trotskyist League of Canada

Debates Room, Hart House
University of Toronto
Saturday, September 13, 8 p.m.

Grain Boycott...

(continued from page 2)

long as capitalist rule is maintained).

That the Ford administration is opposing the Meany/Gleason boycott should lead no one to believe it is soft on Brezhnev's Russia. Ford's old-fashioned cold-war, rocket-rattling speech to the American Legion in Minneapolis should dispel any such illusions.

At present the USSR is the *only* country which is the target of export controls on food. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz claims this is because the Russians make very large, unexpected orders. In reality, the export controls are an instrument of economic blackmail, to be relaxed or tightened depending on the state of "détente." In the past few years, the Brezhnev regime has invested heavily in livestock cattle and a serious feed grain shortage would require extensive, premature slaughtering with substantial economic loss. It is in the rational interest of U.S. imperialism to maintain the Soviet Union at a certain level of agricultural import dependency. Thus in the grain boycott, as in many other instances, Meany's crude know-nothing anti-communism conflicts with the longer-term strategy of the Metternich of American imperialism, Henry Kissinger.

Much of the outcry about higher prices stems from the widespread belief that the sale of 19 million tons of grain to the USSR in 1972 triggered the food price explosion that year. In reality, the Soviet grain purchases fed into a situation that would have led to rapid food price increases in any case. In 1971 and again in early 1972 the U.S. dollar was devalued, there was a sharp economic boom in all the advanced capitalist countries while global food output actually fell. During 1972-73 U.S. agricultural exports to West Europe and Japan greatly exceeded shipments to the USSR.

The present situation is very different from 1972. The U.S. will have a record grain harvest with output two to three times domestic consumption. To date, Soviet purchases amount to only 12 percent of wheat and corn exports, Japanese purchases being significantly greater (*New York Times*, 24 August). Some experts contend that the harvest is so ample that exports to the USSR need have little effect on price. Thomas A. Hieronymus, food economist from the University of Illinois, suggests that the U.S. could easily increase its exports by 25 percent and asserts, "there may be more corn available for export than the Soviets have money to buy" (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 August).

The phony exactitude of Secretary Butz's statement that Soviet grain purchases will cause food prices to rise by 1.5 percent is based on several shaky assumptions. To begin with, Butz assumes that if Russia did not purchase 9.8 million tons of grain, total demand would be that much less. However, if excluded from the U.S. market, the USSR would certainly expand its purchases in Australia, Argentina and other grain-exporting countries. Increased Soviet purchases abroad would deflect non-Russian customers into the U.S. markets. Thus the net effect of shutting off American grain sales to the Soviet Union would be increased export demand from non-Russian customers.

Alternatively, the Soviet government is quite capable of buying through third countries. There is now speculation that Japan is buying for transhipment to the USSR.

Calculations about the effect of increased exports on domestic prices are shortsighted, taking into account only this year's harvest. A member of the Agricultural Council of America interviewed by *WV* argued that preventing grain exports to the Soviet Union would be financially "disastrous" for farmers, leading to a severe cutback in acreage sown in 1976. Thus the longer-term effect of export restrictions may well be a supply shortage and higher grain prices.

In any case it is well known that the overwhelming proportion of food prices is accounted for by the middleman and not the farmer. The farm-gate price of wheat accounts for only about 10 percent of the supermarket price of bread. And from November 1974 until May 1975 (before the latest Soviet grain deal), wheat prices fell from $4.87 to $3.47 a bushel, while in the same period the wholesale price of bread *rose* from 32.5 cents to 35.6 cents a pound loaf (U.S. Department of Agriculture, *Agricultural Prices*, May 1975)!

Ninety percent of grain export trade is monopolized by just five companies, which could give the CIA and Mafia a lesson in shady operations, including product adulteration, price fixing and short weighing. Four of the five are not even public corporations and so are not legally obliged to disclose any financial data at all. If the AFL-CIO bureaucracy were seriously committed to holding down food prices, which it certainly is not, it could begin by demanding that Continental, Bunge and the rest of the grain-dealer cartel be nationalized without compensation.

But assuming, as is likely, that the contracted grain sales to the Soviets do raise food prices somewhat, it still does not follow that the *overall* impact of these exports will be inflationary. The Soviet Union is buying hundreds of millions of dollars worth of U.S. commodities. The increased demand for dollars in the foreign exchange market increases the value of the dollar relative to all other currencies, thus *cheapening* the price of all imported items.

Oppose Meany/Gleason Anti-Soviet Boycott!

We call upon the ranks of organized labor to oppose the Meany-backed maritime union boycott of grain shipments to the USSR. Despite its being ruled by an oppressive Stalinist bureaucracy, the Soviet Union represents historic economic and social achievements of the world working class (expropriation of the bourgeoisie, collective ownership of the means of production, planned economy) and therefore it, as well as the other bureaucratically deformed workers states, must be defended against economic blackmail by U.S. imperialism.

We oppose all forms of economic protectionism, which set the workers of different countries against one another. The road to plenty for all lies through the internationalist unity of the working class, which alone can free production from its capitalist fetters and institute a rational international division of labor in a planned economy.■

Hoffa...

(continued from page 5)

same judge who tried and sentenced the former Teamster president.

The furious "Get Hoffa" frame-up campaign cannot be explained by a supposed hatred of corruption and strikebreaking on the part of capitalist politicians. More to the point is the fact that Hoffa was jailed shortly after signing the first national master freight agreement (including both over-the-road and local cartage haulers) in 1964. While many union bureaucrats blithely signed no-strike contracts, Hoffa jealously guarded the right to strike over grievances. This served as an effective means of circumventing Taft-Hartley provisions outlawing the secondary boycott, the most important organizing weapon in the Teamster arsenal.

It was Hoffa's record in securing relatively large economic benefits for his membership and the spectre of union power represented by a single, unified truck drivers' union that triggered the government onslaught against the Teamsters and produced the accompanying anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act. The "Get Hoffa" campaign proves once again that even in the most extreme cases of union corruption the capitalist state must be kept out of the labor movement.

Not Simple Trade Unionism But Class-Struggle Leadership

Hoffa's successor, Frank Fitzsimmons ("that guy Jimmy used to strike his matches on"), has compiled an unenviable record as Teamster president. His pitiful 1970 contract package led Chicago-area drivers to wildcat, and after the unauthorized strike shut down most of the Midwest for days the companies came up with an additional 65 cents per hour wage hike. "Fitz's" strong support for Nixon led him to remain on the Pay Board even after George Meany walked off and produced another sellout contract in 1973. Last year he left independent truckers in the lurch during their protest against fuel price gouging by the oil monopolies, and the Teamsters' shameless raiding of the United Farm Workers set a new low for the labor movement.

While Hoffa might have avoided some of the extremes of Fitzsimmons' actions, his militant image could not have survived the battles of recent years. Consolidation of the trucking industry has sharply posed the need for a nationwide transportation strike, a measure Hoffa always rejected in the hope of avoiding a showdown with the employers. In the present depression conditions a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, full cost-of-living (c-o-l) protection and the expropriation of the transportation companies are vital simply in order to preserve the living standards of the working class, yet Hoffa consistently fought against any demand that had even the slightest hint of radicalism. While Hoffa could only appeal to one or another big business politician (he supported both Democrats and Republicans), genuine labor militants must point out the need for a break with the capitalist parties and call for the construction of a workers party, based on the unions, to fight for a workers government.

Of all the major union leaders in the post-World War II period, Jimmy Hoffa had the most militant reputation. This is a sad commentary on the state of the U.S. labor movement, but the contradictions of con-man/militant Hoffa are not fundamentally different from those of other business unionists. The erstwhile socialist Walter Reuther, Hoffa's rival in Detroit labor, espoused such gimmicks as the "guaranteed annual income" and profit-sharing, then gave up the c-o-l escalator, agreed to tie wages to productivity and abandoned the fight for a shorter workweek. John L. Lewis, America's best known union "maverick," founded the CIO and led bitter strikes against the government in the 1940's, but also acquiesced in massive automation which cut employment in coal by 60 percent following World War II. Common to all these bureaucrats—the "socially concerned" Reuther, the "maverick" Lewis and the "tough" Hoffa—was acceptance of the limitations of the capitalist system.

The bizarre episode which may mark a mysterious end to Hoffa's life is entirely consistent with the rest of his turbulent career. He fought the near-feudal "barons" who ruled the Teamsters before he took power (and who once again hold sway under Fitzsimmons). But because he shared the same limited goal—summed up in Samuel Gompers' one-word slogan, "more"—and never challenged the capitalist system, Hoffa's rise to power was necessarily personal and bureaucratic. In a gangster-ridden union this meant more guns, more goons and more kickbacks. Only a militant opposition fighting for a full class-struggle program could clean out the IBT's Augean stables of crime and corruption, by mobilizing the ranks to smash capitalism and its agents in the labor movement, the venal union bureaucracy.■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Presenting the Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD

NEW YORK/Saturday, September 13, 7:30 p.m.

Depression and the Class Struggle
JOSEPH SEYMOUR
SL Central Committee

The Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD and the Transformation of the Spartacist League
HELENE BROSIUS, SL Central Committee

306 A Barnard Hall, Barnard College (Broadway at 116th Street)
Call 925-5665 for information / Donation $1.00
SPONSORED BY COLUMBIA SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE

BOSTON/Friday, September 12, 7:30 p.m.

Smash Black Oppression!
—Not Federal Troops, But Labor/Black Defense
—Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement

GERALD SMITH
Spartacist League,
former member, Black Panther Party

JOE VETTER
Spartacist League,
former civil rights activist

Boylston Hall, Harvard University

Call 492-3928 for information

CHICAGO

Louisville, Boston:
The Working Class Must Defeat Racist Mobilization!

Northeastern University
Friday, September 19

Roosevelt University
Tuesday, September 23

Call 427-0003 for time and place

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

forces, crushing the incipient workers councils, banning numerous left groups and (at least) totally regimentiog the unions."

The threat of a bloodbath of the most advanced elements of the Portuguese proletariat is posed by the rightist officers' grab for power. This must be fought by every class-conscious worker and revolutionary militaot. This means fighting for the development and extension of organs of dual power—workers and soldiers committees, workers militias, workers councils—and their unification into a national soviet, which could serve as the basis for a workers government and whose first task would be the crushing of the reactionary forces. The struggle for soviets, moreover, is *inseparable* from the struggle to break the workers' illusioos in the MFA and in the so-called "progressive" officers such as Gonçalves, and to destroy the politieal influence of the reformist workers parties, priocipally the Stalinist CP and the social-democratic Socialist Party, who have treacherously tied the proletariat to the class enemy io repeated popular-front coalitions.

But at present a Marxist vanguard would also seek a temporary military bloc with the Stalinists, other workers parties and even officers of the MFA who are prepared to fight against the rightist officers' attempt to consolidate power. Although pro-NATO elements in the officer corps have landed ao important blow and the curreot is clearly running against the left, it is by no means clear that troops would today obey orders to crush militant workers. Last week, for example, several hundred military police (led by the Maoist MRPP) demonstrated in front of the presidential palace announeing their defiance of orders sending them to Angola.

Moreover, the navy (whose officers voted solidly against the rightists last week) is entrenehed on the south bank of the Tagus River at its Alfeite naval base, close to the Lisnave shipyards and other factories of a proletarian "red belt" in which Maoists and syndicalists of various parties play a leading role. To their east and south is the "Red Alentejo" region, in which the CP has a solid implantatioo among the farm workers. And neighboring Spain has for months been in a state of barely contaioed social turmoil which could explode from a spark in Lisbon. Militant resistance to the reactionary officers io Portugal today is most definitely *not* hopeless.

Prop to a Popular Front

A military bloc for common action against the reactiooary mobilization, however, is something quite different from a coalition giving *political support* to the Gonçalves government. Such a class-collaborationist formation was set up in late August as the then-premier and his CP backers were flailing around for aoy support they could find to stave off the anti-Communist offensive unleashed by the SP and the nine "moderate" officers headed by Melo Antunes. With its name shifting between "United Revolutionary Front" and "United Popular Front" depending on whether it is the "far left" or the CP that is speakiog, this pact was signed by the Communist Party, the Popular Socialist Front (FSP), the anarcho-Castroist LUAR, the left social-democratic MES, the CP's petty-bourgeois electoral front MDP, the syndicalist-Castroist Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), the semi-Maoist May 1 group, and the ostensibly Trotskyist Internationalist Communist League (LCI). Portuguese sympathising section of the United Secretariat (USec) headed by Ernest Mandel.

This treacherous front is an open call for political coofidence in the Gonçalves regime, the same government which has prepared the present crisis by temporizing with the reactionaries, the booapartist regime which has sent troops agaiost innumerable strikes, jailed uniooists and Maoists, and committed innumerable other crimes against the working class. The communique signed by the eight parties of the front on August 25 contains the following statement:

> "3. The document 'Lines of Programmatic Action and Transitional Demands' [a proposal for governmental policy by General Gonçalves on August 21] constitutes the basic document for guiding the government's action until the conditions necessary for the formation of a government of revolutionary unity are met."
>
> —*Diario de Noticias*, 26 August

There is not even a fig-leaf here: the government and even the program of the premier are explicitly supported! If that were oot enough, the provisional secretariat of the "revolutionary/popular united front" as its first act issued a set of slogaos including "Fifth Government, Transition to Revolution."

Moreover, aoother clause of the August 25 communiqué makes an explicit call for participation in the front by capitalist forces. The fourth point speaks of "The creation of a front including the parties and other revolutionary political orgaoizations, revolutionary militants, *the MFA* and autonomous organs of people's power..." (our emphasis). The MFA is the political expression of the officer corps of the capitalist army—the very core of the capitalist state power—and thus is a *bourgeois* formation oo matter how "left" some of its pronouncements may have been. Thus the clearly expressed aim is to transform this prop to the bonapartist government into an explicit popular froot.

This treacherous coalitioo can only lead militant Portuguese workers to continue to place their faith in demagogic officers such as Gonçalves; it can only reinforce the Stalinists' policy of class collaboration; it stands in direct contradiction to the central axis of Marxist politics, the fight for the independence of the working class from bourgeois forces. The LCI will no douht seek to excuse this alliance on the grouods that it does not actually include a bourgeois party. After signing the communiqué it disingenuously issued a separate statement disagreeing with "some points," and in particular with the call for "integration of the MFA in a front of the organs of workers aod people's power" since the MFA is not revolutionary (*Diario de Noticias*, 26 August).

Aside from the obvious dishonesty of signing a document one of whose key points is rejected, the "revolutionary/popular united front" is not so free of direct participation by the military as would seem from the list of signers. The introduction to the August 25 communiqué notes the presence, at the meeting to form the front, of "representatives of the MFA, who acted simply as elemeots of cohesion...." According to a news account, these unity brokers included representatives of the Fifth Division, COPCON, the Coordinating Committee of Air Force Sergents, the Navy MFA and the Revolutionary Supreme Council. Moreover, it was officers of the COPCON who took the initiative to form the bloc. Thus both its origins and program unambiguously confirm the class-collaborationist character of this unprincipled bloc.

As to the participation of the ostensibly Trotskyist LCI, this is directly opposed to the whole struggle of the Fourth Internationalists in the 1930's against Stalinist popular frontism. It is the ideotical capitulation that led the Spanish POUM to enter the popular front in 1936, explaining all the while that the pact was only for the purpose of elections and that the Catalan nationalist Esquerra was really "petty-bourgeois" rather than a bourgeois political formation (just as the LCI maintains that the MFA is not bourgeois but petty-bourgeois!).

This *betrayal* of the Portuguese workers and of Trotskyism—for that is what joining the "revolutionary/popular united front" amounts to—is not simply an unfortunate error of the young and inexperienced LCI. Far from it. The same identical "error" was made by the USec's section in Bolivia, the POR (*Combate*), when it joined the "Revolutionary Anti-Imperialist Front" (FRA) in 1971, where it cohabited with former President General Torres. Thus the Usec's Pabloist liquidationism is the origin of the LCI's betrayal. Only by struggling for the rebirth of the Fourth International, in opposition to the USec's revisionist policies, can an authentically revolutionary Trotskyist party be built in Portugal.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 ..... (617) 436-1497
M.I.T Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 923-7314
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 94101

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 879-7623
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Boston...

(continued from page 1)

arrested while trying in stupidly adventurist fashion to breach police lines at South Boston High School in order to welcome the buses arriving with black children from Roxbury. Frustrated racists, who had heen held back by police at the high school, attempted to break into the courthouse where the CAR members were taken.

The anti-busing forces prepared for today's eveots by a rally on Sunday at which prominent local politicians made unmistakable appeals for lynch-mob violence. Clearly referring to the Ku Klux Klan inspired violeoce in Keotucky, former School Committee chairman John Kerrigan told the crowd of 3,000, "Louisville is Bostoo's farm club. Let's show that to the world." Nancy Yotts, reportedly connected with the racist thugs of the South Boston Defense League, announced that "We stand together, united like on December 11th, May 3rd and August 10th." Those were the dates respectively of a mob attack on black studeots at South Boston High School, the rock and brick throwing spree in response to PL's May Day March and the recent confrontatioo with black demonstrators protesting racist harassment at Carson Beach.

The thin line of police that stands between black children and the lynch mobs cannot be relied on. If today they reluctantly protected the buses, tomorrow, when the natiooal spotlight is off Boston, they will dispense the same racist "justice" that black people endure everyday. The myth of police neutrality was exploded by the cops' vendetta against PL/CAR, their brutal handling of black demonstrators at Carson Beach, the use of police dogs against black children in the Mission Hill project last month and the police "sick-out" this past weekend, which was aimed at sabotagiog the busing program by leaving black children vulnerable to stonings, beatings and even worse. These racist guomen of the capitalist class must be replaced, not by the imperialist army as many reformists demand, but by a mass iotégrated defense force based on the trade unions and the black community.

Racist Terror in East Boston

In the weeks precediog school opening, racist terror permeated the city. A housing project in East Boston has been the scene of particularly vicious and persistent assaults. Since black and Latin families were firebombed out of the Orient Heights project this spring, the Sumner and Maverick Streets project has housed the only significant concentration of non-white resideots in East Boston. White street gangs have tried to repeat the pattern of Orient Heights, so far unsuccessfully, at Maverick and Sumner. On a number of occasions they have been met with effective resistance by black residents and members of left and community organizatioos.

Outraged at their repeated failure to drive the black families from the project, about 60 racist youth gathered on the oight of August 25 armed with rocks, bricks, baseball bats and car antennas. The attacks escalated through the night. Two black youth were beaten io the playground, aod several apartments belonging to black families had their windows smashed. Police in the area refused to act. One of them eveo commented, "These are nice kids; we grew up with them here in East Boston." The authorities only acted later in the night when an integrated group of black teoants and their supporters began to set up a defense perimeter in front of the homes. At that point the cops moved in, arrested one of the defeoders and forced the rest to disband.

Such racist atrocities must be protested, and the victims, who include members of the Greater Boston People Against Racism and the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee, must be defended against all charges. Furthermore, these small and relatively isolated defense efforts must be extended to iovolve broader forces. A political fight must be waged within the ooly existing mass organizations of the working class, the trade unions, to win their active support for the democratic rights of black people. This means support to busing as a minimal step toward integration and racial equality. But equally necessary is organization of integrated defense of the black children riding the buses and of joint black-white patrols to prevent attacks oo black people in racially mixed and borderline areas. Besides the Boston Teachers Union, such unions as the Meatcutters, United Electrical Workers and Hospital Workers Local 1199 bear a particular responsibility as they are integrated and self-proclaimed "progressive" unions, whose members work in soome of the most racially tense neighborhoods.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Militant Wildcat in Coal Fields

Miners Fight for Right to Strike

CHARLESTON, W.Va., September 7—A coal miners' wildcat strike that began near here in Logan County August 11 and encompassed at its peak two thirds of the United Mine Workers (UMW) 120,000 members continues in an atmosphere of deepening bitterness. Amid increasing reports of bomb threats, gunfire and rock throwing in neighboring coal fields, angry miners are defying UMW President Miller's repeated back-to-work orders as well as massive court fines (now up to $1 million and increasing at the rate of $100,000 a day).

This already four-week-old strike, the longest and largest in the country so far in 1975, has cost the coal operators more than 2 million tons of production—and, more costly to them, has deeply shattered whatever lingering faith miners had in Miller, whose "reform" leadership team has moved as surely to sabotage the miners as did its predecessors in the Tony Boyle regime.

Sparked by the firing of Local 1302 president Roger Thompson in Lundale, a neighboring Logan County mine went out in sympathy with 1302's protest strike. Though a grievance has been filed against Amherst Coal Company's firing of Thompson, to date no answer has been received by the union. A Logan County miner from a nearby local told this reporter of five recent firings at his mine and the growing fear that the companies were getting the upper hand. Thompson's firing, he said, "was the straw that broke the camel's back." His local walked out. The wildcat spread from District 17 (the UMW's largest) into neighboring District 29 (the second largest), and within two weeks spilled into northern West Virginia, Kentucky, Virginia, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Alabama and Indiana.

Among these miners, with a long history of hard strikes, the union is sacred—and so is a picket line. The president of Local 5922 (Logan County), Bill Belcher, declared in court that "I have been a miner for nearly three decades and had never crossed a picket line and I never will. If the courts tell me I have to cross a picket line I'll hang up my hat. I'll never tell my men to cross." Even Miller, while denouncing the strike, has not dared to call for crossing picket lines.

Court injunctions to break initial sympathy walkouts only fueled the spreading strike. Sim Howze, black president of Local 8454 (Lorado, West Virginia) refused to order his men back and was slapped with a 90-day contempt of court jailing by District Judge K.K. Hall. Following Howze's jailing August 15, the wildcat spread ferociously. After only five days in jail, Howze secured his release by promising his best efforts to end the wildcat and limit the issue to ending court injunctions. But by then, miners had seized on the key question of their *right* to strike, over grievances and would not be cajoled back to work so easily. A retired miner ended his speech at a recent rally with the thought of many: "Without the right to strike, you've got no union. You might as well throw the UMW in the ditch."

Cops battle striking West Virginia miners in Charleston, August 25. Charleston Daily Mail

Though Arnold Miller backed the local right to strike in his 1972 campaign, he dropped this elementary need in the 1974 contract negotiations. The resulting contract was only narrowly ratified (44 percent voted "no") after a desperate campaign by Miller against the "unauthorized" contract strike. A Logan County miner (who didn't support the contract) says that there has always been suspicion in his local about the voting tally on the contract since the ballots were called in for secret counting. Another said he considered the contract a trick; the "legalese" about the right to strike and grievances wasn't clear, and he feels Miller pulled a fast one on the membership. In comparing the blatant no-strike deal saddled on the Steelworkers by I.W. Abel with the current situation of the miners, he said at least steelworkers know whom they should be against, "Miller's too sneaky."

But it is difficult to be "sneaky" when you openly join hands with the courts and

continued on page 9

Victory to NYC Teachers' Strike!

SEPTEMBER 8—United Federation of Teachers (UFT) President Albert Shanker has reluctantly been forced to call a strike against the New York City Board of Education, fronting for the bankers of the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC). Following the disastrous pattern set by the capitulation of other municipal union leaders, Shanker has indicated his willingness to accept thousands of layoffs, a cut in real wages, higher class sizes and a reduction in preparation periods and other rights that teachers have enjoyed for a decade. But that is apparently not enough for MAC, which wants to administer a stinging defeat to the troublesome public employees unions in New York.

The UFT cannot defend itself in isolation from the community and the rest of the labor movement. In particular, the union must fight against ALL educational cutbacks and ALL layoffs (especially vital to its minority members, who are overwhelmingly teachers' aides, paraprofessionals and teachers with low seniority). Not one job, not one penny for Big MAC! The UFT must take the lead in mobilizing a city-wide general strike against the capitalists' austerity program!

Subscribe Now!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 77 19 September 1975

Teachers' Strikes Sweep U.S.

UFT president Albert Shanker WV Photo

NEW YORK

Big MAC Goes After UFT

SEPTEMBER 15—As we go to press, news reports speak of a possible settlement of the New York City teachers strike. The rumored agreement looks like an unmitigated disaster for the 80,000 striking members of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT). The Board of Education in a display of incredible arrogance has proposed that by using the $25 million in *unpaid salaries* accumulated during the strike and in *penalties imposed on striking teachers* at a rate of two days pay for each day on strike, it may rehire a fraction of the several thousand teachers recently laid off!

In addition, every penny of the meager funds designated for pay increases has been frozen for the indefinite future, and union negotiators may trade off a two-hour per week cut in instruction time against the loss of two preparation periods in most elementary and junior high schools. The resolution of a number of other Board demands for taking back past contractual gains is not yet clear, but given the hat-in-hand negotiating stance of UFT President Albert Shanker, the prognosis is not good.

The Board of Education has come up with a classic divide-and-conquer scheme, pitting laid-off teachers against those who will pay the Taylor Law fines and setting the parents and children (whose educational services are being cut) against teachers who will lose their preparation periods. If Shanker rams through such a sellout pact it would be an insult and defeat for the entire labor movement and a crime against the poor and working people of New York City.

Whatever the fate of the reported "compromise" (the third in less than a week), the NYC Board of Education has already demonstrated its effectiveness as a battering ram for the bankers and big corporations represented on the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) against the troublesome union whose strikes in the 1960's won it a niche as one of the strongest municipal unions in the country. State Mediator Harold Newman described the transparent reality of the negotiations:

"There are people at the bargaining table who are invisible, the Governor, the Mayor, Big MAC. If there are going to be changes in the way in which New York City finances its school system, this places a substantial burden on the parties."

New York Times, 5 September

WV Photo

NYC teachers take over Brooklyn Bridge earlier this month in protest against educational cutbacks and mass layoffs.

In a year of massive budget cuts and disappearing social services, the burden is unsurprisingly one-sided. When negotiations opened in late July, the Board ultimatistically presented its demands: lengthen the workweek, reduce preparation periods, shorten vacations, return teachers to clerical and monitorial functions, increase class size, cut paid sick leave, abolish job retention in summer and after-school work, reduce the salaries of thousands of teachers of handicapped students, rescind a $400 salary benefit that is paid to 45 percent of the teachers, weaken seniority rules on layoffs and require additional after-school conferences. In return for this tremendous increase in workload and general deterioration of conditions, the Board offered the teachers—*nothing*!

The ease with which the wage freeze was imposed on city workers in July (through the treachery of Victor Gotbaum and other municipal union bureaucrats) only whetted the appetites of MAC and the city and state administrations.

continued on page 4

Shanker Rams Through Sellout

SEPTEMBER 16—Early this evening New York City teachers accepted the worst contract in UFT history by a vote of 10,651 to 6,595. The heavy "no" vote reflected a bitter reaction from thousands of union members who gathered on short notice for the voting at Madison Square Garden. In the settlement, UFT president Shanker gave away all the critical points in dispute, including several hard-won gains of the past (see article). Shanker's arguments boiled down to scare tactics: continuing the strike, he said, would be "gambling with our own futures and that of the union." No—it was the UFT bureaucracy, by knuckling under to Big MAC and the Board of Education offensive, that has put the future of the union in question.

See page 2 for Chicago and Bay Area Teachers' Strikes

CHICAGO

College Union Head Jailed

As we go to press, leaders of the Cook County College Teachers Union have announced a strike settlement and sent the members back to work September 15. Exact details are not yet available, but the pact, imposed under pressure of the savage five-month jail sentence meted out to CCCTU President Swenson, appears to have produced discontent among the rank and file. Today's *Chicago Daily News* reported one Southwest College teacher as saying "I'll vote against the contract. My classes now have five more students in them than they had before we went on strike. The raise will be eaten by the money we lost during the strike. And how in this day and age can any trade union accept a contract without a cost of living clause?"

CHICAGO, September 12—Norman Swenson, president of the striking Cook County College Teachers Union (CCCTU), faces five months in jail after his arrest and conviction last Tuesday for defying a strikebreaking back-to-work court order. The restraining order, issued on the first day of this three week-old walkout, was followed ten days later by a contempt of court ruling against Swenson and a crippling fine of $5,000 a day levelled against the union.

The city government's actions are a clear indication that it intends to ruthlessly curb the power of the public employees unions, in particular the CCCTU which has struck five times in its nine-year history. One trustee of the City College board openly threatened:

> "We have good teachers applying for jobs in this system every day. I don't even know if we should be negotiating with teachers who are in violation of a court order."
>
> —*Chicago Tribune*, 9 September

After Swenson's arrest, Cook County Sherriff Richard Elrod (who achieved notoriety for taking a flying leap at a demonstrator outside the 1968 Democratic Party convention) gave vent to his vicious anti-labor spleen by complaining that the union leader was being pampered with preferential treatment in jail.

The 1,400-member CCCTU (AFT Local 1600) services the eight two-year community college campuses whose 95,000 students come from predominantly poor, minority and working-class backgrounds. The teachers are demanding a 17 percent pay increase spread over the next two years (having had no raises during the past two years of skyrocketing inflation), contractual coverage for part-time teachers and reversal of the Board of Education's attempted increases in class size and load.

New York Times

Chicago teachers man the picket lines.

The 26,000-member Chicago Teachers Union (CTU), now in its second week on the picket lines, is waging a similar battle for a pay raise and cost-of-living increases, against increased class sizes and attrition cuts of 1,525 teaching positions (along with another 1,500 cuts of non-teaching personnel positions).

A group of community college students has threatened a suit against the CCCTU strikers, and the reactionary PTA has predictably demanded a court injunction against the CTU. But despite anti-union

continued on page 9

UAW Local 6 Demands Campaign to Free Swenson

At its regular monthly meeting on September 14, UAW Local 6 (International Harvester, Melrose Park, Illinois) unanimously approved a motion calling for labor action, including if necessary a general strike, to free the jailed president of American Federation of Teachers Local 1600. The resolution reads, in part:

> "Be it resolved, that Local 6 call on the Chicago labor movement and specifically the Chicago Federation of Labor to devote its full resources to freeing Norman Swenson, president of the Cook County College Teachers Union, including the possibility of city-wide strike action."

Also included in the statement was a call for a demonstration by unions and working-class organizations at city hall to demand release of Swenson.

In a second action, the meeting overwhelmingly passed (against some opposition) a resolution in support of busing, which reads:

> "Local 6 goes on record in support of busing and in support of the integration of the schools in the Chicago area as well as schools all over the country."

Both motions were submitted by the Labor Struggle Caucus, a class-struggle opposition group in the Local.

BAY AREA

WV Photo

Striking Berkeley teachers rally on September 19.

Liberal Union-Busting in Berkeley

BERKELEY, September 12—The populist image of Berkeley's city council is wearing thin as teachers and firemen, on strike for the first time, are directly pitted against the liberal municipal government in a fight to defend their living and working conditions and the right of public employees to strike. The latter is an explosive issue following more than a year of militant struggle in the Bay Area, beginning with the near general strike of San Francisco municipal workers in March 1974. Like their brothers and sisters across the Bay, Berkeley's public employee unions must take joint action to defeat the austerity schemes of the local rulers.

Taking a hard line, the Berkeley Board of Education denounced the teachers' strike as illegal and gave Superintendant of Schools Laval Wilson emergency powers to deal with it. The teachers have faced threats of suspension or firing, scabbing by substitutes paid over $50 a day, and a vicious strikebreaking campaign in the mass media. Despite this the ranks have held firm and grown more militant, while support from the community has increased. As of mid-week, some 95 percent of the teachers were striking and 89 percent of the students boycotting classes.

The walkout erupted on September 3 in response to the Board of Education's decision to scrap an agreement reached in April after weeks of negotiations. In a year of lousy contracts, the April 15 agreement must rank among the worst. It contained not one cent in wage increases or new fringe benefits. The Board's sole "concession" was an empty promise that there would be no layoffs.

But even this was not enough. After a minor scandal in which the school district business manager resigned admitting financial incompetence, the Board discovered a $3.9 million deficit in the budget. Citing the notorious Winton Act denying teachers even the most minimal collective bargaining rights, the Board simply declared that the agreement was not binding. This highhanded position was upheld by the Alameda County Superior Court on the basis that the city faced a fiscal emergency.

The militancy of the strike flows from the Board's decision to cut its "offer" from nothing to less than nothing. It now wants to slash teachers' salaries by 1.2 percent, remove all limits on class size above third grade, cut back on special programs and reduce teachers' medical and other fringe benefits.

In an uphill fight against the Board's budget-cutting intransigence, the teachers' strike shows potentially fatal weaknesses. First, the city's school employees are organizationally divided. The teachers are about equally split between the Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT), affiliated with the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), and the Berkeley Teachers Association (BTA), affiliated with the National Education Association. "Classified" workers (including bus drivers, cafeteria workers and clericals) belong to two additional unions. Although they face attacks similar to the teachers', the classified workers unions have been played off against the BFT and BTA, did not strike and accepted contracts that simply codify the status quo. This was conditioned by a long and bitter history of mutual scabbing between the two classified unions, who in the past have both watched teachers crossing their picket lines. The lack of a coordinated strike effort in the Berkeley school district weakens all the unions and points clearly to the need for a single militant union of all education-related workers.

Secondly, although the BTA and BFT have publicly buried their differences in this strike, rotten settlements engineered by NEA affiliates in San Francisco, Hayward, Oakland and Fremont have undercut the position of the Berkeley teachers and cut off the possibility of a powerful Bay Area-wide teachers' strike.

Thirdly, the teachers have no strike fund and are isolated from the rest of the labor movement. The "support" of the Alameda Central Labor Council remains limited to advice on how to file for food

continued on page 11

Argentine Socialist Militants Murdered

September 10—The bullet-riddled bodies of eight members of the Argentine Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party), victims of anti-communist death squads, were found south of Buenos Aires last weekend. On Friday five nude bodies were discovered by a fisherman near the Rio de la Plata. The next day three more were found in the city of La Plata.

During the last year literally hundreds of leftists and labor leaders have fallen prey to right-wing killers condoned by the bonapartist regime of Isabel Perón. As her government and the Peronist union bureaucracy prove incapable of containing a militant proletariat, the army stands on the doorstep preparing to drown the entire organized workers movement in a bloody coup. It is the urgent obligation of socialist and labor organizations throughout the world to vigorously protest against the bestial murder of the PST militants and mounting government-backed brown-shirt terror in Argentina.

The butchers responsible for assassinating the PST members are known as the "Triple A" (Argentine Anti-Communist Alliance). These murderers ride in police cars, carry authentic police identification when they make their "arrests" and have never been caught. In fact, they *are* the cops (in concert with a fascist wing of the Peronist movement) and act with the unspoken blessing of the government. Meanwhile, the military prepares its entrance by whipping up anti-guerrilla hysteria. "We will work and fight day and night to annihilate these subversive criminals," boasts Brigadier General Luciano Menendez.

Tragically, the PST dead are victims not only of the "Triple A" but also of the policies of their own party, which has repeatedly stated its support of the "institutional process" and the "continuity" of the Peronist government. The leftist guerrillas, say leaders of the reformist PST in formal audiences with Isabel Perón, are the "mirror image" of the AAA. On the contrary: the death squads are the reflection—in fact, the creatures—of the government and the capitalist "law and order" which the fake-Trotskyist PST supports.

How many more bodies must be fished from the blood-red rivers of Argentina before a conscious proletariat breaks with Peronism and class-collaborationist reformism to rise up and settle accounts with the anti-communist assassins and the bourgeoisie they serve?

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013 Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business) Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions $5.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

Reinstate Jane Margolis!

Pacific Telephone Fires Militant

SAN FRANCISCO, September 12 – Jane Margolis, a leading member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) in Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9410 here, was fired by the Pacific Telephone Company on Friday, September 5. In response to this clear political victimization of a long-time union militant, a defense committee has been established comprising members from both San Francisco and Oakland CWA locals.

That Margolis should be fired at this time is no accident. Pacific Telephone is running amok with a campaign of arbitrary harassment, firings and downgradings, all aimed at reducing its workforce, demoralizing the workers and weakening the union in order to pave the way for even more layoffs. Since the beginning of the year layoffs began to be a reality due to extensive automation and the economic downturn, despite the company's false reputation for "never laying off." The MAC has fought within the union for national strike action against these layoffs and for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to provide jobs for all. With anger at the downgrades and firings mounting (Local 9410 was forced to call a special meeting last month to discuss these issues), the company moved to rid itself of the only group within the union that has a strategy that could defeat the attacks on the phone workers.

The company chose to act now because union elections are coming up in October. Margolis, who polled 230 votes (35 short of winning) in a local-wide election for convention delegate last spring, was very likely going to be elected a Traffic rep to the executive board. By firing this militant, Pacific Telephone hopes to knock her out of the running.

Such gross company interference in union affairs is nothing new for Ma Bell. Discussing this blatant attempt by Pacific Telephone to tell union members whom they can or cannot vote for, a MAC leaflet pointed out an incident in a earlier election:

> "Management has already shown their willingness to interfere in union elections—they've taken our campaign literature off the union bulletin boards because it is 'derogatory to the Company' to be for workers running the phone company, for nationalizing the Company without compensation."

Another factor in the firing is the fact that Margolis was the first phone company employee ever to testify against rate increases the company was seeking, at Public Utility Commission hearings this spring. Here again the MAC leader called for running the phone system for social need, not profit, and exposed the Bell System's schemes to pass the costs of automation and its elimination of jobs onto the backs of the poor and working people through higher phone bills. Enraged by this "disloyal" act, the telephone monopoly quoted her (though not by name) in the company newsletter as being for "free phone service, free transportation, and free medical care."

Trumped-Up Charges

Yesterday a *Workers Vanguard* reporter talked to Margolis about her firing. She told us that "Ever since my election to the executive board in Oakland CWA Local 9415, three and a half years ago, the company has tried to get rid of me. I have never been on *any* preliminary warnings, but I have been on three final warnings." She added that "even though they have no case against me and the charges are obviously trumped up, even flimsier cases have been lost because our union is so weak. It will be a hard fight, but we're going to give them the hardest fight they've ever seen. We're getting a lot of support from members and stewards, and even some executive board members."

As was made clear in a MAC leaflet, the company had no case against Jane Margolis. Management suspended her, "pending investigation," for "falsification of company records" concerning an application for a personal leave she had already taken. Although the company produced not one shred of evidence

WV Photo

Jane Margolis, victimized MAC leader.

demonstrating any "falsification," Margolis volunteered verification which disproved the charges. On the day the company would have had to produce evidence for union representatives at a fact-finding meeting, management cancelled the meeting, fired Margolis and changed its story: she was now fired for spending too much time "in transit" on the leave! Many members and stewards were incensed not only at the flimsiness of the company's charges, but also at its dangerous assertion of the "right" to take action against a worker on the basis of presumed guilt, requiring the worker to provide proof of innocence after the fact.

Responsibility for this firing must be laid squarely at the feet of the CWA leadership, which has worked in collusion with the company to tie the hands of the members, and which by its cowering servility has given the company the green light to wage a ruthless campaign of firings and harassment. Both the International and several Local officers will be glad to rid themselves of the leader of the opposition caucus with the longest history in the union. San Francisco Local 9410 president Kirkpatrick is infamous in the union as the author of "19-2-C", an anti-red clause which the MAC successfully campaigned against, leading to its defeat at the 1973 CWA convention.

Members Fight Back

The response of the membership to the firing has been both swift and encouraging. A "Committee to Defend Jane Margolis" was formed at a meeting called on September 10. According to Margolis the meeting was attended by 21 union members, including several stewards and chief stewards. The basis for membership in the committee is agreement with two points, which are being circulated in the form of a petition, and will be introduced as motions at the next union meeting to be held on September 16. The petition reads:

> "We, the undersigned members of Local 9410, condemn the arbitrary and vindictive firing by the Company of long-time union militant Jane Margolis, and demand her immediate reinstatement with full back pay and seniority rights. We urge all union brothers and sisters to put their full support behind this demand.
> "We cannot permit the Company to destroy our union through its policy of harassment and firings, downgrades and layoffs, nor permit them to dictate who can or cannot be in our Union by allowing them to fire our members and militants. Therefore, the Union should adopt a protective policy of retaining full union membership rights for all fired and laid-off members."

Retention of union rights is a crucial demand to strengthen the CWA against the company. It was a regular practice in CIO unions during the organizing drives of the 1930's, a response to the firing of union organizers by the employers. The demand is also important because it links the unemployed workers to the employed workers and insures that the voice of the unemployed workers is heard within the unions.

Defend Jane Margolis—Defend MAC!

The broad base of the Committee to Defend Jane Margolis and the enthusiastic response of phone workers to the committee show that growing numbers of phone workers have had enough of Pacific Telephone's unending campaign of harassment and firing. The attack on Jane Margolis and the MAC is an attack upon all phone workers, an attack upon the CWA. All CWA members must unite, stand up and fight the company's "force reduction" schemes and oppose vicitimization of union militants who are leaders in this fight. If they do not resist, the company will only grow bolder, no one will be safe, and the very existence of the union will be called into question.

The CWA leadership must not be let off the hook—it must be directed by the membership to defend all phone workers victimized through company downgrades and layoffs, firing and harassment. But we warn phone workers to place no confidence in these agents of the bosses within the workers movement. The best defense against the Bell System's arbitrary attacks is to oust these phonies and replace them with a leadership committed to a program of class struggle, a program to put an end to the rule of the capitalist robber barons once and for all. It is precisely because groups such as the MAC have made an important beginning in such a struggle that they must be defended by every class-conscious worker and militant trade unionist.

An urgent request has been made for funds to defray the costs of conducting this defense campaign. The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, urges *WV* readers to support this call. Declarations of solidarity and donations may be sent to the Committee to Defend Jane Margolis, c/o Militant Action Caucus, P.O. Box 462, El Cerrito, CA 94530.■

NY Teachers...

(continued from page 1)

From the start the Board has been on the offensive. Having eliminated 10,000 jobs from the school system through attrition over the past four years, it fired 7,000 substitute teachers in June.

By September 5, layoff notices had been received by 17.8 percent of all teachers, almost a third of the guidance counselors and 50 percent of all aides and paraprofessionals. This means that over 10,000 school workers will lose their jobs this month. These layoffs have a particularly heavy impact on the non-white UFT members, who are concentrated among the paraprofessionals, teacher aides and teachers with lower seniority. The response of UFT leaders was to initiate a useless court suit rather than to mobilize the ranks to defend their jobs.

The teachers' contract is the first to be negotiated since the pay freeze and will set the pattern for collective bargaining under MAC's austerity program. With Albert Shanker at the UFT helm, the pattern promises to be a disaster. Striking a militant posture while the other city unions were signing away their members' wages, he initially demanded a 25 percent wage increase in the pre-strike negotiations. But his posturing ended quickly, and Shanker now asserts almost proudly that "salaries are not an issue." Although teachers' real wages dropped by 22 percent over the three-year life of the current contract (negotiated during Nixon's wage freeze), the UFT head will buy a new contract without one cent in higher pay. Even worse, this "responsible labor statesman" indicated a willingness to acquiesce to most of the Board's demands if they will only allow him some apparent compromise to sell to the ranks.

Instead the Board contemptuously rejected most of the proposed compromises, occasionally passing the buck to Mayor Beame or Governor Carey, and has maneuvered the union representatives into several embarrassing positions. On September 8, the day the schools reopened, the state's "fact-finders," impressed with Shanker's declared willingness to accept regressions on preparation periods and "reasonable violations" of class size limits, proposed an indefinite extension of the old contract to postpone a strike and wrap up the sellout. When Shanker presented this first empty "victory" to his executive board, however, he was chagrined to discover that, in effect, there was no contract to extend. In the wake of the layoffs, class sizes had increased by 50 to 100 percent. The teachers lacked aides, supplies, even desks, and were assigned to duties that violated the contract.

Cornered by this deliberate provocation, Shanker reluctantly put a strike motion before an angry delegates' meeting that afternoon. He vividly described the Board's intransigence and his own fruitless attempts at "bargaining":

> "We made every effort to reach an agreement. We did not want a strike. We don't want one now. We know that our city is in trouble. We met; we made concessions. We came up with numerous proposals.... The other side came in with this bag full of demands to take away everything that we ever got. And until we made concessions to give away things they wouldn't even make any proposals. And then after all of that negotiating, there was just no package there."

But this was not the last time that Shanker was to be humiliated. In midweek the mediators suggested a ceasefire. The schools would be officially closed, the strike would be suspended and teachers would go in to attempt to lower class sizes through "reorganization." Although no simple reshuffling of students and teachers could close the gaps left by thousands of layoffs, Shanker grasped at the scheme as a way to deflate the strike. However, news of the truce reached union negotiators not from their president but from the morning newspapers. Shanker pacified his negotiating committee and sold them on the scheme, only to find out that the Board had scuttled it on the instructions of the city's Corporation Counsel, who insisted on a written pledge that the UFT would not go back on strike if no settlement were reached during the truce!

Finally, there was the elaborate shell-game in which the city's chief negotiator, Robert Christen, joined with the union's representatives to explore the possibility of freeing $43 million budgeted for salary increases prior to the freeze and diverting it to rehire some laid-off teachers. After shuttling back and forth between Mayor Beame and Governor Carey, the weary team finally got the word from Beame: MAC wants frozen money to stay frozen.

During the maze of negotiations the UFT bureaucrats, the mediators (to a lesser extent) and even, at times, the Board's negotiators have been slow to grasp the concrete meaning of capitalist austerity. To carry out MAC's program the city must not compromise with but *defeat* the union and make major inroads on past contractual gains. There is no room for the public bluster, backroom deals and face-saving compromises that normally occur.

Eager to tame the teachers union in its stronghold, the financiers from MAC hover over the bargaining table. If the puppets don't stand straight enough, the strings are pulled taut. The city's Corporation Counsel reins in the Board's negotiators on the ceasefire. MAC itself reins in Beame on the $43 million. The naked reality of the class struggle, sometimes obscured in "collective" bargaining and "neutral" mediation, is glaringly evident in the single-minded determination with which the city hacks away at the teachers' working conditions and plunges an already abysmal school system deeper into terminal decay.

The courts have been waving the big stick of the Taylor Law which outlaws public workers' strikes. Shanker could be jailed for as long as a year for violating the injunction against the strike; individual teachers could be fined two days' pay for every day they stay on strike. So far, however, the courts have used their power to pressure the union into surrendering rather than to bludgeon it into submission. The use of intimidation and hard-line negotiations rather than a frontal assault is the result not of any taste for compromise but of the enormous support for the strike throughout the city.

In 1968 the Lindsay administration pulled out all the stops to bust the union by mobilizing the city's black and Latin population behind a phony community control scheme that would have destroyed seniority rights and the organizational strength of the UFT. Many teachers, parents and students actively attempted to break that strike by keeping the schools open. They were egged on by black nationalists, poverty program bureaucrats and phony leftists like the Communist Party, Progressive Labor Party and

L.A. Courts/Cops Commit Racist Atrocity

Protest Philip Allen Conviction!

Philip Allen with his mother. WV Photo

LOS ANGELES—Philip Allen, the young black college student accused of killing an L.A. County deputy in an early-morning New Year's Eve shooting, has been convicted of voluntary manslaughter. This grotesque frame-up must be vigorously protested. We demand a reversal of Allen's conviction—free Philip Allen! Joanne Little was freed because working people, labor militants and socialists rallied to her side against the vicious state charges. The same must be done for Allen, who was blatantly framed by L.A. police and railroaded through the bourgeois courts—both parts of the same repressive state apparatus which staged the SLA massacre and now trains SWAT teams to suppress food riots.

During his trial, Allen's hopes for justice were steadily ground down. He listened in disbelief as prosecutor Burton Katz painted for the jury the picture of a bloodthirsty "cop-hater." Simply because Allen had enrolled in black studies courses at Los Angeles City College, the prosecutor argued that young Allen (now 20 years old) was a vicious racist who, in spite of his diminutive (5'3") build, had come out on top in an unprovoked altercation with six to eight hefty cops. It was charged that Allen disarmed one of them and with this service revolver allegedly wounded two or three others as well as killing Darden Hollis.

After his arrest, Allen was labelled "suicidal" and strapped to his hospital bed while recovering from a cop beating received during the alleged shooting, only to be informed later that he was being held on obviously faked charges of killing the deputy. No test was done to determine whether he had in fact fired the Smith & Wesson .357 magnum service revolver. No fingerprints were found on the gun. No substantial evidence was ever presented which even suggested how Allen, while pinned to the ground, could have grabbed the gun. Nor were the results of a police-administered lie-detector test (which Allen "passed") admitted in evidence by Judge Laurence Rittenband.

The trial was held in near-lily-white Santa Monica. Police witnesses were seen driving to and from the court in the same car, publicly conversing, while the defendant was baited for knowing one of the defense witnesses. Three older white women jurors openly winked at prosecutor Katz, and Judge Rittenband repeatedly left the courtroom (which was full of Allen supporters) to consult with attorneys in his private chambers. Capping it all was the hysteria of prosecutor Katz, screaming at the jury one minute, sneering at Allen for his "passivity" the next. "Murderers can be handsome, too," he ranted. An incredible argument, but no more so than every other aspect of the state's "case."

Large sums were spent by the state to support the police allegations, a situation which continually put Allen's defense committee in dire financial straits to raise the substantial amounts necessary for the cost of expert testimony to counter the state's "specialists." Although no witnesses, not even the cops, claimed to have seen Allen get the gun, the prosecution's racist demagogy was sufficient to get a conviction.

Joanne Little was freed because of numerous demonstrations, an expensive legal defense and massive publicity before and during the trial. For Philip Allen there were few demonstrations and a virtual press blackout, even in the L.A. area. Unfortunately, the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee limited its strategy to a narrow legalistic defense policy. The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, made a financial contribution to the Philip Allen defense, as did the Chicago Spartacist League which collected funds at several forums which were opened with an appeal to support this victim of a vicious cop frame-up. But while advocating the use of every possible legal procedure for the cases it supports, the PDC understands that only a defense which relies on mass support and puts forward a sharp political attack on the whole system of phony class justice can hope to win freedom for those it supports.

The PDC urges *WV* readers to assist Allen at this time for the crucial appeal process. Donations may be mailed to: Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California 90005.

Socialist Workers Party whose supporters in the UFT scabbed on the strike. The job was made easier, of course, by Shanker's notorious indifference to the reality of racial oppression and his narrow Meanyite business unionism.

But the union survived the attack, and today the UFT has the social power not only to defend what little is left of public education in New York City, but also to take the lead in breaking through the impasse created by the capitulation of the leadership of the municipal workers unions to the wage freeze and massive layoffs imposed by MAC. The greatest obstacle to such a victory is the Shanker bureaucracy with its no-win strategy of nickel-and-dime haggling (this time over how much the union will *give back*). Unless the strike and its demands are broadened, the city can wait it out, begin a propaganda campaign to convince parents that class size should be limited by sharply increasing each teacher's work load, play off other unions against the UFT (e.g., school aides and lunchroom workers belonging to Gotbaum's District Council 37 were instructed to continue working), use preferential layoff schemes to pit bilingual teachers against the union, employ the fines and jailings prescribed by the Taylor Law and, in general, try to demoralize the teachers and undermine their support in the community.

To win its strike the UFT must lead the city's labor movement, the poor and much of the middle class behind an aggressive program to overturn the austerity program. For the UFT, for example, to raise the simple demand of free public transportation could galvanize the entire city into action and represent a giant leap toward a massive work stoppage. Such sentiment already exists, to some extent, in the ranks of the UFT. At the June delegates' meeting Shanker was actually drowned out by chants of "General Strike, General Strike!" Rather than capitulating to the Board's strong-arm tactics, the UFT must broaden its strike, linking up with the Professional Staff Congress (City University employees in an AFT-affiliated local whose contract deadline is this week), to spark a city-wide general strike against the capitalists' anti-labor austerity program.

To maintain and deepen community support the demands of the poor and oppressed racial minorities must be championed by the strikers. Bilingual, Title I and all special educational programs must be defended, and all budget cuts restored. Rather than passively accepting thousands of layoffs—or rehiring a few teachers with money extorted from UFT members through fines and lost pay—militant teachers must demand the rescinding of all layoffs and call for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, to create more jobs and provide improved education. This must be coupled with full cost-of-living protection and a substantial wage increase to make up for past losses to inflation.

The financial leeches who run MAC and devised its program to bust the unions and put the urban poor on short rations must have their business empires exposed to public scrutiny and their stranglehold on the cities broken. The corporation and bank books must be opened to inspection by the workers movement, the city debt cancelled and the banks expropriated!

The millions of dollars contributed by the UFT to Beame, Carey and other so-called "friends of labor" (including the small fry that they elected to the community school boards) were poured down the rat hole of capitalist politics. Shanker's friends are now doing their best to break the UFT and the rest of the labor movement in order to bail out big business at the workers expense. A class-struggle opposition must be built in the unions to dump Shanker, Gotbaum and all the bureaucrats. This can only be done by raising a full, political program, including demands for a workers party, based on the trade unions to fight for a workers government!■

Phony Democracy at USW District 31 Convention

Sadlowski Can't Fight Layoffs

CHICAGO The first conference of District 31 (Chicago Gary region) of the United Steel Workers under the aegis of newly installed District Director Ed Sadlowski was held here in the middle of July. Reflecting strong pressure from the huge district's rank and file, many of whom are now laid off, the 980 delegates passed resolutions condemning the union's pro-company productivity clause and its infamous ENA (Experimental Negotiating Agreement) no-strike deal.

Words were cheap, however, since the conference had no formal decision-making powers. Neither Sadlowski, the darling of the reformists, nor the conference delegates, the vast majority of whom were union officials, showed the slightest signs of mounting a serious, political opposition to the sellout International administration of I.W. Abel & Co.

Sadlowski supporters at April 26 jobs rally in Washington, D.C. • WV Photo

Sadlowski, who gained office in a government-run election against an Abel flunky on an ostensible program of union democracy, billed the conference as a democratic departure from the past. It didn't take long, however, for Sadlowski's bureaucratic method to begin showing through the facade provided by such "innovations" as committees, resolutions from locals and floor microphones.

The first use of the microphones was made by a member who complained that although his local had elected no delegates, he had seen a local member present wearing a delegate's badge. The accused member reported that he had simply purchased the badge himself! Frank Mirocha, president of Local 65 (U.S. Steel Southworks) then complained that members of his local who were not delegates were serving on key committees. Asked how they got there, Sadlowski replied imperiously, "I appointed them." After many "guests" in delegates' badges were discovered, Sadlowski was forced to consent to a motion requiring them to leave the delegate area.

Although Sadlowski's report to the conference was dry and statistical, it revealed the background of crisis and unemployment which have been plaguing steel workers in recent months. Unemployment in the District stood at over 14 percent. While nine new locals had been organized in the past year, several more had been disbanded due to plant closures. Overall membership in the District was down to 110,000 from the year's highest monthly level of 126,000. Speaking later, International Vice President John S. Johns estimated that 100,000 steel workers were laid off nationally.

What Sadlowski failed to report was his own inaction on the layoffs which have swept the industry this year. In District 31 alone 12,000 workers were thrown onto the streets, including 25 percent of the workforce at U.S. Steel's giant Gary works, yet Sadlowski spent his time playing footsie with local Democratic Party bigwigs and travelling to Eastern Europe, presumably to bolster his "progressive" reputation. In contrast to Sadlowski's inaction, which was indistinguishable from Abel's, steel workers in two plants in Ohio wildcatted against layoffs earlier this year.

Much of the conference bickering reflected jockeying for position between Sadlowski and Abel forces in the District. The bulk of the International-financed staff reps and most of the local officials supported Abel's candidate for District Director in the last election, and staff forces have already fielded a new challenger to oppose Sadlowski in the next contest. Meanwhile Sadlowski is being pushed by some—particularly the Communist Party, in the pages of the *Daily World*—as a "progressive" opponent to Abel in the next election for International president. Abel is rumored to be planning to alter the union's constitution to allow himself to run again in order to keep the "official family" united against Sadlowski.

Differences between Abel and Sadlowski remain verbal, however, as Sadlowski fails to concretize his opposition into even the bare beginnings of a class-struggle program. Sadlowski refused to take a clear stand on ENA in the election and made no attempt at the conference to mobilize opposition to it. While Abel opposes strikes—supposedly to prevent the kind of depression-unemployment now occurring!—and pushes production and protectionism, Sadlowski confines himself to making populist-sounding utterances such as, "we're putting the politicians and liberals on notice right now that we want a piece of the good life."

Sadlowski has no monopoly on pious phrases, "left" rhetoric and vague promises, however. After pointing out that economists are predicting five more years of unemployment at 6 or 7 percent, Abel representative John S. Johns, in his remarks to the conference, said, "If this becomes true...I believe it's high time that we seriously consider moving toward...a shorter workday, a shorter workweek or shorter workyear without loss of pay for our people." A resolution for a shorter workday with no loss in wages was passed in District 15 (western Pennsylvania) earlier this year. With his remark, it was Johns, rather than the "progressive" Sadlowski, who grabbed the limelight in the next day's news report for having said something out of the ordinary.

The conference resolutions against ENA and the productivity clause were the work of a local officialdom facing an increasingly hostile membership and in need of something "progressive" to point to. Authored originally by Local 1033 (Republic Steel), they were reported out by the resolutions committee and passed with little opposition, to the accompaniment of neutral silence from Sadlowski. A section of the resolution on the productivity clause revealed the underlying worry of the authors: "The membership of our union is highly suspicious of the productivity clause and are placing the blame for it on local union officers...."

There was no organized opposition force in evidence at the conference. Reformist groups such as the District 31 Right to Strike Committee, which is politically supported by the Maoist October League, and the National Steel Workers Rank and File Committee, which is endorsed by the Communist Party, backed Sadlowski in the last election. They both have been virtually inactive since then. The NSWRFC sharply curtails the program it raises in Sadlowski's district; its national leader, George Edwards, called for a shorter workweek at no cut in pay and no overtime during layoffs in Lorain, Ohio in June, though neither of these demands had appeared in the group's paper in Local 65 (District 31) in April. Members of NSWRFC supported the conference resolutions against the productivity clause and ENA, and will no doubt flaunt these as evidence of Sadlowski's "leftism" when in fact he had nothing to do with them.

Neither was there any attempt by the delegates to turn disgruntlement about unemployment into a fighting program to use the strike weapon to combat layoffs and mobilize the ranks nationally for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay. This would certainly be the last thing desired by the local leaders who passed the resolutions at the conference. Only a few weeks prior, officials of Local 1014 (U.S. Steel Gary works) managed to table indefinitely a resolution presented by rank-and-file local members demanding such a strategy. A real class-struggle opposition in the USW can only be built by first rejecting the "left" fakery presented by such local leaders and by Sadlowski.■

From Yalta to Helsinki...

Informations Ouvrières

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta.

The Diplomacy of Betrayal

Alain Nogues

Portuguese President Costa Gomes greets Kissinger and Ford at Helsinki.

For three days at the beginning of August the hollow sound of sanctimonious speeches from leaders of 33 European countries, the United States and Canada echoed in Helsinki. The usual empty phrases about "a continent of peace," "encouraging human contacts," and "East-West understanding" flowed in an endless stream from the mouths of the world's most vicious imperialist warmongers and their Stalinist collaborators.

The document-signing ceremony ended the months-long "Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe" which blessed in official and formal terms the post-World War II map of Europe, thus endorsing the 1943-45 deals between the Western imperialists and Stalin carving up the continent into "spheres of influence." Among the signers, Russian Communist Party (CP) leader Brezhnev was the most ecstatic, hailing the conference for adopting "a number of important agreements supplementing political détente by a military one...." The CPUSA's *Daily World* (7 August) went even further, announcing "Heads of state sign pact to end cold war."

Like the speeches, the accords signed at Helsinki say nearly nothing in 100 pages of loopholes, escape clauses and generalities pompously rendered in the most turgid prose. The U.S., for example, claims the pact is not legally binding but the USSR insists that it is. One delegate explained to a questioning reporter: "You are not supposed to understand it. Neither do we, and, what's more, we meant it that way" (*New York Times*, 30 July). Deliberate obscurantism has long been the classic mode for diplomatic documents. But that does not mean that diplomacy has no meaning. Behind the polite cocktail parties and verbose pontificating stands military force. Diplomacy is an extension of war by other means.

The Kremlin bureaucrats' enthusiasm for the Helsinki "treaty" derives from their policy of sowing illusions that such scraps of paper can prevent a world war launched by imperialists eager to regain the Russian market and smash the social and economic conquests of the October Revolution. Stalin had the same illusion, vainly hoping that his pact with Hitler would stave off a German invasion. Soviet workers found out differently, at a cost of millions of lives unnecessarily lost due to military unpreparedness.

Ever since the beginning of the "cold war" Russian diplomacy has focused on the demand for a political settlement confirming the present division of Europe. As early as 1954 Molotov proposed a European security treaty as the alternative to NATO and the abortive European Defense Community. More recently, the French Communist Party called for "simultaneous dissolution of the North Atlantic Treaty and the Warsaw Treaty" and a continental security treaty ("Programme commun de gouvernement," 1972). Now Brezhnev has his treaty, but NATO remains.

Secret Talks on Portugal

The anti-détente lobby in Washington was predictably "enraged" over Helsinki. Henry Jackson and a chorus of right-wing emigré groups longing for the restoration of clerical-fascist rule in their homelands struck up the theme of a "Western retreat" on the "basic principle of self-determination" for the former Baltic states now part of the USSR. But not even the senator from Boeing has current plans to invade Estonia in order to restore manorial domains to the Junker barons.

As former U.S. Undersecretary of State George Ball pointed out, far from giving up anything Washington was doing its best "to use the Soviet Union's open eagerness for the Helsinki conference as a lever to pry loose concessions" (*New York Times*, July 31). Still stinging from its defeat in Indochina, the U.S. wanted an "understanding" with Brezhnev on Portugal as its price for a "legally non-binding" signature. This was made clear by the secret talks on Portugal at Helsinki between President Ford and the CPSU general secretary, and was the repeated theme of U.S. leaders for the next three weeks. Speaking to the American Legion on August 19, Ford remarked:

> "But the principles we adopted there [in Helsinki] now must be put into practice....
> "We are now carefully watching some serious situations for indications of the Soviet attitude towards détente and cooperation in European security. The situation in Portugal is one of them."

A few days earlier Secretary of State Kissinger put the point even more bluntly:

> "In Portugal...the Soviet Union should not assume that it has the option, either directly or indirectly, to influence events contrary to the right of the Portuguese people to determine their own future. The involvement of external powers for this purpose in a country which is an old friend and ally of ours, is inconsistent with any principle of European security."
> *New York Times*, 15 August

Extending the Monroe Doctrine to the Iberian peninsula, Kissinger simultaneously warned Russia to keeps hands off and announced that the U.S. stood "ready to help a democratic Portugal," adding that "We will oppose...the efforts of a minority that appears to be subverting the revolution for its own purposes"! Posing as protector of the Portuguese revolution (!), the U.S. openly attempted to pressure leftist Premier General Vasco Gonçalves out of office, among other things by offering planes to evacuate Angolan refugees but only to a Portuguese government "we can work with." In turn, European social democratic-led governments (notably Sweden and West Germany) offered "millions" in aid provided a "stable government" to their liking was installed in Lisbon.

Brezhnev was quick to respond to Kissinger's threats. The next day he told an American delegation in Yalta that "We are in favor of strict non-interference in Portugal and believe that it is up to the Portuguese to solve their own affairs" (*Le Monde*, 16 August). Three days later a lengthy, authoritative article in *Pravda* ended with the same statement, virtually word for word (*Daily World*, 3 September). "Strict non-interference" is the cowardly excuse of a nationalist bureaucracy that is willing to endlessly sacrifice "foreign" revolutions in the hopes of enticing the imperialists into "peaceful coexistence." It is the negation of proletarian internationalism!

Faced with the recent reactionary offensive in Portugal, starkly reminiscent of Chile during Allende's last days, a revolutionary workers state would unstintingly aid the embattled Portuguese workers. In Santiago de Chile on 11 September 1973 the workers waited in the factories for arms that never came. Today in Lisbon the workers are demanding guns. Will the Soviet Union provide them? Brezhnev replies "strict non-interference," and the pro-NATO generals prepare to smash the combative workers and purge the leftist soldiers.

With its treacherous "hands-off" policy toward Portugal, Moscow does its best to tie the hands of the Portuguese working class while giving a free hand to U.S. imperialism. This is the price of "political détente." It would not be a great surprise if, when the contents of the secret Ford-Brezhnev talks are made known, it will turn out that the fate of Portugal was on the poker table at Helsinki. It would not be the first time the Stalinists sacrificed revolutionary opportunities in Europe in the chimerical hope of preserving their bureaucratic privileges by offering "peaceful coexistence" to counterrevolution.

Yalta: Dividing Europe

While history is not a conspiracy, there are conspiracies in history. At Yalta in January 1945, the "Big Three" (Stalin, Roosevelt, Churchill) conspired to divide Europe. The Yalta meeting had been prepared by earlier conferences in Tehran, Cairo, Moscow and Quebec beginning in 1943 when it became probable that the allies were going to defeat the Axis forces. Churchill describes in his memoirs an instance of the cynical camaraderie that existed between himself and Stalin in the horse-trading atmosphere of the October 1944 Moscow meeting:

> "I wrote out on a half-sheet of paper,
> Rumania
> Russia 90%
> The others 10%
> Greece
> Great Britain 90%
> (in accord with U.S.A.)
> Russia 10%
> Yugoslavia 50-50%
> Hungary 50-50%
> Bulgaria
> Russia 75%
> The others 25%
> "I pushed this across to Stalin, who had by then heard the translation. There was a slight pause. Then he took his blue pencil and made a large tick upon it, and passed it back to us. It was all settled in no more time than it takes to set it down."
> —Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. 6: "Triumph and Tragedy," 1953

At Yalta the percentages checked off were different although the spirit of "give and take" was the same. It was Stalin, "the Great Organizer of Defeats," who gave and the imperialists who took.

At the time imperialism faced prerevolutionary conditions throughout Europe. In the course of six years of war a substantial underground apparatus had been built up in the struggle against the

continued on page 8

Trotskyist League of Canada Founded

The founding of the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC) represents the rebirth of revolutionary Marxism in Canada and an important step forward in the development of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt). The TLC founding conference, held at the end of August, marked the culmination of a fusion process between the Canadian Committee of the iSt (CCiSt) and the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, expelled left opposition of the Revolutionary Marxist Group. This principled fusion, and the parallel recruitment of individuals out of the Pablo-ist and left milieus in Toronto and Vancouver, laid the basis for the founding of the TLC.

The composition of the TLC reflects the success of the iSt's regroupment tactic. One third of the founding membership were former members of the misnamed "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) in Canada—primarily its centrist affiliate, the Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG). This category includes seven founding members of the RMG, one of whom had been a full member of the RMG Central Committee. Another third of the TLC membership had been on the periphery of the RMG, attending its study classes and other activities.

The TLC seeks to establish itself as the clear pole of authentic Trotskyism in Canada—through exemplary work in the trade unions, on the campuses and around important issues such as immigration, racism and legal defense, and by exposing the opportunist tendencies which masquerade as "Trotskyists," particularly the RMG and the League for Socialist Action (LSA).

The stabilization of the TLC as a fighting propaganda group (laying the basis for its transformation into the nucleus of the vanguard party in Canada) will require sharp polemical struggles against the ostensibly Marxist tendencies. The origins of the TLC itself lay in just such a process.

Origin of the RMG

In 1971-72 a left opposition crystallized in the LSA, at that time the only Canadian affiliate of the USec and for many years the only visible self-styled Trotskyist organization in Canada. The Revolutionary Communist Tendency (RCT) came into existence in part as a left reaction against the LSA's accelerated adaptation to Canadian nationalism, feminism and the social-democratic New Democratic Party, and in part as a result of the attraction exerted by the "revolutionary" posturing of the LSA's factional opponents within the USec.

Seeking a leftist alternative to the LSA's reformism, the RCT turned to what is now known as the International Majority Tendency (IMT) of the USec on a largely impressionistic basis. Subjected in its formative stages to ferocious and hysterical bureaucratic repression by the LSA leadership, the RCT sought allies on the negative basis of hostility to the LSA's class-collaborationist "mass campaign" politics, rejection of the LSA's tailism toward the NDP, and even cliquist antagonism toward the LSA's "regime."

The RCT never felt obliged to examine the positions of tendencies outside the USec; instead, it embraced the centrist politics of the USec majority. With the expulsion/split of the RCT and its fusion with the Red Circle and Old Mole groupings, the RMG was founded in 1973. The group's attempt to "integrate" itself into the IMT was the starting point for its political degeneration and the erosion of its healthiest political impulses. Faction-ridden from its inception, the RMG proved incapable of seriously addressing the fundamental questions of program and strategy underlying its opposition to the LSA's reformism.

The RMG made no investigation of the Bolshevik heritage embodied in the early Comintern and Trotsky's Fourth International. Instead, it squabbled over the proper application of the IMT's revisionist politics to Canada. The RMG's first two years have been marked by futile and rather comic efforts to "locate," "crystallize," "politicize" and "penetrate" the elusive "broad vanguard" which the IMT insists is in the process of emerging under the impact of the irresistible "new rise of world revolution."

The essence of this methodology is substitutionism—i.e., seeing forces other than the working class as the leading element in the revolution. The underlying method of the "new rise of world revolution" schema is objectivism—i.e., denial of the need for a politically self-conscious working class, embodied in a mass Leninist party, to intervene in the historical process.

Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency

The Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency (B-LT) was formed in August 1974 as an indigenous left-wing oppositional tendency of the RMG. It waged a consistent struggle against the RMG's rightward drift and demanded an immediate split between the centrist IMT and the reformist wing of the USec led by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and the LSA. The B-LT rejected the centrism of the IMT and called for a return to the program of Trotskyism. The focal points of this struggle were the necessity for international democratic centralism, for a serious communist intervention in the unions centering on caucuses based on the Transitional Program, and rejection of the IMT's Pabloist positions on key international questions: the IMT's political support for guerrilla warfare, its failure to call for political revolution in the Cuban and Indochinese deformed workers states, and its support for popular frontism.

At the March 1975 convention of the RMG, the B-LT was expelled on an explicitly political basis, proving that the RMG's "assimilation" of the IMT's methodology included not only its politics but its bureaucratic organizational practices as well.

With the expulsion of the B-LT, the CCiSt and B-LT began a period of joint work and discussion which revealed that the programmatic congruity of the two organizations was complemented by a common assessment of the current tasks of revolutionary Trotskyists in Canada.

Vancouver Committee

In a parallel development, individuals from the campus and left milieus were recruited to the CCiSt in Vancouver. The Vancouver comrades energetically carried out exemplary work around issues such as the British Columbia strike wave and a campaign against deportations and the government's racist "Green Paper" on immigration. This work provoked polemics against the CCiSt in the papers of the Communist Party and the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labour.

The conference adopted as a central task the early publication of a regular Canadian newspaper of the iSt. *Spartacist Canada* will initially have the character of a Canada-centered supplement to *Workers Vanguard*, expanding to meet the needs of the organization as it grows.

A central concern of the conference was transcending the Menshevist and New Leftist functioning of the RMG and LSA and re-establishing Bolshevik standards of professionalism in all aspects of the life of the revolutionary organization. The conference pledged to extend the TLC's interventions in trade-union, immigration and campus work. The continued tactic of revolutionary regroupment was recognized as vital to the continued development of the TLC.

The B-LT fusion and establishment of a Vancouver group represent a deepening of the iSt's roots in the Canadian political terrain and lay the basis for stabilizing an authentic Bolshevik propaganda league in Canada. Taking its place as a sympathizing section within the ranks of the international Spartacist tendency, the TLC has a heavy responsibility to the Canadian working class and to the reforging of the Fourth International as the indispensable instrument of the world proletariat's coming victory.■

On Tour for the "MFA-People Alliance":

I.S. Promotes Portuguese Syndicalists

EDITOR'S NOTE: *We reprint below excerpts from a recent Spartacist League leaflet entitled "What Is the Proletarian Revolutionary Party?"*

The only thing international about the International Socialists (IS) is its name. The IS' refusal to defend the Soviet Union (which it considers a "bureaucratic collectivist" class society) against imperialist attack is a capitulation before the imperialist bourgeoisie. It demonstrates a total incapacity to recognize the vital importance to the international working class of preserving the tremendous economic and social conquests of the October Revolution, which remain in force despite usurpation of political power by a bureaucratic caste.

The IS' anti-internationalism is also expressed in its Menshevik distortion of democratic centralism. Its slogan of "freedom of criticism" of the party line in public—more accurately translated as "do your own thing"—is embodied in the spectacle of British and American International Socialists taking divergent positions and even attacking each other in their press. This is in flat contradiction to the norms of the early Communist International under Lenin (and of the Fourth International led by Trotsky) which was a centralized world party of socialist revolution.

The IS is not part of a disciplined international tendency, nor does it seek to build one. Its idea of internationalism is best exemplified by periodic gatherings sponsored by the French syndicalist-Trotskyoid Lutte Ouvrière. These circuses are attended by such disparate groups as the Spanish POUM, Italian Maoist-syndicalists, the lunatic NCLC (on at least one occasion) and the social-democratic IS duo. After roundly denouncing each other for a few hours, the participants return home to brag about their wide range of international contacts.

The IS' latest get-rich-quick scheme to recruit "real workers" centers on a phony "agitational" campaign of "impressive rallies." To kick things off it has organized a nationwide tour with a delegate of the "Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors" in Portugal. This tour is a perfect example of the hollowness of the IS' pretensions. It is an attempt to gain adherents on the basis of being the "best" (i.e., the most enthusiastic and uncritical) supporters of "the Portuguese revolutionaries," much as the Socialist Workers Party sought to gain popularity in the early 1960's by tailing after Castro, the hero of the hour among petty-bourgeois radicals. But who are the Portuguese revolutionaries, and what are their policies?

The IS assigns the role of vanguard to the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), claiming that this group "is racing to become the mass revolutionary party that is desperately necessary" in Portugal (*Workers' Power* supplement, 4-17 September). The PRP began as a student-"New Leftist" hodgepodge coalescing in late 1973 with, according to the IS, a "revolutionary base line" consisting of "an amalgam of Lenin, Trotsky and Luxemburg, with some anarcho-syndicalist tendencies" (*International Socialism*, April 1975)....

Repeatedly denouncing "infighting" on the left and bemoaning "divisions in the working class" (interview with a PRP supporter in *Workers' Power*, 19 June-2 July)—divisions and conflict which are the inevitable result of political struggle for a correct revolutionary policy—the PRP sought to create "autonomous" workers organizations by calling the "First National Congress in Favor of Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors" (CRTSM) last April. However, aside from a few delegates from workplaces where the PRP has a base, the "Congress" was almost exclusively made up of non-delegated supporters of the PRP. Although a second congress of the CRTSM was held in early August (attended by an observer from the international Spartacist tendency), the "revolutionary councils" remain little more than a front group for the PRP, and are considered as such by the rest of the Portuguese left.

The most dangerous aspect of the PRP's policy is its support (first veiled) for the "progressive sectors" of the MFA. In the summer of 1974, rather than denounce the bourgeois character of the MFA and warn the working class that despite its leftist demagogy the military officer corps represents the class enemy, the PRP requested that "the MFA take a consistent position within the class struggle...and that it abandon the moderating 'centrism' which will inevitably lead to its own dissolution..." (*Revolução*, 19 July 1974). But all it took

continued on page 8

From Yalta to Helsinki...

(continued from page 6)

Axis armies and their various quisling regimes. The resistance was largely Stalinist-dominated and the most combative sectors of the workers were armed. The bourgeoisie rightly feared for its state, as the governmental apparatus had almost universally collaborated with the Nazis and was identified in the minds of the masses with the horrors of war and fascism. With the imminent collapse of Hitler, the building momentum of a proletarian upsurge promised to erupt into full-scale social revolution in a number of European countries.

So Churchill and Roosevelt had more on their minds at the beginning of 1945 than taking Berlin and defeating Japan. They were thinking about France, where Liberation in the latter half of 1944 involved not only the Normandy invasion but also the French working class, including a railway strike against the occupation forces. The armed resistance movement tried and executed thousands of Nazi collaborators as liberation committees sprang up to run municipalities. The region of Marseilles had already begun nationalizations.

Roosevelt and Churchill were also worried about Italy where Badoglio, the butcher of Ethiopia who had replaced Mussolini in a palace coup in 1943, could not contain the militant workers of the industrial cities of the North. Strikes wracked Torino and Milano, and the traditions of 1920 would be relived in 1945 with widespread factory occupations. This time tens of thousands of fascists were shot.

Churchill was particularly anxious about Greece where a large guerrilla movement led by the CP-dominated National Liberation Front (EAM) appeared to be on the verge of successfully defeating the Italian and German armies. But tragically for the Greek workers and peasants, Stalin had already agreed that they would belong to the British "sphere of influence." So as the Axis occupation armies collapsed, the British moved in to replace them. Later, after the EAM was defeated, Churchill would thank Stalin for keeping his part of the bargain:

> "Stalin adhered strictly and faithfully to our agreement of October and in all the long weeks of fighting the communists in the streets of Athens not one word of reproach came from Pravda or Izvestia."
> —quoted in Ian Birchall, *Workers Against the Monolith*

The surrender of the EAM leadership coincided with the signing of the Yalta agreement.

Stalin kept his bargains elsewhere as well. In France the CP entered the DeGaulle government and disarmed the resistance organizations and militias. The Stalinist leadership used its influence in the trade unions to push for more productivity in the name of the government of "National Salvation," coining the slogan: "One State, One Army, One Police Force." Similarly in Italy, the CP offered to join the Badoglio government after the Soviet Union recognized it in 1944, thus effectively derailing the workers' struggle.

Potsdam: Dividing Germany

Despite Stalin's proven willingness to sell out revolutions, the Yalta conference could not ameliorate the fundamental class hostility between the Soviet Union and imperialism, a contradiction rooted in the antagonistic property forms. Nor could it remove the deeply embedded inter-imperialist rivalry between the U.S. and Britain. By the Potsdam conference, held outside Berlin in July 1945, "Anglo-American Imperialism" had given way to U.S. A-bomb hegemony.

It was at Potsdam that the "cold war" began. It was here that the World War II "anti-fascist alliance" broke down and the victorious imperialist powers lined up against the Soviet Union. It was also at Potsdam that Germany was carved up by the "Big Three" (with Truman now replacing Roosevelt).

Stalin did not fight for the unification of the German proletariat, potentially the most powerful revolutionary force in Europe. On the contrary, he fought to divide up the working class and to suck onerous reparations, including thousands of factories, from the industrial center of Europe. Like the Morgenthau Plan (eventually dropped by the U.S.), Stalin's plans for Germany aimed at reducing it to "a pastoral existence." *All* of the participants at Potsdam feared a revolutionary Germany.

As the *Militant*, newspaper of the then-revolutionary U.S. Socialist Workers Party, wrote on 24 February 1945:

> "Their [i.e., the Big Three's] published plans for Germany are not solely designed to crush German militarism or to eliminate Germany as an industrial rival. They are primarily constructed to keep the German masses in chains in order to prevent them from overthrowing capitalism and establishing a workers republic on the ruins of Hitler's Reich. In their eyes a far greater danger than either Hitlerism or Junker militarism is Communism, which both Churchill and Stalin have already designated by its proper contemporary name of Trotskyism."

The criminal division of Germany not only struck a blow against proletarian revolution, thereby preparing the grounds for a new world war, but it also provided a propaganda theme for revanchist German nationalists. At the Helsinki conference it was divided Germany that occasioned the only public display of discord. When Erich Honecker, premier of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), stated that "inviolability of frontiers is the decisive point," the social-democratic chancellor of West Germany, Helmut Schmidt, retorted, "no nation in Europe is more keenly aware than the Germans of the dangers arising from the division of our continent" (*New York Times*, 31 July).

However much Stalin's epigones may dream of permanently locking up a division of Europe, seeking to contractually prohibit revolution and counterrevolution, in the final analysis two Europes are as impossible as the reconciliation of the interests of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Only a Trotskyist party can provide a revolutionary answer to the German question—for defense of the East German deformed workers state against imperialism, for political revolution in the GDR to oust the parasitic bureaucrats and social revolution in the West—thereby undercutting the reactionaries' calls for a capitalist reintegration of the divided nation.

As the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), German section of the international Spartacist tendency, has written:

> "Despite its continuing topicality, the question of the German nation has been taken over by the reactionaries for their evil aims. The theme is hardly mentioned by the social democrats any more. The GDR bureaucracy meanwhile has enriched its betrayals of the working class with a new act. The 1974 GDR constitution dropped the concept of a 'German nation' and speaks of a 'socialist nation in the GDR.' It thereby clearly expressed its lack of a policy for the achievement of the unity of the German working class, since recognition of two German nations implies recognizing a division of the German proletariat....
> "Because of the firm integration of the GDR in the East bloc and of the Federal Republic of Germany in the capitalist economic and military alliances, a revolutionary rising would mean the massive destruction of 'peaceful coexistence' in its totality...."
> – *Kommunistische Korrespondenz* No. 8, June 1975

It is the Trotskyists' call for revolutionary reunification in a soviet republic of Germany, not the Stalinists' pipe dreams of "political détente" epitomized by the betrayals at Potsdam and Yalta, that points the way forward to proletarian revolution in Europe.

Bolshevism vs. Stalinism

The revolutionary Bolsheviks also sat at conference tables with the imperialists, but unlike the Stalinists who are responsible for Yalta and Potsdam they did not seek global peaceful coexistence with the class enemy. On the contrary, the party of Lenin and Trotsky saw diplomacy as a necessary extension of class war. They were at times forced to accept tactical retreats, as at Brest-Litovsk; at other times they took advantage of inter-imperialist rivalries to strike favorable trade agreements for their economically backward and isolated workers state, as at Genoa and Rapallo. But the Bolsheviks never traded the revolution.

Lenin and Trotsky engaged in diplomatic maneuvers, but they spoke the revolutionary truth to the workers of the world. Inscribed on their banner was the slogan, "Down with Secret Diplomacy," and in one of the first official acts of the victorious 1917 Russian Revolution, the Bolsheviks opened the tsar's secret archives to display the predatory deals that led to World War I. The Leninists of today must continue to uphold this program, demanding to know the contents of the secret talks between Ford and Brezhnev on Portugal!

Just as at the end of World War I the strangling of proletarian revolution by the imperialists and their social-democratic collaborators created the conditions for the rise of fascism and for World War II, Yalta and Potsdam provided the groundwork for World War III. The postwar diplomacy of Stalinism is not so much a record written in pen and ink as one drawn in the workers' blood. It is the diplomacy of betrayal.■

Portuguese Syndicalists...

(continued from page 7)

was a single nod from one of the "progressive" generals for the PRP to abandon *its* centrism and line up solidly behind the MFA. When General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho announced at a press conference that he was not opposed to soldiers participating in the congress of the CRTSM, *Revolução* (8 May 1975) wrote warmly, "And we underline the courage of this soldier, who is always ready to advance, without fear."

Indeed, Carvalho has always been ready to advance without fear, *against the workers*. It was Carvalho who sent his Continental Operations Command (COPCON) troops against the TAP airline strikers and striking employees of the *Jornal do Comercio* in September 1974. It was Carvalho's COPCON that on November 4 of last year arrested the top leadership of the Maoist MRPP for attacking an office of the ultra-rightist CDS party. This same "courageous soldier" on March 7 arrested the elected Maoist leaders of the Chemical Workers Union, and on May 29 ordered a massive dragnet jailing of 500 members of the MRPP, accusing them of being "counterrevolutionary" for opposing the MFA.

Militant

General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, head of elite COPCON strike force, jailer of Maoists and unionists, darling of the PRP and other "far left" groups in Portugal.

More recently, the PRP's inability to draw a clear class line against the demagogic leftist officers of the MFA was revealed in the formation of the so-called "revolutionary united front." This class-collaborationist coalition with several other leftist parties was explicitly committed to support for the government and policies of Premier General Vasco Gonçalves (see *WV* No. 76, 12 September). It also called for the creation of a front *including the MFA* and hailed the "COPCON document" as "the working basis for elaborating a revolutionary political program" (*Diario de Noticias*, 26 August). This "COPCON document" takes a "left" line in the recent wrangling among the top officers, calling for "establishing and recognizing village, factory, and neighborhood councils that will be organs through which the workers can make decisions to solve their own problems" (see *Intercontinental Press*, 15 September).

But who is to do the recognizing? For all its talk of "autonomous workers organizations," the PRP's support for the COPCON document (allegedly written by officers who support the PRP) comes down to repeated calls for the "alliance between the Armed Forces Movement and the people." Comrades, Gonçalves (whose last government you supported along with the Communist Party) continuously broke strikes, jailed unionists and leftists and suppressed the freedom of the press for those who sharply attacked the MFA. The MFA itself is now preparing to demonstrate to all (including even the IS and PRP) its bonapartist bourgeois character by brutally repressing soldiers' committees and carrying out a massive purge of leftist elements within the armed forces. Here is the "MFA-People Alliance" in practice!

If the IS sees in the PRP a kindred spirit, this is no doubt because of the latter's theoretical eclecticism, its organizational Menshevism (the PRP supporter interviewed in *Workers' Power* referred to his organization as "more like a federation" than a cadre organization, adding "we admit all militants immediately"), and its capitulation to whatever is popular at the moment. The American IS has had its share of illusions about the MFA, as has the PRP. In *Workers' Power* of 27 March-9 April it made the absurd claim that Portugal differed from Chile in that a wing of the military had decisively broken from capitalism: "It will not intervene to save the rule of capital, as in Chile—rather it is committed, along with the CP, to strip away the property, and profits and the power of the Portuguese capitalists." Characteristically, the British IS denounced, in a friendly social-democratic sort of way, its American cousins' view of the CP, pointing out that several preconditions for a Stalinist takeover in Portugal are absent, but said nothing about its own views on the role of the MFA (see *International Socialism*, May 1975). Now, however, it hails the "historic united front of revolutionary and other political parties" in Portugal, in particular the participation in it by the CP, and opines that it could lead to "real workers' councils through which the working class could take state power..." (*Socialist Worker*, 30 August).

Despite their differences, both British and American International Socialists are attempting to capitalize on a vague petty-bourgeois radical sympathy for "the Portuguese Revolution." This means adaptation, not only to the Castroist-syndicalist PRP but also to the Stalinist CP and the demagogic "left" officers of the MFA. A Marxist vanguard, in contrast, would organize a Trotskyist party to steel the working class against the bourgeoisie (including the MFA) and the treacherous reformist parties.

15 September 1975

Boston...

(continued from page 12)

been bound over to a Suffolk County grand jury. Given the August 13 threat of District Attorney Garrett H. Byrne that CAR/PL "outside agitators" would be brought before a grand jury, the Suffolk County hearings could well be the start of a massive witchhunt against anti-racist forces. The blatant bias of police arrests makes clear once again that no trust can be placed in the "protection" provided by the bourgeois state. The Spartacist League reaffirms the call it has been singular in championing throughout the last year in Boston: build integrated defense guards based on the unions and black organizations to ensure the safety of bused school children and black people.

Although the Spartacist League opposes the provocative and stupid adventurism of PL/CAR, which has consistently substituted its limited forces for a genuine and necessary mobilization by the labor movement and black community to defend the buses and endangered black school children, we vehemently denounce this racist repression. We extend solidarity to all the victimized pro-busing and anti-racist militants, including members of the Greater Boston People Against Racism and the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee who were among those arrested defending black families at the Maverick Square housing project in East Boston. Drop all the charges!

The Boston School Committee, having lost its anti-busing appeals in the courts, has resorted to foot-dragging and deliberate obstruction. Over the summer, Judge Garrity was forced to take up hundreds of details of school administration, issuing scores of orders on matters normally handled by the School Committee. One of the Committee's ploys was to provoke the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) into a strike with twofold intent: to throttle the teachers economically and delay or halt Phase Two. Having settled with other unions, the School Committee offered an insulting 6 percent pay raise minus the cost of last year's arbitration award — which they peg at $7.1 million, largely wiping out last year's wage increase—plus demanding additional hours at work.

At a mass meeting September 2, the BTU leadership responded to these attacks by urging a strike delay until September 22. While justifying the delay by claiming that they do not want to upset the opening of school and busing, the union leadership's real hope is to dump the negotiations into Judge Garrity's lap. Garrity has already been formally asked by the State Board of Education and a group of black parents to force the School Committee to forestall the strike and the BTU leadership is quite eager for a court-ordered settlement, avoiding the difficult task of a militant strike.

In its latest meeting with BTU representatives, the School Board escalated its demands, insisting on dropping class size restrictions and eliminating sick leave and other benefits won by school aides last year. They also instructed the payroll department to inform the union that first paychecks due September 16 would not be ready till the 23rd, one day *after* the BTU strike deadline!

The reformist and evasive maneuvers of the BTU tops have been exposed by a militant teacher, Bob Pearlman, who advanced a motion at the September 2 meeting calling for an aggressive strike policy, coupled with concrete steps to mobilize support from the black community. He called for an immediate strike, and for the union to rescind its stand for a one-year delay of Phase Two, support immediate implementation of busing including the suburbs, and take the lead in organizing an integrated defense guard drawn from the unions and the black community.

In contrast, a leaflet signed "Concerned Teachers," supported by the Maoist October League, drew the logical conclusion to the bureaucracy's do-nothing evasions and argued against any strike at all, saying "we call for continued negotiations up to and including arbitration"!

The most grotesque event surrounding Phase Two and a possible strike was a tiny march by the Revolutionary Union-led "Committee for a Decent Education" (CDE) on September 8. Through this group the cravenly opportunist Maoist RU has been seeking a niche as the "left wing" of the racist, anti-busing mobilization. On the first day of Phase Two, the CDE marched on Judge Garrity's courtroom calling for a strike to "shut down the schools" and "stop Phase Two." In a chant that would have warmed the hearts of Nazis and the Klan, they brayed "From Hyde Park to Mattapan, stop Phase Two any way we can." A bilingual flyer put out by the CDE called for a "strike—a fighting citywide movement that will shut down the schools until we've stopped Phase Two...." In other words, the RU/CDE is calling for a repeat in Boston of Louisville's racist anti-busing riots last weekend in which many backward white workers stayed away from work as part of a reactionary mobilization against school integration! Moreover, the CDE leaflet did not mention a *single* demand for gains by the teachers! The RU's bellycrawling pursuit of influence with the racists will long be remembered and despised by all class-conscious workers.

- For immediate implementation of busing include the suburbs!
- Mobilize labor to defend the buses! For integrated defense guards based on the unions and black organizations! No reliance on police, troops, marshals and courts!
- For a BTU strike to defend the just economic demands of the teachers! The BTU must drop its anti-busing position and demand immediate implementation of busing!■

Greetings to Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD

Dear comrades,

The newly founded Trotskyist League of Canada greets with great enthusiasm the weekly *Workers Vanguard*. The transformation from bi-weekly to weekly constitutes a very important step forward in the continuing growth of our international tendency. In the past the bi-weekly *Workers Vanguard* was central to the work of our predecessor organization, the Canadian Committee of the international Spartacist tendency and of the Bolshevik-Leninist Tendency, expelled left opposition of the Revolutionary Marxist Group. The weekly *Workers Vanguard* will be invaluable to the work in Canada and the source of inspiration for us in the launching of *Spartacist Canada*. Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Comradely greetings,
Trotskyist League of Canada

SL/US:

Welcome to the weekly *Workers Vanguard*!!

Congratulations to the comrades of the Spartacist League of the United States who have made it possible!!

The Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, which has always used *Workers Vanguard* as a vital supplement to its own press, looks forward to the more effective revolutionary tool that will be available to us in a weekly. But *Workers Vanguard's* primary purpose is in consolidating the United States section of the international Spartacist tendency as the nucleus of a Leninist vanguard party. It is as a crucial step in the development of the United States section that the commencement of weekly publication is a contribution towards the establishment of the International Trotskyist League and towards the reforging of the Fourth International.

Spartacist League of
Australia and New Zealand.

2 September 1975

For the Spartacus Youth League building the weekly *Workers Vanguard* represents an immediate responsibility as well as an exciting anticipation of the increased capacity of our common movement to lead and shape social struggles. To those students and youth who are disgusted by this rotting capitalist society which can offer them no task worth their expenditure of heart, mind and energy, the SYL offers the program of revolutionary Marxism and the vision of a communist future that are embodied in the pages of the finest and only Trotskyist weekly in the world. Our enthusiastic greetings therefore convey an undaunted determination to go forward with the weekly *Workers Vanguard*!

Spartacus Youth League
Youth section of the Spartacist League/U.S.

Chicago Teachers...

(continued from page 2)

news coverage in the local media, attempts to whip up a student and community furor against the two strikes have thus far met with dismal results. Even Jesse Jackson's notoriously anti-labor "black capitalist" Operation PUSH has come out in support of the striking teachers.

The key need at this moment is to link the strikes of the public school and community college teachers, and for the teachers to take the lead in fighting against discriminatory hiring/upgrading, de facto racial segregation, and substandard facilities and staffing in minority-area schools. A Spartacist League leaflet distributed to thousands of the striking teachers earlier in the week underlined the key demands:

> "All injunctions, fines, and criminal charges against officers of the CCCTU must be dropped immediately. The entire Chicago-area labor movement must be prepared to take action to guarantee this."

Although Swenson claims support and financial backing from the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL), neither he, CTU President Robert Healey nor the CFL have yet taken any serious steps toward mobilizing labor action on behalf of the teachers. Overwhelming rank-and-file support for the strikes was demonstrated by the turnout of 5,000 teachers and supporters at a CTU rally at the Board of Education offices Wednesday, after which 600 of the demonstrators gathered outside Cook County jail to demand Swenson's release.

Even a partial mobilization of Chicago's powerful industrial unions (the UAW and Steelworkers among others) could assure Swenson's immediate freedom and a speedy strike settlement. However, an official of the Steelworkers is heading up the strikebreakers from his position as president of the Board of Education! Yesterday the CCCTU retreated by paying the outrageous $45,000 court-ordered punitive fine (which continues to mount), and the CTU's Healey looks to Democratic Mayor Daley to arbitrate a settlement. Daley's answer to Healey, after a week of nimble equivocation, was forthcoming yesterday: go back to work, accept the Board's offer and "I'm sure the [state] legislature will do all it can to help" (*Chicago Tribune*, 12 September). It is not Daley's hypocritical promises but only labor's strength that will free Swenson and achieve strike victories.■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Portugal...

(continued from page 12)

to prevent pictures from being taken, since most of the soldiers came without permission and even against orders. Those at Viana de Castelo were locked in and had to crawl over the barracks wall in order to get to the demonstration. The marchers occasionally yelled out slogans against the rightist officers: "Get the fascists out of the barracks!"; "Down with Charais, apprentice Pinochet!"; and "Portugal will not be the Chile of Europe!" When a note from Army Chief of Staff General Carlos Fabião condemning the demonstration as "counterrevolutionary" was read to the crowd, the soldiers shouted back "Down with Fabião!"

That same evening a group of leftist officers met with workers in Barjeiro, an industrial suburb across the Tagus River from Lisbon. "Workers chanted that they wanted arms to 'defend the revolution.' Communist-controlled neighborhood committees in the southern Algarve region also issued statements requesting guns from the government" said a UPI dispatch (11 September). It added, "officers did not respond to workers' demands for weapons, however." At the Porto demonstration one speaker reportedly said that leftist military units would start giving guns to civilians. Two days later, the Lisbon paper *A Luta* reported that in recent weeks 1,000 automatic rifles had disappeared from armories controlled by left-wing troops.

The Communist Party (CP) leadership is desperately grasping at the last threads of influence and has agreed to let its members serve in a new cabinet "as individuals." However, CP tops are having real difficulties keeping the membership locked into a popular front with sectors of the bourgeoisie. According to the *New York Times* (12 September), the CP

> "contested the Popular Democrats' right to be in a Cabinet, accusing the centrist party of being 'against the revolution' and of having fomented the attacks against Communist headquarters in the north of Portugal in the last few weeks.
>
> "The Communists appeared to be having a problem with their own militants as well as with rival groups on the left, which have accused them of betrayal. The weekly Tempo said today there was a crisis of leadership, with the secretary general, Alvaro Cunhal, being challenged by some of his lieutenants."

Apparently, the ranks of the CP are not happy about being in a government with a bourgeois party whose local leaders only a few weeks ago were urging lynch mobs to "kill the Communists"! Yet it is precisely the policy of conciliating those who will tomorrow be the butchers and hangmen for a counterrevolutionary crackdown that is the essence of the Stalinists' class-collaborationist policies.

Several weeks ago, after the burning of CP offices had subsided and the struggle shifted to a seemingly peaceful tug-of-war among the top generals and admirals, we warned that in order to restore military discipline in the armed forces, the heart of the bourgeois state, a massive purge of leftist officers and crackdown against the soldiers would have to be instituted, no matter how much the pro-NATO commanders talked of their devotion to the socialist cause. Now this purge/crackdown is being carried out.

We also warned that

> "If Portugal is to avoid becoming another Chile (or another Spain, or another Indonesia), no confidence can be placed in the MFA or any sector of the bourgeois officer corps to defend the working masses. It is necessary to organize democratically elected workers councils, recallable at any time, in order to mobilize the entire working class in defense of its organizations. Also necessary is the arming of the proletariat and the formation of workers militias, as well as the splitting of the army by forming soldiers committees in opposition to the command structure of the bourgeois military.
>
> "A command center, too, is needed for such a proletarian resistance and must be formed by unifying the workers councils, soldiers councils, self-defense groups into a national soviet, the basis for a workers government."
>
> *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975

But while soldiers committees are now being formed, while workers are now demanding arms, none of the ostensibly revolutionary parties in Portugal has proved capable of giving the Marxist leadership necessary to form soviets and lead them to power. The reason is clear: although the entire "far left" rejected the reformist Communist Party's open strikebreaking, virtually every one of the various left social-democratic, Maoist, syndicalist, anarchist and self-proclaimed Trotskyist groups had illusions in the left-posturing officers of the bourgeois MFA.

Thus when a crisis point was approaching in late August the "far left" in Portugal failed to fight for a unitary democratic representative organ of workers power (a soviet) independent of the MFA, instead going along with a class-collaborationist coalition to give *political* support to Gonçalves!

The August 25 communiqué signed by the various groups calls for support to Gonçalves' government program (including a call for an austerity program aimed at suppressing the workers' economic struggles), to the so-called "COPCON document" (calling for local workers councils "recognized" by the MFA, and for strengthening the "MFA-People Alliance"), to the Gonçalves government (since ousted) and to the formation of a future coalition including the Armed Forces Movement. Among the members of this treacherous class-collaborationist front was the Internationalist Communist League (LCI), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" (USec) of Ernest Mandel & Co.

The LCI sought to cover its tracks by simultaneously issuing a separate press statement disagreeing with some of the key points of the communiqué it had just signed (see *WV* No. 76, 12 September), notably the call for inclusion of the MFA which it considered "not a revolutionary force." Now the USec, too, has expressed itself on the "revolutionary, popular united front" and has added a few more criticisms of the document: it is not specific enough on government policy, in effect it supports the government, doesn't approach the Socialist Party (SP), it serves the CP's aim of pressuring compromises from the rightists, etc. (*Intercontinental Press*, 15 September).

But nowhere does this resolution (or the statement by Ernest Mandel, or another by the French LCR) criticize the action of the USec's Portuguese sympathizing section in joining this rotten front and signing the August 25 communiqué!

Moreover, in a recent attack on the American Socialist Workers Party's craven apologies for the Portuguese SP and the latter's fronting for a reactionary anti-communist mobilization, the three main leaders of the USec majority—Pierre Frank, Livio Maitan and Ernest Mandel—explicitly pave the way for their Portuguese comrades' adherence to the August 25 prop to the popular front. Throughout their document, Mandel/Maitan/Frank sharply separate the struggle to build soviets from the fight for working-class political independence. Thus:

> "We have uncompromising political differences with the CP and SP; nevertheless, we are prepared to build soviets with them, without demanding that they first abandon their faith in bourgeois democracy (SP) or in the one-party, bureaucratic system (the CP). Shouldn't we be prepared to build with the comrades of

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 ..... (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 923-7314
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON ..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE STARTS

Build the Weekly

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____

77

Workers Vanguard (includes *Spartacist*)
☐ $5/48 issues ☐ $2/16 issues

Young Spartacus ☐ $2/11 issues
Women and Revolution ☐ $1/4 issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Subscribe Now!

SUB DRIVE SPECIAL:
☐ **$6 for 48 issues of WORKERS VANGUARD, and 11 issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS**

WORKERS VANGUARD is the exciting and controversial weekly newspaper of the Spartacist League. It presents the viewpoint of Trotskyism, the revolutionary Marxism of our time. Partisan and polemical, hard-hitting and scrupulously honest, informative and provocative, *WV* makes vivid and comprehensible the complex social struggles which shape our world.

Expansion of *WORKERS VANGUARD* from a bi-weekly to a weekly frequency means that *WV* can combine up-to-date, interventionist journalism with an even broader variety of special features. A one-year subscription to *WV* will still cost *only five dollars* for 48 issues of the only real Trotskyist weekly paper in the world.

19 September-16 October 1975

AREA QUOTAS

Area	*Points*
San Francisco	110
Berkeley/Oakland	200
Boston	135
Chicago	200
Cleveland	140
Detroit	130
Houston	70
Los Angeles	200
New York City	400
Philadelphia	120
Madison	60
Ithaca	40
Bloomington	35
At Large	50
TOTAL	1890

the PRP-BR, MES, FUAR, or UDP, without first demanding that they abandon their various creeds—support to the MFA...."

Intercontinental Press, 8 September 1975

The LCI managed to get together at least with the CP, PRP, MES and FUAR (among the signers of the August 25 communiqué), but it was not a soviet that they built! On the contrary, the ostensibly Trotskyist LCI simply capitulated to the Stalinists and their illusions in the "progressive sectors of the MFA." The LCI's adherence to the "revolutionary popular united front" is a monument to the USec's Pabloist liquidationism, and a proof that despite occasional adventurist forays the capitulationist logic of Pabloism leads straight into the arms of the reformists and the bourgeoisie.■

Bay Area Teachers...

(continued from page 2)

stamps and unemployment benefits. The teachers have not attempted to develop joint action and mutual support, in particular with the striking firemen. The latter have been out since late August, have threatened to call a sympathy strike of all the city unions and today escalated their tactics (with Teamsters' sanction) to a militant attempt at blocking all truck deliveries to the city.

Finally, by simply demanding the restoration of the April 15 agreement, the unions have resigned themselves in advance to a relative defeat, i.e., to accepting nothing more than the status quo.

The BFT and BTA leaderships, bowing to teacher "professionalism," have substituted a narrow "community" approach for a strategy of labor solidarity. Although it is absolutely necessary to mobilize parents and students to support the strike and to raise demands for quality education, the teachers cut themselves off from the real source of social power—the labor movement—if they *only* appeal to Berkeley's liberal community.

Evidence of this weakness was abundant at a strike rally held on September 9. The BFT and BTA presidents limited their remarks to the usual appeals for community solidarity. Jeff Mackler, executive secretary of the Hayward AFT and occasional writer for the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant*, said that everyone should "stick together" but avoided any mention of broader trade-union strategy or even of the vital issue of public employees' right to strike.

As if to underscore the conscious decision to limit this demonstration to a liberal community pep rally, marshals guarding the stage (including prominent SWPer Clifton DeBerry) refused to let a class-struggle militant and executive board member from ILWU Local 6 read a statement of solidarity. The brother, Bob Mandel, told *WV* that he had been invited to speak by the BFT but was informed at the rally that his statement had to be read by someone else because of a shortage of time. His statement, calling for labor solidarity with the teachers, the right of all public employees to strike and the need for a workers government and planned economy, mysteriously disappeared and was never read by the rally organizers.

A Spartacist League banner reading "Victory to the Teachers' and Firemen's Strikes! For a Workers' Committee to Investigate the City Books! For a Planned Economy under a Workers' Government!" stood in sharp contrast to the vague "togetherness" rhetoric and sub-reformism of the rally. It drew open appreciation from several militants including a striking fireman who complained that everyone else was ignoring the firemen's strike. The Spartacus Youth League is conducting strike-support activities aimed at the city's high school students.■

SWP Tops Provoke USec Majority on Portugal

The recent National Conference of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) was generally a pretty routine affair. Some 1,600 people, including 218 elected delegates and nearly 300 "guests," attended the gathering, held in August in the Midwest. Among the guests was the notorious Tim Wohlforth, who several months ago was dumped by the Workers League which he had created in his own unpleasant image. All the documents presented by the SWP leadership were adopted without opposition (there was one abstention on the Political Resolution).

The absence of much controversy can be attributed in large measure to the SWP leadership's prior application of a time-honored practice of bureaucratic organizations: the political purge. In July of 1974 the supporters of the Internationalist Tendency (IT) were informed by the SWP that they had constituted themselves as a "rival political party" and thus placed the IT's 114 supporters outside the SWP (see *WV* No. 49, 19 July 1974).

The massive purge appeared to place a question mark over the continued "fraternal solidarity" of the SWP with the "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), as the IT aligned itself with the USec's International Majority Tendency (IMT) against the "Leninist-Trotskyist Faction" led by the SWP. The IT expulsion was one more demonstration that supporters of the reformist SWP and adherents of the centrist IMT cannot comfortably coexist within the same national section. However, the fragile rotten bloc which contitutes the USec survived the SWP's blatantly provocative expulsion of the IT.

With the "disloyal" IT out of the way, the role of "loyal opposition" fell to longtime SWPer Milton Alvin. It was a rather lonely job. The little support he got came from the remnaot of the IT which followed the IMT's instruction to accept the politically suicidal course of individual "reintegration" into the SWP. The fragmentation of the IT was evidenced by its greatly reduced numbers. Particularly notable was the absence at the convention of former IT Coordinator Bill Massey, who has discovered the "new mass vanguard" in the crypto-Maoist sect of Sam Marcy, the Workers World Party.

Alvin's main programmatic difference was opposition to the SWP's call for preferential layoffs (i.e., accepting mass layoffs and junking the seniority system in order to preserve jobs for a few minority-group and women workers). He proposed as an alternative the transitional demand for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay. Although Alvin's assertion that the SWP has undergone "a process of abandoning or changing the Trotskyist tradition, program and orientation" elicited a heated response in the pre-Conference written discussion, his document ("Tradition, Orientation and Program," SWP *Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 33, No. 6, June 1975) put forward its particular criticisms in an extremely non-factional tone.

The closest Alvin came to a general critique was the somewhat wistful observation that "there are far too many articles in the *Militant* that are strictly news reports and make no demands. This is a mistake; we should advance transitional slogans to a far greater extent than we have been." A particularly vituperative response from Tom Kerry prompted Alvin to object, "the spectacle of two old men in the party engaged in such a dispute is not a pretty one" ("Tom Kerry's Witch-hunt," SWP *Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 33, No. 11, July 1975).

A "turn" to the labor movement was projected by the SWP leadership. In his "Party Tasks and Perspectives Report" (SWP *Discussion Bulletin* Vol. 33, No. 4, June 1975), Barry Sheppard proclaimed that "our work in the unions is going to help lay the programmatic foundations for the future development of a class-struggle left wing in the union movement." Sound good? It isn't. Should the SWP succeed, in spite of the difficult economic situation, in getting a foothold in the unions, it will quickly provide a refutation of the workerist view that immersion in the workers movement generates a correct program.

The SWP envisages drawing workers into the reformist campaigns that have become the SWP stock in trade, and singles out Miller of the Mine Workers and Sadlowski in the Steelworkers as "developments in the unions that we want to keep an eye on." The purpose of the SWP's "proletarian orientation" is to become the advisor and left cover for out-bureaucrats, thereby achieving some real social weight to sell to the bourgeoisie.

The one hotly disputed question at the Conference was Portugal, and it was here that the smoldering tensions within the USec came to the surface. The competing wings of the USec have flatly divergent positions on Portugal. An IMT spokesman, member of the USec's English group, presented the IMT position, which sees a revolutionary process as taking place within the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The SWP is distinguished by an utterly social-democratic line which poses the "preservation of democratic rights" as a fig leaf for support to outright reactionary elements.

Aside from the small English delegation, there were virtually no representatives of the IMT present at the Conference. The Portugal discussion illuminated the reason why. The IMT spokesman protested the presence at the Conference of a leading member of the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI)—a competitor to the USec's own group in France! This was the first the delegates heard of the presence of an OCI observer. (We have already analyzed for our readers the close parallelism between the SWP and OCI positions on Portugal: see *WV* No. 75, 29 August 1975.) In retaliation, the USec's French section boycotted the SWP Conference entirely.

The reporter for the SWP position on Portugal noted that the two wings of the USec "would have been on different sides of the barricades." Leading SWPers took a hard line in the discussion: Tom Kerry stated that the differences between the factions are twenty years old; Joe Hansen posed the rhetorical question of whether the IMT is "soft on Stalinism." The IMT speaker in turn suggested that the SWP was "soft on social democracy."

This aggressively abrasive tone was pursued throughout the Conference. In his "World Movement Report" SWP head Jack Barnes characterized the IMT as "infantile leftists" and "petty-bourgeois radicals." Hansen's talk on "James P. Cannon, the Internationalist" was also used as a forum for veiled attacks on the IMT.

An interesting postscript to the SWP Conference is a document dated 30 August 1975 and addressed to the SWP by Myra Tanner Weiss and Murray Weiss. These once-prominent former SWPers note that the SWP has placed itself "on the wrong side" in Portugal. They state, "Just at the point when the classes in Portugal are polarizing for an impending civil war, with the SP clearly giving left cover to the fascists and imperialists, you talk of bourgeois electoral processes as if they were related to democracy...."

What is important about this document is not that it puts forward a correct position. In fact, it does not put forward a correct position, but rather a politically liquidationist position which describes the MFA as "the revolutionary movement in the army" and the views of Portuguese Communist Party head Alvaro Cunhal as "essentially Marxist-Leninist, and, yes, Trotskyist." To be precise, the Weiss document is perfectly Pabloist, and horribly reminiscent of the SWP of the early 1960's. Thus:

> "One may not know from so far who these revolutionists in the MFA are and what their evolution has been. And one cannot anticipate therefore what they will do next. But one can react to what they have done—that is, hail their revolutionary acts. One is reminded with what joy we witnessed Castro's victorious fight against Batista, although not one of us could predict that he would go on to throw out the imperialists and socialize Cuba, effecting the first incursion of proletarian revolution in the Western hemisphere. In destroying Batista, Castro had begun a process that necessarily impelled him to socialism—*if* he remained a revolutionary. And he did."

And later on:

> "...And most recently, the Communists of Vietnam have won their fight. True, the struggle would have been far less costly without Stalinism, with a clear, scientific, and revolutionary theory. But the objective need for world socialism is expressed precisely in the fact that with all the mistakes that were made and will be made the revolution can still triumph."

The Weiss document is an excellent reference point for marking the degeneration of the SWP. For in the early 1960's, Murray and Myra Weiss were part of a rightist pole within the SWP. They now oppose the SWP from the left—not because they have moved left, but because the SWP has moved past them, through centrism to reformism. The qualitative transformation was accomplished years ago; the recent National Conference only served to deepen and consolidate the hardened reformist appetite of the ex-Trotskyist SWP.■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current issue includes—

- Civil War in Angola
- No State Aid to Parochial Schools!
- Mao Sacrifices Guerrillas on Detente Altar
- SWP/YSA Defends "Right" of Free Speech for Fascist Scum!
- Buckley Goes to Pot
- Iranian Students Protest with Hunger Strikes

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

$2/11 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

MFA Cracks Down on Soldiers' Committees

Portuguese Workers Demand Arms

SEPTEMBER 15 Last week saw a marked shift to the left among the most combative sectors of the working masses in Portugal. As the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) turned right, preparing a sharp crackdown against leftist soldiers, the false unity of the "MFA-People Alliance" began to break down. Illusions of a socialist revolution carried out by the officer corps of the capitalist army are being dashed. For the first time, soldiers are organizing on a mass scale independently of the MFA and against the military command structure. And from workers up and down the country comes the demand, "Give us guns to defend the revolution!"

At the first meeting of the "Supreme Revolutionary Council" (the leading body of the MFA) since it was "restructured" by eliminating former premier General Vasco Gonçalves and several of his supporters, the new top officers moved to "tighten military discipline." A decree was issued forbidding news media to publish political statements by individuals or units in the military except for members of the Council and the chiefs of staff. Partly intended to silence General Gonçalves, its main aim was to impose a blackout on any information about unrest among the soldiers and sailors.

When, in August, division commanders openly threatened insubordination and even a coup against Gonçalves, their ranks began to speak back. "One could see a captain, a delegate in the MFA Assembly, reply in opposition to his superior; soldiers from Angola contest the arrival of a delegation from Luanda to participate in the assembly of the army; aviation units protest the positions of their hierarchical superior...," reported *Le Monde* (10 September). Although the recently instituted "Democratic Unit Assemblies" are purely advisory, the idea of letting the soldiers vote on their orders was so disruptive to bourgeois military discipline that one commander, General Franco Charais who heads the central region, kept his troops constantly on maneuvers for days in order to prevent them from meeting!

Luta proletaria

Soldiers march in "far left" demonstration in Lisbon last June.

But the Lisbon press has unanimously rejected the censorship decree and the soldiers and sailors continue to organize. The most dramatic evidence of unrest in the ranks came at a demonstration against the new military rulers held in Porto on the night of September 10. At the head of a march of thousands were 1,500 uniformed soldiers in military formation behind a red banner with the slogan "Soldiers United Will Win." Among the marchers were troops from as far away as Tancos and Coimbra in the central military region, and even a delegation from the Light Artillery Regiment No. 1 (RAL-1), which guards the approach to the capital against a "March on Lisbon" by reactionaries from the conservative northern region.

The soldiers demonstrated in silence, occasionally broken by the whistled refrain of the *Internationale*. A mobile squad of monitors circled the formation

continued on page 10

Boston School Committee Obstructs Integration, Attacks Teachers

WV Photo

Boston cops marching through the streets of "Southie" last week.

SEPTEMBER 14 Phase Two busing proceeded this week in Boston with the tense and tenuous "peace" of an armed camp. A massive show of state power (2,000 state and local police, 100 Federal marshals and 50 FBI agents, backed by additional federal personnel) kept "law and order" during the daytime. But a sizeable white school boycott continued, supplemented by a flight to private and Catholic schools, with school attendance figures creeping upward slowly as racist white youth skirmished almost nightly with police.

Charleston and South Boston were the scenes of most conflict. On several nights young whites gathered, setting street bonfires and erecting small barricades to lure out police, who were then stoned. Warren-Prescott School in Charleston was firebombed Monday night and firemen at the scene were attacked. That same evening, John F. Kennedy's birthplace in Brookline was set afire, with the motive scrawled on the sidewalk: "Bus Teddy." Tuesday saw the only organized anti-busing activity, when Louise Day Hicks and a Powderkeg (local anti-busing group) spokesman led a march of several hundred mothers through the Charleston neighborhood, chanting the "Hail Mary."

While police hauled in their attackers in ones and twos—largely to protect themselves—the real wrath of legal might has been reserved, as could be expected, for pro-busing forces. The Committee Against Racism (CAR) and its main sponsor Progressive Labor Party (PL) have been subjected to rightist attacks and frame-up arrests all summer. Monday's 80 arrests included 74 CAR supporters seeking to breach police lines to welcome blacks being bused to South Boston High School. The 74 will be brought to trial in several groups beginning September 29-October 3 in South Boston District Court. Of 17 CAR members arrested earlier in a police break-in of their office July 23, five have

continued on page 9

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 78 26 September 1975

The Politics of Crazy

Manson, Squeaky, SLA, Patricia Hearst, and now... admitted FBI informer takes a shot at Ford

Patricia Hearst UPI

Robert Hendrickson and Laurence Merrick

"Squeaky" Fromme (center) and other Manson followers protest jailing of their "god" by carving "x's" on their foreheads.

SEPTEMBER 23—Grotesque mock-terrorist excesses by pseudo-leftists appear to be becoming something of a fad. Shortly after Patricia Hearst told a California court that as an "urban guerrilla" she could be categorized as "self-employed," and "Squeaky," a Manson family acolyte dressed like little red riding hood, pointed a pistol at Gerald Ford, someone fired a shot from a short-barrel .38 calibre pistol across a four-lane street at the U.S. president. When the smoke cleared there was Sara Moore, a 47-year-old mom, self-declared FBI informer and friend of the Hearsts.

This eruption of bizarre and degenerate frenzy is a godsend to the bourgeois press, which is luxuriating in the delightful prospect of simultaneously boosting circulation and smearing the radical movement. Banks are robbed and innocent bystanders shot "to get the pig capitalists"; assassinations are attempted "to draw attention to prison reform"; and it seems as though every ecology freak in California wants to use Gerald Ford as organic fertilizer. What is behind this surrealistic carnival of fake-political "extremist" violence?

The Strange History of "Sally" Moore

Sara Moore is deranged and dangerous. She admits being an FBI informer and the FBI confirms her story. She began her "career" late in life as a volunteer bookkeeper for the People In Need program of free food distribution initiated by the Hearst family in an attempt to ransom their daughter "Patty." According to an interview given to the *Berkeley Barb* on June 20, Moore was "contacted by the FBI and agreed to spy on a man she refuses to identify other than that he was associated with a cadre revolutionary group." This she apparently did. Then she claims to have been "converted to revolutionary politics and told her control agent, Bert Worthington," of her conversion.

This spring she flooded villifying stories about "Popeye" Jackson, head of the United Prisoners Union, to various left-wing organizations. She claimed that he had struck a deal with Wm. Randolph Hearst to "receive favorable treatment from the state's parole authorities." Shortly thereafter a communiqué from the "New World Liberation Front" repeated the same allegations and two weeks later on June 8 Jackson was killed. Moore was roundly denounced by the Bay Area left as an informer and general creep; she was kicked out of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and characterized by them as "a dangerous individual and a security risk to all movement organizations."

In a letter to the *Berkeley Barb* (4-10 July) "Sally" Moore admitted her FBI involvement. The letter, which has been generally ignored by the press, is filled with class and race guilt and provides some insight into the apparent motivation of her subsequent actions: guilt over her connection with the FBI following "the shock of Popeye's death." She wrote, "Whoever did it must have thought they could get away with the killing of a black man.... None of us white middle class people who were suspected of or even proved to be 'snitches' or 'pigs' has ever been physically harmed."

Sara Moore UPI

Sara Moore presents in classic form the double image of the erratic petty-bourgeois propelled by moralism from social-work prison reform to individual terror. Now this "revolutionary" bookkeeper, self-confessed former FBI informer, liaison between the "underground" and the Hearsts is staying at the home of LaRue Grimm, a lawyer who also represented the Manson family.

The Instant Legend of "Patty" Hearst

On September 19 Patricia Hearst was picked up in San Francisco by FBI agents. Along with Hearst they arrested Emily and William Harris and Wendy Yoshimura. Bail for Yoshimura has been set at $250,000 and that of the Harrises at $500,000 each; Hearst has been denied bail altogether. Since Hearst is the only one who could raise such astronomical sums, all the prisoners are effectively being held without bail. Compared to the fiery on-the-spot execution of their six comrades on 17 May 1974 by the Los Angeles police department, anything that might happen in the courtroom prosecution of Hearst and the Harrises on 18 felony charges will seem to be a model of

continued on page 10

Sixth Popular Front Government in Lisbon

Turmoil in Portuguese CP

SEPTEMBER 22 —After weeks of excruciating negotiations a new government has been formed in Portugal, headed by Admiral Pinheiro da Azevedo. Although one member of the Communist Party (CP) holds a minor ministerial post ("as an individual, not a party representative"), the CP has seen its governmental influence dwindle to almost zero. In the new cabinet there are four Socialists, two Popular Democrats and four military officers associated with the "moderate" wing of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA).

The Azevedo government is the sixth popular-front coalition (joining reformist workers parties together with the bourgeois MFA) to take office since the overthrow of the rightist Salazar/Caetano dictatorship on 25 April 1974. Shifting sharply to the right from his predecessor, General Vasco Gonçalves, Premier Azevedo announced in his inaugural speech that his main goals would be to restore "public order, authority, discipline and cohesion of the Armed Forces...." Ominously, the *New York Times* (21 September) reported—i.e., threatened—that "The new Cabinet is widely considered the last chance for moderately leftist democratic rule to prevent the country from going once again under some form of rightist authoritarian rule."

During the period after its resignation from the fourth provisional government in July, the Socialist Party (SP) of Mario Soares mounted an anti-government offensive which served as the spearhead for a reactionary mobilization which saw scores of offices of leftist parties burning in towns across northern Portugal. During the negotiations around the formation of the new cabinet the SP once again took the lead in demanding the stabilization of capitalist rule by calling for a massive purge of leftist elements in the MFA and dissolution of all incipient organs of workers power.

In a letter to President General Costa Gomes, Soares demanded as a condition for joining the new government that it include in its program:

> "D) Reaffirm the principle that the neighborhood commissions and workers commissions are forms of people's power which must be developed, so long as they do not pretend to be a 'parallel power' to the political-administrative apparatus of the state....
>
> "E) Promulgate legislation severely punishing the 'armed militias' which must be suppressed within a maximum of one month's time, along with the 'popular vigilance commissions' and others which have arms in their possession."
>
> —*Portugal Socialista*, 10 September

While stating in his inaugural speech on Friday that he "reject[s] social democracy" and instead is working for the "construction of a Portuguese Socialist Republic," Azevedo in substance agreed to implement Soares' program for restoring the authority of the bourgeois state and striking down rebellious workers and leftist soldiers. In announcing his program the premier called for an end to nationalizations, "reanimation" of the private sector of the economy and "severely repressive legislation against armed groups of civilians" (*Le Monde*, 16 September).

Cunhal Under Attack

Meanwhile the Communist Party has been playing a sad charade. Frightened for its very existence, the reformist CP is trying desperately to preserve the slightest shred of influence in ruling circles. Under pressure from his members, who have spent the last month fighting off murderous lynch mob assaults in which supporters of the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD) played a prominent role, Cunhal is playing a game of semi-opposition by refusing to sign a common program or join a formal coalition government with the PPD, and at the same time "permitting" a CP leader to join the cabinet.

Workers demonstrate in Lisbon last week.

Vida Mundial

The response of the CP ranks has been less than enthusiastic. *Le Monde* (18 September) reported that "On September 16 at the Campo Pequeno arena, 20,000 Communist militants listened in silence to Carlos Brito, member of the central committee of the PCP" as he "tried to justify the participation of the 'revolutionary forces' in the next government and to denounce 'certain sectors of the left' which, by refusing to participate in the negotiations, 'leave open for the right a space which the left could occupy'." Attempting to appear militant, Cunhal threatened to go into combat if the CP were kept out of the government.

Having grown rapidly from about 5,000 members to over 100,000 in 17 months, the CP is experiencing considerable turmoil both at the top and at the base. The Lisbon daily *República* (12 September) reported that Octavio Pato, head of the CP delegation in the constituent assembly, is favorable to joining a parliamentary government based on elections after the promulgation of a constitution. Opposed to this rightist "Berlinguer line" (after the head of the ultra-reformist Italian CP) are Cunhal in the center with his semi-opposition farce and, on the left, sentiment among the ranks for a revolutionary struggle for power.

Indicative of this mood was the response of the Communist Party membership to the formation of the so-called "revolutionary (or popular) united front" ("FUR") with five other leftist parties on August 25. Created at the invitation and in the presence of officers of COPCON (the elite security force) and representatives of the MFA, this class-collaborationist political bloc was explicitly committed to the Gonçalves government, the government's policies, the "MFA-People Alliance" and a capitalist austerity program. For the ostensibly Trotskyist Internationalist Communist League (LCI) joining the "revolutionary/popular united front" and signing the August 25 communiqué represent capitulation to Stalinist reformism. However, for the CP membership it appeared a welcome shift to the left, away from playing games with the rightist generals.

The pro-Gonçalves demonstration in Lisbon called by the "FUR" on August 27 was reportedly one of the largest (50,000) and most combative in months. Yet the very next day Cunhal appeared at a press conference to abandon Gonçalves, saying that "resistance, consistent struggle and firmness are not enough" and that "flexibility" to "diminish tensions" was also necessary. He called for an immediate broad conference including the so-called "Group of Nine" rightist officers who had been leading the anti-Gonçalves, anti-CP offensive in recent weeks.

This proposal evidently provoked massive protest in the party, for in *Avante!* of 4 September the CP leadership published two declarations in response to the "many questions" it had received concerning Cunhal's press conference. The "questions" give a good idea of the state of mind of the membership. Doesn't the "composition of the proposed meeting diminish the role of the revolutionary forces," they asked. Does this "contradict...cooperation with the parties who called for the creation of a revolutionary front"? Does this mean the CP is looking for "an alliance with the SP to the detriment of the left parties"? Etc. The party's propaganda and information section responded "absolutely not" to all the questions. It is doubtful that the questioners were satisfied.

MFA Breaking Up?

The rightist victory signalled by the ouster of Gonçalves has also had a tremendous impact on the Armed Forces Movement. Representing the officer corps of the capitalist army, the MFA is a *bourgeois* political force, something most centrist and reformist socialists in Portugal and elsewhere refuse to recognize. Simply to defend its own existence, the officer corps must defend the maintenance of capitalism, as the new "moderate" leaders of the MFA are proving despite their rhetoric of socialist revolution. To call for alliance with the MFA, even with its "progressive sectors," means to call for class collaboration, the same treacherous policy which led to the bloody debacle in Chile.

Cut off from power and threatened by an imminent purge orchestrated by the "Group of Nine," numerous leftist officers of the MFA are now beginning to have doubts about their political orientation. One of them, Captain Carlos Matos Gomes recently resigned from a COPCON commando unit announcing that "It is necessary to be able to abandon one's illusions while there is still time," and "The MFA no longer exists." But it does exist, and unfortunately so do illusions in it.

A good example of the contradictory mood at present was the meeting of delegates of workers of the Companhia União Fabril (CUF), a major trust including the key Lisnave shipyards, at Barreiro on September 10. The main speaker was Major Ramiro Correia, formerly head of the agit-prop Fifth Division of the General Staff (dissolved by President Costa Gomes earlier this month), who declared, "At the moment it

continued on page 5

Der Spiegel

New Portuguese premier Azevedo with deposed Vasco Gonçalves.

Letter:

To the editor:

Hansenite Pabloites in the United States and abroad have found once again an opportunity to confuse the workers and to justify their departure from Marxism. This is evident from Hansen's "Is Democracy Worth Fighting For?" (*Intercontinental Press*, 4 August 1975). Surely, no socialist can support anti-democratic rule of even the red bureaucrats, not to speak of the bourgeois dictatorship. But does that mean the Trotskyists, like Stalinists, defend bourgeois democracy against fascism and advise choosing the lesser evil? Never to a Trotskyist as such. But to a Hansenite Pabloist, struggle for democratic rights becomes identical with the defense of the bourgeois democrats. Thus, the PST defends Peron against the threats from the guerillas on one hand and the military coup on the other. The same logic should have led the followers of Hansen to support Indira Gandhi against the "fascist threat" from J.P. Narayan and others alleged to be CIA agents. That is how the pro-Moscow CPI has supported Indira Gandhi. Despite this inconsistency, Mr. Hansen hopes he has been able to make out a case for bourgeois democracy and the socialists must rally round the class enemies to defend democracy!

Hansen's flunkey, Dick Fidler (*Intercontinental Press*, 28 July 1975), tries to mislead his misinformed readers with a wrong impression that the Spartacist League regard the Maoist MRPP "as the best hope in the Portuguese revolution." Informed people know that is a lie. What the Hansenites attempt to hide behind such lies and slanders is their own flirting with the Maoists and what is even more monstrous, their own criminal betrayal of their co-thinkers and associates in different countries.

The case of comrade Jagadish Jha is a fine example of it. Though he was involved in more than three dozen court cases and about 150 of the supporters of the Indian section of the United Secretariat were involved, neither the Hansenites nor the United Secretariat cared to move. After writing for years to them, Comrade Jha got information that the United Secretariat meeting on September 7-8, 1974, had decided to appeal to all sections and sympathizing organisations to assemble aid in proportion with their declared membership and to ask the press of the Fourth International to publicize the continuing need for help to the comrades in Bengal. One year has passed since then and nothing has been done. On the other hand, they have shed much tears for the Naxalites, and the Bengali organ of the Communist League of India has been ever kind to them while the article by Li Fu-jen about the Trotskyist prisoners in Mao's jails, though translated in Hindi and Bengali by a comrade in West Bengal, remains suppressed. Why? Is it not because the Naxalites appear to Mr. Hansen and his associates like Tariq Ali, "as the best hope in the Indian Revolution?"

Farooq Alim

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jen Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Keren Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: $5.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Company, Courts, UMW Tops Gang Up on Strikers

Arnold Miller Breaks Coal Wildcat

Miners at Labor Day rally in Whiteville, West Virginia. WV Photo

SEPTEMBER 16—A wave of repression threatens the United Mine Workers (UMW) membership in the wake of a massive wildcat coal strike that lasted over four weeks. Courts and corporate owners are attacking the militant miners with fines, law suits and the threat of legislative shackles. Stepping to the capitalists' tune, UMW President Arnold Miller and the union's International Executive Board (IEB) not only sabotaged the strikers' efforts at every turn, but have now passed new regulations designed to crush "unauthorized work stoppages" by disciplining militants.

The strike, which peaked Labor Day weekend with nearly two thirds of the UMW's 120,000 members out, ended in defeat. Neither a stop to the use of court injunctions to break strikes nor the right to strike over local grievances—the issues that had fueled the spreading walkouts—was gained. By September 9 only a few thousand miners were still out in Logan County, West Virginia, where the strike originated, and there were scattered reports of miners ignoring or driving off the few remaining pickets.

This tragic break in a 50-year UMW tradition of never crossing a picket line must be laid squarely at the feet of the union leadership. Far more than Charleston Judge K. K. Hall's $700,000 fine against the union (payable to local coal operators!), it was Miller's incessant "back-to-work" orders that broke the back of the strike. UMW Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick summarized the leadership's hostility after a Charleston meeting with 65 local presidents, when he announced that "the contract will not be re-opened. The right to strike people can strike until Hell freezes over..." (*Louisville Courier-Journal*, 31 August). The decisive turning point came on September 5, when Miller and Patrick met with over 250 local officials from District 17 and pushed through a resolution demanding a return to work, refusing support for the right to strike over local grievances and calling for "punishment of union members who have spread the strike."

As the miners returned to the portals, there was growing reliance on redbaiting to discredit strike militants, especially those in the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike. Although from its inception in 1974 the Miners Committee has never raised anything remotely resembling a radical program, limiting itself largely to the right-to-strike issue, it became a whipping boy for UMW leaders unable to solve miners' real grievances. Frank Clements, Alabama IEB member, blamed the walkout on "left leaning" people who "didn't even believe in the Constitution." District 17 president Perry "pointed a finger at a small minority of radical miners" and Local 1054 president Frank Tucker called for the "expulsion of the radicals" (*Charleston Daily Mail*, September 8).

Taking his cue, Judge K. K. Hall reserved his harshest sentences for two leaders of the Right to Strike Committee, Skip Delano and Bruce Miller. On September 8, they were given $500 fines and 179-day jail terms. In what must have come as a shocking disappointment to their followers, Delano and Miller secured their release after only five days in jail by agreeing to the judge's terms: not to engage in strikes, not to encourage other miners to strike, to report to work on the next shift and to obey all future court orders! Other miners refused probationary conditions and remained in jail while Delano and Miller gathered their belongings and left.

On the same day Hall was dispensing "justice," the union tops were meeting in Washington, setting their own sentence on the miners. In a resolution that passed 22 to 2, the IEB instituted a 10-point anti-strike program that included:

—nullification of the long-standing "24-hour rule," where all three shifts of a mine strike if one turn goes out;

—forbidding the use of UMW funds for the defense of miners involved in picketing mines other than where they work, or to pay fines and damages assessed against union locals for their participation in wildcat strikes;

—providing IEB authority to "try charges against members who, by their actions, in willful and deliberate defiance of International directives, seriously jeopardize the integrity of the union";

—calling for contract instruction for local officials, immediate meetings with management when strikes break out, local meetings "as soon as possible" after a strike starts, with the appropriate District officer (whose responsibility is "directing the men back to work") in attendance.

The specific provisions of this program were not accidental. Three days before the IEB met, the UMW was notified by U.S. Steel (which owns numerous coal mines) that it was filing a suit against the union in Pittsburgh. In the words of the big-business mouthpiece *Wall Street Journal* (12 September), "in several respects, Monday's action by the union's board closely parallels those requests." In addition to demanding union discipline, suspensions, fines, etc., for illegally picketing members, and a permanent injunction to prevent wildcats, the U.S. Steel suit asks for compensating damages of at least $2 million it claims to have lost during the strike, plus $10 million in punitive damages. It asked the court to seize "all union dues," estimated at $1.7 million a month, in order to secure payment!

This outrageous assault is supplemented by another Pittsburgh suit filed by the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, the industry's bargaining arm. Industry officials describe the suit as an attempt to "help" the sagging UMW administration, not hurt it. The suit does not ask damages, but seeks a court order compelling "prompt and affirmative action" by the union "using all reasonable means at its command" (including disciplining striking members and putting wildcatting locals and districts into receivership) to stop picketing and work stoppages.

If court suits and cooperative UMW bureaucrats do not suffice, the coal and steel magnates are prepared to resort to stronger means. On August 28, U.S. Steel board chairman E. B. Speer called for new legislation to place coal mine labor relations under congressional control, as in the Railway Labor Act. Reports circulating in Washington say that there is congressional and administration interest in such a proposal, using the "energy crisis" as an excuse to throttle the rebellious miners.

The entire labor movement must vigorously oppose these grave threats to the UMW's independence, mobilizing the widespread working-class sympathy for the miners' cause. For example, during the wildcat rank-and-file steelworkers in Lorain, Ohio and Gary, Indiana put out leaflets calling for defense of the miners and demanding the right to strike for steelworkers, currently saddled with I.W. Abel's "no-strike" Experimental Negotiating Agreement.

Massive government/court intervention into UMW affairs is not new, but pressure for it is sure to increase as miners fight deteriorating safety and working conditions in the rapidly expanding industry. "Reformer" Miller is not in a position to strenuously object, since his own election in 1972 was the product of a request for Labor Department and court intervention into the union. The Spartacist League did not support the Miller/Labor Department campaign and warned that his mishmash program of "democratic" homilies contained new betrayals. Our call for the construction of a new Mine Workers' leadership based on a full class-struggle program has been brushed off as "sectarian" by all brands of reformists (from the Communist Party to the Revolutionary Union, International Socialists and Socialist Workers Party), all of whom have tailed after Miller in the past (as the CP and SWP continue to do at present). But every passing day, with new attacks complemented by scab Miller's backstabbing, confirms its validity. Only a class-struggle leadership will be able to secure the UMW's complete independence from government control, a vital condition for the miners' ability to wage new struggles.■

UFT Ranks Inflamed Over Shanker Sellout

WV Photo

NYC teachers line up to vote on new contract September 16 as parents call for a "no" vote.

SEPTEMBER 21—A disastrous strike settlement forced upon the membership of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) has caused broad discontent within the union. New York City teachers have gone back to work under totally chaotic conditions, knowing only that the Board of Education spent *not one penny* on the new contract while withdrawing several preparation periods and other past union gains. This loss will supposedly be compensated by a two-hour reduction in the instructional week, a cut in educational services denounced by parent groups as "illegal."

Meanwhile, the $43 million committed to salary increases is frozen until the city becomes financially solvent, a far-off prospect to say the least. Of about 7,000 substitutes, 4,500 regularly licensed teachers, 3,000 paraprofessionals, 500 guidance counselors and 500 secretaries who have been laid off since June, perhaps 2,400 positions at most will be restored by using accumulated salaries unpaid during the strike and the matching Taylor Law penalties imposed on the striking teachers.

Smarting under this insulting "agreement," the UFT ranks are also well aware that with so many positions cut, the possibility of maintaining contractual class sizes depends on a sharp increase in each teacher's overall workload. If after several weeks of disruptive and confusing reorganization the Board of Education can't hold the line, it has a legal right (thanks to loopholes in the 1972 contract) to raise class sizes anyway! For those teachers whose layoffs are rescinded this year, there is no money in the contract or school budget to keep them next year. To top it off, several teachers reported to *WV* that layoff notices continue to be sent out *after the settlement.*

Shanker Pulls a Fast One

UFT President Albert Shanker put this dismal package over with a defeatist soft-sell, backed up by bureaucratic manipulation. On Tuesday he told the union's delegate assembly meeting in Madison Square Garden that "We're taking some forward steps, some sideward steps and, in a couple of things, I'd say we're taking some backward steps. It's a mixed bag." Shanker's "clinching" argument, which he repeatedly put to the delegates, was that "in times of depression, you have to hold onto what you have.... This boss has no money." Nevertheless, a majority of the speakers attacked the pact as a sellout and 35 percent of the assembly voted against it. This represents a significant division in the normally conservative and pro-Shanker body.

Opposition from the ranks is reportedly even greater. Although 38 percent of those voting turned down the settlement, less than a quarter of the membership was able to participate due to conflicting radio reports on when and how the balloting would be done. One teacher from Brooklyn told *WV*, "At five minutes to 5:00 they closed the doors despite the fact that there were people waiting on line to vote." Among other irregularities was the fact that no one had even seen the contract they were voting to tentatively accept.

It is widely believed that Shanker deliberately intended to keep the vote down to a small core of loyal supporters. According to a delegate from a Brooklyn elementary school, "There is incredible opposition. Schools are reporting 90 percent of the people are against it." He also reported dissension within Shanker's own base: "There was one school whose chapter chairman for the last couple of years has been a Unity Caucus [the Shanker caucus] chapter chairman. That school is drafting a letter to ask Shanker to resign. There's many splits within Unity on this." The outrage runs so deep that some teachers believe the settlement may actually be rejected when a second membership vote is taken this month to reaffirm it.

Shanker may have trouble living down this sellout. His base in New York and his presidency of the national American Federation of Teachers are in large part due to his reputation for coming across with substantial settlements. And then there are his career aspirations: Shanker already on the AFL-CIO exec board and reportedly hopes to succeed George Meany. At least one newspaper account saw these designs behind Shanker's calling of a UFT strike when the rest of the NYC labor bureaucracy was meekly playing dead. But this year he threw away many past gains after only four days on strike.

Needed: Class-Struggle Opposition in the UFT

Greater opportunities exist now than at any time in the past to build a strong militant opposition to the formidable Shanker machine. The task is not easy, for the UFT apparatus is relatively new and vigorous (its first contract came in 1962), unlike most American unions whose hidebound, encrusted bureaucracies settled into their easy chairs in the 1930's and 1940's. Moreover, no business-unionist reformer is going to be able to crack the Big MAC austerity program or provide answers to the problems posed by the depression, as Shanker will certainly point out. At this moment the only opposition which could possibly unseat the incumbent sellout "labor statesman" would be one which does confront these vital issues, by presenting a full, political class-struggle program.

Unfortunately, however, the existing opposition groups, while all organized by radicals of various persuasions, are doing their best to appear as nothing more than "honest union militants." The thought of putting forward an explicitly anti-capitalist program, including such demands as expropriating the banks or calling for a workers party, sends shivers down their spines as they think of all the rank-and-filers who are not yet ready to support a fundamental challenge to the bourgeoisie. It requires principled Marxist leadership, not seeking instant popularity with a reformist program but rather putting forward the only program that corresponds to the objective needs of the working class, to present a real alternative to Shanker.

Of the three present opposition formations, two are tainted by past betrayals and a third, newer, group is barely able to present the appearance of a coherent organization, much less struggle for power. The oldest is the Teachers Action Caucus (TAC), which is ballyhooed in the pages of the Communist Party's *Daily World* and affiliated nationally with the United Action Caucus in the AFT. The Rank and File Caucus (RAFC) is supported by the Progressive Labor Party (PL) and shares the latter's economist trade unionism and liberal anti-racism, but shorn of PL's ritual references to socialism.

Both of these caucuses are notorious for having scabbed during the 1968 New York City teachers' strike. Despite blatant appeals to racist sentiment by the leadership, the 1968 strike was necessary to stop forced transfers of teachers by community school boards which threatened the seniority system and very existence of the UFT. In the newspaper of the CP-supported Trade Unionists for Action and Democracy (TUAD), TAC member Robert Greenberg brazenly described the group's anti-union actions:

> "A movement of rank and file teachers, Teachers for Community Control, opposed to the course that the Shanker leaders had taken, joined with parents in opening the schools and teaching the children during the strike. TCC was the forerunner of the present rank and file caucus within the UFT, the Teachers Action Caucus."

The RAFC also refuses to repudiate its scab role in 1968, making it easy for Shanker to dismiss his opponents as strikebreakers who "work to destroy unions." The third group, Coalition of New York City School Workers, was formed recently but, characteristically, it has no position on the controversial 1968 strike.

Democrats and Social Democrats

TAC is also compromised by its support to the incumbent David Selden in the 1974 AFT presidential election. Selden, a long-time member of the union machine, was a victim of Shanker's ambition. The political overtones of this intra-bureaucratic dispute echoed a split in the moribund American social democracy around the 1972 U.S. elections. Shanker is a prominent supporter of the right-wing Social Democrats USA which champions the sabre-rattling Senator Jackson and braintrusts for Meany, while Selden was loosely associated with the pro-McGovern Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.

On the basis of his less-than-inspiring program for "the rebirth of liberalism in the AFT," TAC and the United Action Caucus backed Selden against Shanker's successful effort to unseat him. In addition to long collaboration with Shanker's sellouts and bureaucratic wheeling and dealing, Selden was severely compromised by a backroom deal he negotiated to merge the AFT with the rival National Educational Association (NEA) with a three-year trial period during which the central question of AFL-CIO affiliation would be left in abeyance. (Since the much larger NEA could obliterate teacher unionism by simply swallowing up the AFT, the affiliation question was a focal point of the struggle against anti-union "professionalism.") TAC's "lesser evil" endorsement of one pro-capitalist bureaucrat over another demonstrates its total incapacity to build a real alternative to the present AFT/UFT leadership.

Although the Rank and File Caucus ran its own candidate, David Rosoff, against both Selden and Shanker in 1974, it too is unable to draw the class line or develop a consistent class-struggle program. Rosoff, just like Selden, was a McGovern supporter, and according to RAFC literature he was also an elected member of the New York state committee of the Democratic Party. It is not surprising that a caucus whose candidate for union president actively supports a capitalist party should also scab on a strike and threaten to take their union into the bosses' courts.

A Class Line, Not Simple Anti-Shankerism

Among the resolutions backed by the RAFC at the 1974 AFT convention was one submitted by Houston Local 2415, which said in part: "Resolved, that the AFT urge locals to establish 'watchdog' committees on preferential hiring to make sure the policy on minority teacher hiring is being carried out and to recommend legal and other action, if necessary...." When questioned by a *WV* reporter about his opinion of using court suits to settle internal union affairs, Rosoff replied: "I like that. Maybe we ought to do that to Shanker." Whatever the anti-bureaucratic rationales advanced to justify them, such suits break the cardinal principle of trade-union independence from the capitalist state and invite massive government intervention.

The RAFC's blindness on the crucial question of the state, as well as its past stands, raise the immediate question of where it will stand if Shanker is clapped in jail for leading a strike in violation of the Taylor Law. Such an attack on the union movement must be protested by militant labor action, including a city-wide general strike if necessary!

The Coalition of New York City School Workers is less hardened in its reformism than either TAC or the RAFC, but only because it lacks a coherent program and is essentially an amalgam of small groups with different histories. What elements of a program it does have do not fundamentally distinguish it from the other two caucuses. All three approach the anti-labor austerity program imposed on the city by the "Municipal Assistance Corporation" as though it were purely the machinations of a greedy bankers' conspiracy (the line taken by Gotbaum and, occasionally, even Mayor Beame) rather than an outgrowth of the capitalist business cycle.

All three UFT opposition caucuses propose as the answer to Big MAC the idea that the city should simply pay the banks less and tax them more. Leaflets distributed by them during or just before the strike show little difference on this key

question:

- TAC – "It's time for the unions to insist that the banks make some sacrifices instead of the working people."
- RAFC – "As for the banks, not only can the windfall interest be eliminated but the banks can directly contribute adequate sums for city needs."
- Coalition – "If the city TAXED banks and corporations instead of BORROWING from them, there would be no financial crisis at all."

Even "socialist" Albert Shanker occasionally employs such rhetoric! Instead of implying that the needs of working people can be fulfilled simply by pressuring the bourgeois state to adopt a populist "tax the banks" gimmick, a class-struggle leadership would put forward a real program for victory: open the corporate books, cancel the debt, expropriate the banks, form a workers party and struggle for a workers government.

Shanker tries to justify his incredible giveaway contract by pointing to the depression. Of course, he is only looking for excuses. But it is the capitalist business cycle that is responsible for the teachers' current plight, and the fact is that none of the reformist caucuses has a program to fight the depression. Their demands during the strike were strictly limited to traditional union demands (no layoffs, no cutbacks, a big wage increase) which, while absolutely vital, are insufficient for victory. (Of the three, only the Coalition consistently called for joint work stoppages with other city unions, but even it did not raise the necessary demand for a city-wide general strike against the capitalist austerity program.) So long as oppositionists fail to prepare the ranks for a general working-class assault on capitalism, the Shankers in the unions will legitimately and effectively point out that their reformist opponents can produce no more than can they, since all share a business-unionist framework. What is needed is the construction of a class-struggle opposition in the UFT. ■

SPARTACIST
edizione italiana

INDICE

- Dichiarazione per organizzare una tendenza trotzkista internazionale (1974)
- Verso la rinascita della IVa Internazionale (1963)
- La conferenza di Londra del Comitato Internazionale (1966)
- Dichiarazione di Principi della Spartacist League (1966)
- Genesi del Pablismo
- Conferenza internazionale provvisoria (1974)
- Le origini del Nucleo Spartacista d'Italia (1975)

PREZZO: 75c

Scrivere a:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, N.Y. 10001

Portuguese CP...

(continued from page 2)

is not the armed forces who will keep the flame of the revolution lit." A worker was quoted as asking, "How can we continue the struggle if we feel at our backs the guns of officers who want to defeat us?... Arms in the hands of the workers? Why not now?!" Yet another of the "progressive officers" present proclaimed, "There are people in the MFA whom you can trust."

Meanwhile, on the right General Sousa de Castro called last week for dissolution of the soldiers' advisory Unit Delegate Assemblies (ADU) and a purge of the left wing of the officer corps. And among the ranks of the military the organizers of the 1,500-strong soldiers contingent at the September 10 demonstration in Porto are reportedly forming a soldiers committee independent of the MFA and against the military command structure under the name "Soldiers United Will Win" (SUV).

What Program for Victory?

The principal obstacles to socialist revolution in Portugal are the treacherous misleadership of the Stalinists and social democrats, and the masses' illusions in the MFA. Under the impact of the wave of reactionary terror during the last two months and the removal from power of the left wing of the officer corps, important opportunities have arisen for revolutionary Trotskyists to split the reformist parties and break the most conscious layers of the working class from the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement. To accomplish this, recourse to the Leninist tactic of principled united fronts is indispensable.

Only by creating organs of soviet power can the working people of Portugal decisively crush counterrevolution. For this it is necessary to unify all workers commissions, neighborhood commissions, workers militias, popular vigilance committees, soldiers committees, "people's assemblies" and similar bodies into a unitary, democratically elected representative national council of workers and soldiers deputies. In addition to agitating in the workers' and soldiers' organizations for this program, the ostensibly socialist parties should be challenged through united-front proposals to undertake the construction of soviet bodies. And in the face of the threatened purge and crackdown on leftists in the military by the rightist generals, a Marxist leadership would propose to the other left parties and even to sectors of the MFA a temporary united military bloc.

In undertaking such initiatives, the Trotskyists must maintain their political independence, refusing to fall into a dangerous propaganda bloc by limiting their demands to a lowest common denominator joint platform, and continuing to warn the masses against the class collaboration of the reformist workers parties and the demagogy of the leftist officers. When the CP in desperation signed the August 25 communiqué with several "far left" groups, this was a tremendous opportunity to win the ranks of the CP to proposals for working-class independence as opposed to the Stalinists' policy of support to the bourgeois MFA which today threatens to exterminate them. But the "far left," including the self-proclaimed "Trotskyist" LCI, did not do this. Instead they adapted to Cunhal by agreeing to support for the Gonçalves government and the "MFA-People Alliance"!

Unable to perceive the bourgeois character of the MFA the centrist LCI has constantly fostered illusions about the "progressive officers" who talk of socialism while locking up union leaders and Maoists. Thus in a communiqué dated February 15, the LCI stated that the workers movement "must offer to these 'progressive officials' the effective possibilities to...accelerate their joining the struggle of the working class."

> "This joining would be expressed, among other things, by their defense of the soldiers' right to organize inside the army, by their explicit refusal to participate in repression against the workers movement, against revolutionary demonstrations, etc."
>
> —*Combate Operario*, March 1975

But comrades, benevolent actions toward the workers and soldiers will not change an officer from an agent of the bourgeoisie into a member of the workers movement!

Split the Army!

The armed forces are the heart of the bourgeois state apparatus and the officer corps is the structure around which the military is built. The task of the communists is to *split* the army, by extracting the soldiers from the control of the officer corps, and to *smash* the bourgeois state. Thus the condition for individual officers to come over to the side of the working class is not good will but breaking with the military command structure and submitting themselves to the discipline of the soldiers committees.

Soon after the February 1917 revolution which toppled the tsar in Russia, soldiers were already demanding an end to control by the commanding staff. They forced the nervous reformist leaders of the Petrograd Soviet to sign "Order No. 1" calling for elected committees in all military units, soldiers' deputies in the soviet, political control by the soviet, control of weapons by the committees and complete citizens' rights for soldiers. This order, which Trotsky referred to as "the single worthy document of the February revolution," was quickly extended in practice.

> "The soldiers approached the committees from the opposite angle, and united around them against the commanding staff....The situation of an officer who came into conflict with the committee became unbearable. Thus was created the unwritten right of the soldiers to remove their commanders."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 1, 1930

The same understanding is rapidly spreading among soldiers in Portugal as the revolutionary allure of the MFA has been tarnished. At a meeting on September 10 of the delegate assembly of the Military Police regiment in Lisbon, the Maoist-led soldiers (who a few days earlier announced in a demonstration their refusal to obey orders to go to Angola) passed a motion stating that:

> "In this sense the delegates of the unit in the ADU and the popular will represented in this Assembly decide to accept the support of the unit's Command, making quite clear that since the soldiers are the only revolutionary social stratum in the barracks the Command, if it wishes in fact to be on the side of the soldiers in the struggle, must accept the direction of the soldiers."
>
> —*Expresso*, 13 September

Meanwhile, the SUV soldiers committee issued a press statement announcing that the first weapon of the capitalists was,

> "our incapacity to undertake an autonomous offensive with a true class character. Already many times we have yielded to the class enemy, notably by submitting our struggle to the Alliance with the MFA....
>
> "We must know how to confront this danger with our class organization intimately linked inside and outside the barracks, thereby breaking the military hierarchy of the army and globally challenging the power of the bourgeoisie's state apparatus of which the army is a part."

This is correct. Truly "revolutionary officers" must submit themselves to the direction of the soldiers, and the soldiers committees must break with the MFA and the military command. But while the LCI reportedly played a role in organizing the SUV, its signing of the August 25 communiqué and joining the class-collaborationist "revolutionary/popular united front" directly contradicts this and constitutes a betrayal of Marxism and the proletariat. With its centrist gyrating and illusions in the "progressive officers" the LCI has shown itself incapable of providing revolutionary leadership to the Portuguese workers and soldiers. What is urgently needed is a break from the capitulationist tailism of this Pabloist perversion of Trotskyism, and a fight to build an authentic Trotskyist party in Portugal, constructed in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International. ■

The "reconstituted" MFA, Generals Fabião, Carvalho and Charais.

Diario de Noticias

Gunpoint Elections in the Fields

Grower Vigilantes Terrorize Farm Workers

Elizabeth Sunflower

Daily World

Above: Cesar Chavez with UFW organizers. Below: Member of gun-packing vigilante "citizens posse," which has been trying to keep UFW organizers away from tomato pickers, being arrested after shooting incident with police.

Pacifist Chavez Relies on State Arbitration

SAN FRANCISCO, September 14—As the first wave of voting returns in union representation elections came in this week, it was clear that the survival of the United Farm Workers (UFW) union hangs by a very slender thread. Though the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act which governs the elections was hailed as the vehicle which would finally bring labor peace to the fields, it is proving to be one more tool to debilitate the farm workers, putting their fate into the hands of the courts and executive bodies of the class enemy. It is extremely urgent that the labor movement across the state take action in defense of the UFW.

Though the UFW has won about 24 elections covering 4,500 workers to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' (IBT) 14 victories covering 4,000 workers (*Oakland Tribune*, 13 September), many of the larger and most important ranches remain, at least for the moment, in Teamster hands. Last spring as Governor Brown's agricultural labor bill was being agreed to by the UFW, IBT and agribusiness interests, we warned that this measure would permit a state arbitration board to decide whether the farm workers' union would live or die, and that class-conscious workers should therefore oppose it. Most of the left remained silent on this crucial question and UFW leader Cesar Chavez assured his ranks that everything would turn out all right since the Teamsters had no support.

The voting has shown that the UFW retains the loyalty of most agricultural workers in California, but it also shows that Chavez' pacifism and impotent boycott strategy continue to imperil the very existence of the union. The Farm Workers' election defeats appear to come from ranches where there was massive intimidation by gun-toting company goons during the voting, and from the oldest targets of UFW-led consumer boycotts. Over the years vineyards like Gallo and Giumarra have built up an entire labor force of scabs.

"A Climate of Fear and Intimidation"

Last week's important vote at E. & J. Gallo concerns not simply the 450 workers directly employed by the winery. The bulk of the grapes for this largest wine producer in the country are bought from numerous small growers. It is generally recognized that the vote at Gallo will determine the union affiliation of the supplying vineyards. Furthermore, the UFW boycott against Gallo and the latter's expensive anti-UFW advertising campaign give the vote a considerable symbolic importance.

The election results were a stalemate settling nothing. The Teamsters, who have checked off union dues at Gallo ever since stealing the contract in 1973, got 223 votes to the UFW's 131. However, 198 votes are contested, the bulk of them being ballots of "economic strikers" who have been on strike since the time of the IBT takeover. This could mean an eventual UFW victory, as they are entitled to vote according to the law's provisions, but each individual case must be ruled on by the five-man governor-appointed Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) charged with implementing the elections.

Long-time labor organizer Fred Ross, who is aiding the UFW during the representation elections, declared that never in his 30 years of union experience has he seen "anything which begins to approach the climate of fear and intimidation" around the Gallo elections. His was one of a number of depositions submitted in a series of unfair labor practices charges the UFW has filed with ALRB. Among the charges are the fact that Teamster organizers and Gallo security guards (whose head served with the State Department in Vietnam) followed, photographed and recorded the names of workers talking to UFW organizers.

As if this weren't enough, these same security guards cast ballots (challenged by the UFW) in the elections. The hired goons of the capitalists have no place in a farm workers' union or any other labor organization. They are strikebreakers by definition and enemies of the labor movement!

The pattern in other Teamster "victories" was similar. Both at Giumarra, largest U.S. table-grape grower, and Egg City, the nation's largest producer with three million eggs a day, the contested ballots could turn these UFW election defeats into victories. Even so, the UFW is in serious trouble and cannot afford to give away elections. At the small Dalton Richardson vineyards south of Bakersfield the UFW handed victory to the IBT by refusing to even get on the ballot because a UFW organizer was shot and killed at the ranch in 1973.

The Growers' "Rights"

The intimidation tactic is not limited to Gallo. The results of the September 9 election at McSweeney Farms, a produce grower, were not certified by the ALRB pending resolution of unfair labor practice charges. The election is significant in that it was the first to produce a vote for no union representation. Two known UFW supporters were fired and the owner threatened to shut down his entire operation if a union were voted in. The UFW got two votes and 45 workers voted against having a union. A Board agent pointed out, however, that the UFW "had to get 51 per cent of the workers to sign cards indicating they wanted an election in the first place so something peculiar must have occurred" (*New York Times*, 10 September).

The most graphic example of the contrived character of the legislative "solution" to "California's farm labor problem" is the growers' defiance of the Board's ruling that UFW organizers can enter ranch property for three hours per day to speak to workers—before and after work and at lunch break. The ALRB access ruling was immediately reversed on September 3 by U.S. District Judge M. D. Crocker of Fresno, who, coincidentally, owns about 75 acres of row crop land near Chowchilla. On September 10 Crocker's ruling was upheld by a Fresno County Superior Court judge, who found the union access rule to be "unconstitutional and excessive," i.e., a violation of the capitalists' holy of holies: the "right" to private property. Again, resolution of the question awaits a decision before the appropriate capitalist body, this time the U.S. Supreme Court.

The growers have made clear that they claim the "right" to defy, with violence if necessary, a ruling against them. Armed vigilante groups calling themselves "Sheriff's Posse Comitatus" have appeared in the fields carrying guns, "citizen's arrest" forms and their own badges, to keep UFW organizers out of the fields. In the Stockton area such a "posse" of right-wing thugs (many of whom also belong to anti-income-tax and anti-gun-control organizations), repelled UFW organizers from tomato fields September 3 and 4. When questioned about the "posse," a tomato grower sarcastically answered, "Why guns? It's their right to carry guns.... You know, dove season opened Monday." When UFW organizer Jim Drake approached a nearby sheriff's deputy for protection, the answer was quick: "We are not escorting you into the fields" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 4 September).

Capitalist Hypocrisy

Such is the hypocrisy of capitalist "law and order," which makes blatantly evident the bankruptcy of Chavez' legalistic pacifism. To look for salvation to the capitalist state disarms the workers politically and in every way. While the growers organize private armies, the sheriff's deputies and police spend their time assaulting and arresting UFW members (as occurred at Merced in August). According to Chavez' defeatist line, farm workers must passively "turn the other cheek" and rely on the bosses' courts to stop this brutal intimidation.

In a telegram to U.S. Attorney General Levi the ALRB chairman, Bishop Mahoney, this month accused the Border Patrol of interfering in the conduct of the elections. Under the guise of enforcing laws against "illegal aliens," the Patrol is responding to employer "tip-offs" by selectively arresting and deporting undocumented workers who sign petitions for secret-ballot elections under the agricultural labor act. Bishop Mahoney said that "potential voters may be

continued on page 10

Communal Terror in Lebanon

SEPTEMBER 22 In the small Near Eastern state of Lebanon (about half the size of New Jersey and with an estimated population of between 3 and 3.5 million), some 2,500 persons have died in "confessional" warfare since April. In the last eight days alone communal strife has resulted in 400 casualties, with major areas of the capital, Beirut, bombed and burned out. The recent wave of violence was sparked by a fight between two taxi drivers in the streets of Tripoli over the right-of-way, resulting in a full-scale civil war between a 3,000-strong army raised from the Moslem populace of Tripoli and a force of 2,000 from the nearby Maronite Christian village Zgharta. That trivial squabbles can unleash such murderous ferocity reveals deeply rooted social antagonisms that give the lie to Lebanon's reputation as the "Switzerland of the East": peaceful, prosperous, democratic and conciliating its several minorities.

Certainly Lebanon resembles Switzerland in being the banking and commercial center of the Near East, although this role has been diminished since its largest bank, Intra, crashed in 1966. In 1969 financial services contributed almost 22 percent of the country's gross national product and commerce 31 percent, compared to 13 percent for industry and handicrafts and less than 10 percent for agriculture. Lebanon is *relatively* prosperous. Excluding Israel and the oil sheikdoms, Lebanon has the highest per capita income ($500 yearly) on the Asian continent. Of course, this income is extremely unevenly distributed, with both class and communal disparities, the poor being concentrated in the Moslem population (and in particular among the Shi'ite sects).

Lebanon also presents a facade of bourgeois democracy. Elections are by secret ballot, there is universal adult suffrage and women have had the right to vote since 1952. The press is comparatively free and newspapers numerous. In 1962 there were reportedly 49 daily political newspapers, 38 weekly political magazines plus 112 weekly non-political magazines in this small country. Beirut is currently the only Arab city where there can be published an ostensibly Trotskyist journal, *el Mounadil* (The Militant), organ of the Revolutionary Communist Group which is affiliated with the United Secretariat.

"Confessionalism" and Imperialism

But while Lebanon is the *only* Arab country to have a secular constitution, it is by no means a secular state. Instead politics at all levels are based on traditional apportionment of various posts among the 17 religious communities. The dominant Christian sect, the Maronites, are inevitably elected to the most powerful office, the presidency, by a necessary two-thirds vote of the chamber of deputies. The president, who appoints all ministers, is obliged to nominate a Sunni Moslem as prime minister. A Shi'ite (from the next most numerous Moslem sect) is by tradition elected president of the chamber of deputies, and so on.

This confessional representation grows out of the medieval Ottoman empire which ruled through religious communities. The latter were permitted wide-ranging local autonomy so long as they paid allegiance and taxes to the Sublime Potentate in Constantinople. But as the mountains of Lebanon had provided refuge for persecuted religious minorities throughout history, this area proved particularly troublesome for the Ottomans.

Following World War I Arab nationalists demanded immediate independence for a united Greater Syria including Lebanon. However, in the secret Sykes-Picot agreement of 1916 for splitting the former Ottoman holdings between French and British imperialism, France took both Lebanon and Syria. (This imposition of colonial rule was subsequently legitimized in the guise of a League of Nations "mandate.") Using the traditional imperial policy of divide and rule, France created a separate Lebanon in order to maintain a base of support in the Christian communities which feared persecution as a tiny minority in an independent and predominantly Moslem Greater Syria. In order to cut across pro-independence and unionist sentiment, the French constitution of 1926 created a chamber of deputies and a quota system for government jobs based on confessional representation.

AP

Lebanese army patrols the streets of Beirut during communal fighting last week.

This system was, in the main, retained after independence in 1946. While ostensibly an evenhanded means for preventing tyranny by the largest minority or the splintering of the state, the confessional system is inherently discriminatory and anti-democratic. For example, representation is based on the 1932 census which found six Christians for every five Moslems. The Christian political predominance continues to this day, although it is well known that the Moslem population has outstripped the Christian. Thus one of the key demands of the Moslem militants is simply for a new census!

The Excluded Palestinians

In a country too frightened to take a new census, no place can be found for the 300,000 Palestinian refugees, as their enfranchisement would jeopardize upper-class Christian predominance. The right-wing Maronite parties grouped together in the Triple Alliance (Phalange, National Bloc and National Liberals) call for expulsion of the Palestinians, while the Moslem-based parties give the refugees lip-service support. And whenever the Israelis launch a terror raid into Lebanon (carefully including both the Palestinian camps and Lebanese towns and villages), the army "retaliates" by attacking the refugees.

A typical Lebanese crisis scenario takes the pattern of events following an Israeli commando operation in the heart of Beirut on 10 April 1973. The response of the government headed by Moslem prime minister Franjieh was "Black May" (named after "Black September" of 1970 in Jordan, when King Hussein wiped out Palestinian commandos and massacred 5,000 refugees). The Christian-officered Lebanese army attacked refugee camps outside Beirut and in the southern section of the country, killing 300 and wounding 600. This in turn provoked massive Moslem demonstrations against the government.

Sathani/Sygma

Para-military commando of the fascistic Phalange in Lebanon.

Although the Palestinians have an armed militia of 10,000, following Fatah's slogan of "non-interference" (the same slogan which beheaded their movement in Jordan) the militias did not come to the aid of the worker-student demonstrators. Under the Cairo Agreement signed in 1969 to end a previous round of fighting between the Lebanese army and the commandos, the Fatah-dominated Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) agreed to subordinate the militia to the army and to police the refugee camps. In the current communal strife select units of the Palestinian militia are interceding essentially as adjuncts of the Lebanese army.

The Ultra-Right

The confessional system in Lebanon enforces the political hegemony of the Christian businessmen and ecclesiastics, the Moslem sheiks and muftis, the Druze tribal leaders, the *za'ims* (Mafia-like urban bosses) and landlords over the masses. A non-believer is politically disenfranchised and, with the exception of the extremely reformist and overwhelmingly middle-class Communist Party, political movements are drawn along communal lines. Moreover, the inflammation of religious and ethnic hatreds has tremendously strengthened the extreme right wing of the political spectrum. Lebanon counts not one but several fascistic and ultra-rightist formations.

The best-known is the predominantly Maronite Christian Al Kataeb, or Phalange, founded by Pierre Gemayyel after he returned from the 1936 World Olympics in Berlin, and modeled on the Hitler Youth movement. Another founder of the Phalange, Charles Helou, was president of Lebanon from 1964 to 1970, and today the movement has seven deputies in parliament and an armed paramilitary force of 6,000 which has been responsible for most of the anti-Moslem terror and provocations. It was the Phalange that massacred 22 unarmed Palestinians on a bus in April, precipitating the current wave of violence.

But the Maronites have no monopoly on fascist parties. In 1932 Antun Saadeh launched the fanatically pro-Nazi Syrian Nationalist Party which found its greatest support among petty-bourgeois Greek Orthodox. The Armenians, refugees from Turkish terror, have taken their political movements with them into exile, dominant among them being the fanatically anti-communist Dashnak. In 1958 when Lebanese president Camille Chamoun called in 10,000 U.S. Marines to help him suppress a rebellion by Moslem political opponents, he was backed by only three parties: the Phalange, the Syrian Nationalists and Dashnak.

The closest thing to a left in the Lebanese electoral system is personified by Kamel Jumblatt, member of a leading Druze political family. Originally aligned with pro-French forces, Jumblatt broke with the colonial government in 1943 after the French arrested most of the elected Mandate government. While organizing the Progressive Socialist Party (PSP), founded in 1949, he was simultaneously negotiating with the Syrian Nationalist Party. Jumblatt supported Chamoun in the 1952 elections and only broke after Chamoun backed the "Eisenhower Doctrine" for U.S. intervention in the Near East. The PSP continues to be based on the Druze community but has evolved a utopian

continued on page 9

39½ for 40

UAW "Shorter Work Time" Hoax

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Delegates of the United Auto Workers (UAW) National Ford Council meeting in Washington September 9-11 routinely approved the only resolution to come on the floor, a proposal from the leadership making "Shorter Work Time" a key demand in the 1976 auto negotiations. This token gesture seeks to translate the strong sentiment among auto workers for a shorter workweek to combat layoffs into a bogus "time bank" plan, whose impact on unemployment will be paltry, if not counterproductive.

After two days of exhorting the assembled local bureaucrats to "go visit your congressmen" (along with the telling admission that "nothing happened" after the union's February 5 pressure-the-Democrats jobs rally), UAW's Ford Division Director and Vice President Ken Bannon introduced the resolution. He largely repeated a "program" outlined in a July 1974 Ford Council motion: less time on the job, more leisure time, reduced unemployment, no increase in overtime. Though purposely vague, the actual intent is revealed by the inclusion of a quote from a 6 June 1974 news conference by UAW President Leonard Woodcock:

> "Well, you talk about the question of a four-day week—the bonus hours plan is a method of shortening the individual's work time. It's true it's only in a small way—half an hour per week in the agricultural implement contracts. But building on that, it is possible to shorten the individual's working time by periodic weeks off but still maintaining the basic 40-hour week...."

The "bonus hours" or "time bank" plan won initially at John Deere Company in 1973 has become increasingly popular with auto executives plagued by high absenteeism and faced with current reduced production needs. The one-half hour paid time off per week—only about three days per year!—for perfect attendance was originally proposed by Bannon to curb *absences*, not unemployment. And indications so far from the agricultural implement companies are that, to the limited extent it has been an incentive, the plan *reduced* the number of jobs available! With less absenteeism, fewer surplus workers are needed to fill in vacancies.

The fraudulent guise of a job-producing "shorter work time" label is required now because of the depression-level unemployment in auto. Last winter nearly 300,000 production workers (38 percent of the total) were on indefinite or temporary layoff. Even with the current upturn in production (caused more by balancing out of the 1975 models and introduction of the 1976's than by increased sales), 84,000 remain on the recall lists. As Bannon pointed out, these figures do not even include the workers who have lost their recall rights—nearly 20,000 just at Ford—or those whose jobs have been eliminated by attrition and speed-up. Bannon estimated that 138,000 jobs had been lost in the industry during the last two years.

Pressure for union action for jobs has been building up, especially since the GM and Chrysler SUB funds ran out of money this spring, sharply increasing the misery of those sacked. Several Detroit-area locals have erected billboards supporting "30 for 40." During the last depression and again following World War II, the Trotskyists popularized "30 hours' work for 40 hours' pay" as a concretization of their slogan for a "sliding scale of wages and hours" to spread available work to all. The UAW's paper program has included "30 for 40" since 1936, but it has never been seriously bargained for.

Some pressure, albeit timid, is also coming from the "National Short Work Week Committee" headed by Cadillac Local 22 president Frank Runnels. Aspiring to higher office and seeking a power base, Runnels has sought to group around himself other local-level UAW leaders. He recently held a Detroit meeting drawing representatives from over 60 UAW locals, many of whom had previous connections with the "30 and Out" campaign for "early retirement." The insufficiency of Runnels' call for a meager four days/nine hours is underlined by reports that he is even willing to compromise on that! Perhaps he, Woodcock and Bannon can all agree on "39-and-a-half for 40."

This meeting of the Ford Council, which as usual produced no concrete accomplishments, did emphasize the necessity of a new class-struggle leadership for the UAW. Not one of the 146 voting delegates—mostly local presidents and paid officials—uttered a peep in protest over the resolution's advance billing of an obvious sellout. The motion was read by an administrative assistant to Bannon and passed unanimously with no discussion.

What is shaping up as the "Great Short Work Time Hoax" is strikingly reminiscent of the fate of "voluntary overtime," billed as a key demand in the 1973 auto negotiations. The pro-capitalist UAW tops settled for 60 hour workweeks at Ford, 54 at GM and Chrysler—which just happened to be the standard overtime already being worked at the respective companies!

The exigencies of periodic capitalist crises—and the profit-hungry companies' preference for paying fewer workers time-and-a-half for overtime, rather than incurring additional "fringe benefit" expenses by more hiring—mean that the lives of auto workers are punctuated by grueling overtime and long layoffs. Even the 40-hour week, center of bitter labor battles in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, is a myth for auto workers except during economic slumps (and then only for those who avoid the layoff list). Securing an end to unemployment means preparing the ranks of labor for sharp class struggles, beginning with the fight for a massive reduction of the workweek at no loss in pay and factory occupations of shut-down plants.

But it is the capitalist system itself that is the cause, and the fight for jobs must aim at expropriating the companies and vastly expanding production in a rationally planned economy under a workers government. Those who pretend that something less will suffice—whether "36 for 40," lobbying for the Democrats' drop-in-the-bucket jobs bills or some other reformist panacea—are only trying to fool the workers. If successful in winning office on their gimmick programs, they will only replace the Woodcocks and Bannons with more of the same. The fight for a consistent, class-struggle leadership of the workers movement is the key to victory.■

OL Supports Meany's Grain Boycott

Maoism and Anti-Communist Protectionism

George Meany and Teddy Gleason, the arch-reactionary AFL-CIO chiefs who recently called a short-lived boycott of grain shipments to the Soviet Union, are not alone. On the same side in the "struggle" to blame U.S. food-price inflation on trade with the Soviet Union stand the Maoist October League (OL) and the ex-Maoist Progressive Labor Party (PL), both of which recently endorsed the anti-communist, protectionist grain boycott.

In a leaflet announcing a demonstration against President Ford in San Francisco on September 22, a coalition put together by PL included the demand, "Stop the U.S.-Russian Grain Ripoff." Nowhere in the leaflet or in the pages of *Challenge* was PL's policy on the grain deals explained, however.

The October League made the mistake of trying to justify its support for Meany/Gleason anti-communism. "Soviet capitalists are all too glad to buy Western grain," says the OL's *Call* (September 1975), since they are strapped by stagnation in agriculture. This is allegedly because "the revolutionary enthusiasm of Soviet peasants which was responsible for the great advances in agriculture under Lenin and Stalin, has been wiped out" under Khruschev and Brezhnev!

It is impossible to keep a straight face after reading such assertions. To begin with, even official Russian historians now admit that peasants slaughtered over 50 million cows, sheep, goats and horses in response to Stalin's forced collectivization. Far from producing great advances, Stalin's autocratic arbitrariness set Soviet agriculture back for decades. Furthermore, it was Stalin who for half a decade was a leading opponent of Trotsky's call for gradual, voluntary collectivization!

Denouncing Meany for "demagogically using" the boycott which he and ILA head Gleason called and ended by bureaucratic fiat, the OL proclaims that "thousands of longshoremen took a militant stand" against "Soviet manipulation" of U.S. prices. But workers who, against their real class interests, are enlisted in a protectionist, anti-communist crusade will not stop to distinguish Mao's China from Soviet "red bosses." One sign on the Houston docks during the boycott read, "Let Commies Starve"! The mind boggles at this attempt to defend Stalin's worst crimes while in the same breath "critically" supporting the anti-Soviet ploy of the most reactionary elements of the American union bureaucracy.

The OL's contradictory position is, however, consistent Maoism—that is, the nationalist world view of the Chinese Stalinist bureaucracy as opposed to the internationalist interests of the proletariat. In order to improve their position against the rival bureaucrats in the Kremlin, Peking leaders call for strengthening NATO forces in Europe and continued U.S. military presence in Asia, while grasping the bloody hands of "Third World" despots like Bandaranaike and Mobutu in warm friendship. To support the same ends, the October League lines up with the worst anti-communist elements of the labor movement (and through them with U.S. imperialism) in an unholy alliance against the USSR.

And what about these "Soviet capitalists"? The puerile "theory" that the USSR was above reproach under Stalin but then somehow reverted (unnoticed at the time) to capitalism under his successors in 1956 not only makes the question of which class rules dependent upon the mere whims of a few top policymakers, but above all it serves as a cover for the innumerable betrayals of the Maoist bureaucracy. Trotskyists, in contrast, defend the still-existing economic conquests of the Russian Revolution (nationalization of the means of production, planned economy, etc.) against both the mismanagement of the Stalinist usurpers and the aggressions of imperialism.

The real interests of the international working class lie not in protectionism but in an end to all restrictions on trade with the bureaucratically deformed workers states. In the imperialist countries it is the obligation of the class-conscious workers to oppose all protectionist trade barriers. The longer that Arab countries are blamed for oil price increases, the Soviet Union is blamed for inflation of food prices, etc., the longer the real culprits—the monopolistic corporations—will get off the hook.■

PDC Campaign for Jagadish Jha a Success

The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, reports that the defense campaign waged on behalf of Jagadish Jha has been very successful and that substantial funds for his legal fees were raised by this effort. Jha, a veteran Indian Trotskyist, has suffered repeatedly at the hands of the Indian government for organizing West Bengal peasants and agricultural workers beginning in the late 1940's. He and 150 fellow union militants were hit with a lengthy series of court battles after leading a successful agricultural workers strike in the Bankura district during late 1969. Jha became a focus of PDC defense support in March of this year, after it was learned that the "United Secretariat," with which he is associated as a member of the Communist League of India, had criminally neglected this valiant militant in favor of more "popular" cases and issues. The Partisan Defense Committee thanks readers of *Workers Vanguard* for their generous support of Jagadish Jha.

Lebanon...

(continued from page 7)

non-sectarian program calling for civil marriage, free education and ultimately a "socialist" society based on early marriage, family life and religion.

Communalism and Genocide

Historically the formation of nation-states was a bloody process in which the dominant nationality suppressed weaker "remnants of peoples" left over from feudal times. The more completely this obliteration of minority peoples was carried out (e.g., the annihilation of American Indians in the U.S.) the less the national question is a burning topic today. But in building their colonial empires Western imperialist powers used the classic "divide et impera" methods of setting different subject communities against each other, arresting the process of national consolidation. While greatly developing a few export-oriented economic undertakings, a great many social holdovers from feudalism were maintained, among them communalism. Thus some of the most intractable national and communal conflicts today occur in ex-colonial areas where the different communities are relatively evenly balanced in strength and extensively interpenetrated, as in Lebanon.

Lebanon is not a nation but a state composed of numerous religious-ethnic-national communities permanently teetering on the brink of pogroms and confessional warfare. Under the capitalist social order the prospects for even a modicum of inter-communal harmony are bleak, for even if the historic discrimination and exclusion of the Moslem populations is reversed, it would simply lead to victimization of the formerly dominant Christian sects. There is a solution under capitalism, namely the Cyprus solution of civil war and massive population transfers. (Last week the last 8,000 Turks caught behind the lines in Greek areas of Cyprus were transferred, thus completing the brutally painful and necessarily discriminatory social redivision of the island by the Turkish army begun with the invasion of August 1974.)

Radical Arab nationalists have held out the goal of a pan-Islamic "nation" united through struggle against Western imperialism. But so long as there is not a socialist economic organization permitting the cooperative development of resources there will be endless battles over who controls the Jordan River or Arabian oil. And to the extent that the bourgeois nationalist program is not openly for genocide of minority communities, in regions of interpenetrated peoples it will lead in practice to pogroms and communal warfare. At the same time, it fosters the most extreme reactionary politics among the more privileged groups—witness the multiplicity of fascistic groups in Lebanan and the growth of the extreme nationalist right in Israel.

In regions of intermingled peoples—Lebanon, Palestine, Cyprus among others—there is no equitable solution to national and communal conflicts short of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But this does not mean that communists can raise no immediate demands during the "confessional" violence. On the contrary, it is necessary to defend the right of communal self-defense; to call for non-sectarian militias of workers, poor peasants and Palestinian refugees to disarm the ultra-rightist terror squads; and to demand the right of return for all Palestinian refugees and full citizenship rights for those who choose to stay in Lebanon.

- Smash "contessionalism"—For a democratic constituent assembly in Lebanon!
- Down with Zionism—Israel Out of the Occupied Territories! For the right of self-determination for the Palestinian Arab and Hebrew Peoples!
- For a socialist federation of the Near East!■

Basque Nationalists and Maoists Face Death Sentences in Spain

Free All Victims of Franco's Terror!

SEPTEMBER 22—In its desperate efforts to crack down on the increasing mobilization of working people in Spain, the Franco regime has during recent days sentenced eleven ETA (Basque nationalist) and FRAP (Maoist) militants to death by garroting. According to today's news reports, eight of these sentences may be carried out within the week. The use of this barbaric medieval form of execution accompanies recent arrests of 200 persons and a renewed attack on the press. The wave of state terror unleashed by the reactionary dictatorship in Spain must be met with immediate international protests!

The past ten months have witnessed continued weakening of Franco's already minuscule social base of support and an increasing class polarization. In December 200,000 Basque workers struck to protest convictions of two ETA militants. Repeated political strikes led to the halting of production and finally the lockout of the SEAT auto works in Barcelona. The January strike upsurge was highlighted by the erection of barricades in the industrial city of Pamplona. The death sentences meted out to two Basque nationalists accused of murdering a policeman, Jose Antonio Garmendia Artole and Angelo Otaegui Echeverría, resulted in a protest strike by 130,000 workers three weeks ago.

In response Franco's henchmen have resorted to their traditional solution: more violent repression. The hysterical police reaction was codified in a draconian August 27 law which makes the death sentence mandatory for persons convicted of killing policemen, soldiers or government officials. But despite the regime's vicious terror, opposition continues to grow as the masses' hatred for their exploiters deepens.

The FRAP and ETA militants must not die! Free all political prisoners of the bloody Franco regime! For a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula!

FORUM—

Building a Revolutionary Party in Canada

Speakers:

Tom Riley
Trotskyist League of Canada
Central Committee

Michael Cranston
Trotskyist League of Canada

Fishermen's Hall/138 East Cordova
Friday, 26 September 8 p.m.

VANCOUVER

Leadership Isolates Strike

Berkeley Firemen Defeated After 25-Day Walkout

BERKELEY, September 20—A first-ever firemen's strike here is over after 25 days. In what was aptly described as "a decisive victory for the city's position" by the conservative *Berkeley Gazette*, the firemen voted 119 to 18 to accept the original pre-strike offer which they had twice previously rejected. Under the settlement, firemen's wages will increase by 16 percent over a two-year period. The only improvement is that the wage increase will now be "front loaded," with an immediate 10 percent hike retroactive to July 1. As was the case in the previous contract, this agreement contains no cost-of-living (c-o-l) protection, meaning that the measly 8 percent yearly increase won't even keep up with inflation.

A week before the strike ended, the union (Local 1227 of the Fire Fighters Association) launched into a short-lived "truck blockade" to stop Teamster-driven trucks from delivering goods into the city. The "blockade," which lasted only three days because it was "too effective" according to union president Jack Rinne, was reminiscent of militant union tactics used during the 1930's when roving pickets—"flying squads"—would tie up the city to ensure complete labor support. This time 85 percent of all trucks failed to make their deliveries.

When asked in an interview this week with *Workers Vanguard* why the tactic was called off, Rinne said:

> "It was called off primarily because there was no desire on our part to injure any citizen of Berkeley. If the strike had continued with that tactic much longer, we would have had people at different plants laid off because there would be no materials to work with. The stores would have been out of supplies that weren't being delivered. It would have produced hardships on a lot of people that we don't feel should be damaged by this type of action in that manner. I guess it's just a case of trying to be a nice guy again. Basically our fight is with City Hall and not with people out in the homes. As far as using that or similar tactics again, if it becomes necessary we will use them again."

Brother Rinne is right about one thing: "nice guys" don't win strikes, especially when *correct* tactics are given up so easily!

Faced with an adamant Berkeley city council composed of such "darlings" of the radical community as Ilona Hancock, Ying Lee Kelly and Mayor Warren Widener, backed by the local Chamber of Commerce, the union leadership capitulated to mounting pressure to end the strike following a fire which threatened the lives of three persons. The fire came on the heels of another unsuccessful attempt by the union to extend the picketing to include city refuse collectors and local government workers who belong to Public Employees Union Local 390.

While morale seemed to be high (the previous city offer for a 9 percent immediate increase was turned down by 120 to 4), the only possible way forward for the union was to link the strike with other strikes in the area, in particular the Berkeley teachers' strike, and to call for a city-wide shutdown by all municipal employees. At the same time, the liberal politicians sitting on the council should have been exposed as *strikebreakers*, and a fight waged to break labor from supporting either Democrats or Republicans, to call instead for a workers party.

In a period of rising inflation the firemen have no cost-of-living protection whatsoever. *Workers Vanguard* asked Local 1227 president Rinne why the union wasn't demanding a full c-o-l escalator. He replied: "The city just absolutely refuses to discuss the cost of living.... It's never gotten that far. I do know that it would be turned down." Rinne admitted that since 1971 the union has gotten only a 13.5 percent wage increase, while in the same period the rate of inflation was 23 percent. "In seeking the wages we are asking for," he said, "we are just seeking to get to where we were in 1971." In other words, in order to have a "reasonable" image, he was willing to accept defeat in advance. The union leadership reduced its original wage demand of 22 percent for one year (itself too low) to 16.5 percent over two years, as an "indication of good labor negotiating"!

Berkeley firemen and workers in general do not have to be "good guys" when it comes to defending their needs against the capitalists and their government agencies. Full c-o-l protection must be included in every labor contract, whether it be with General Motors or with the city administration. The workers are not responsible for inflation and should not have to suffer for it. When the government claims it has no money, the union must demand the cancellation of the municipal debt and expropriation of the banks without compensation. Public services such as education, transportation and the cost of urban upkeep must not be sacrificed to bankers profits. In addition, the federal government must be forced to create a massive public works program to provide jobs for all.

The seeds of defeat for the Berkeley firemen's strike were planted at the beginning. Throughout the strike, eight fire chiefs, all members of the union, scabbed for the city. Such supervisory personnel, whose loyalties are clearly revealed, have no place in the labor movement and should be expelled from the union. Without a militant class-struggle leadership committed to a winning program and strategy—including demanding a full cost-of-living clause and extending the tactic of "roving pickets," leading to a city-wide shutdown—strikes such as these will remain ineffectual and isolated, resulting in continuous defeats for the working class.■

Boston Teachers...

(continued from page 12)

students, black and white. This, of course, is consistent with the NAACP's sole reliance on the bourgeois courts and racist cops to protect the rights of black children.

The path to victory is not the weak-kneed bargaining of Robinson, who delayed the strike for two weeks hoping for Garrity to pressure the School Committee into offering him some face-saving compromise. To win its fight the BTU must mobilize community support from black and white poor and working people, who will suffer from the cutbacks in social services, and seek support from the rest of the labor movement.

Only by linking their strike to the fight for immediate implementation of busing and defense of the democratic rights of oppressed minorities can teachers begin to defuse the self-defeating racial conflicts of the urban poor and launch a struggle against those who are really responsible for the hellish conditions in the schools—the capitalist class!■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current issue includes—

- Civil War in Angola
- No State Aid to Parochial Schools!
- Mao Sacrifices Guerrillas on Detente Altar
- SWP/YSA Defends "Right" of Free Speech for Fascist Scum!
- Buckley Goes to Pot
- Iranian Students Protest with Hunger Strikes

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

$2/11 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

78

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Crazy...

(continued from page 1)

judicial propriety.

Though the prisoners are no doubt grateful for the fortunate coincidence by which they were not present in the house in south central Los Angeles (now a vacant lot) where the televised massacre took place, they are in serious trouble. Conviction on just one of the charges (kidnapping with the purpose of robbery) could result in life imprisonment. Among those who have it in for these adherents of the degenerate cultist Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) are the bourgeoisie's most powerful agencies and institutions of repression, including the FBI which resents being made the fool for so many months.

It is of course "Patty" Hearst who makes the capture front-page news. Since 4 February 1974—when Hearst was pulled from her Berkeley apartment, stuffed in the trunk of a car, held for ransom and then "won over" by the SLA—the story has been given sensationalist coverage by the media. The press has followed with cloying attention her parents' trail of tears from a $2 million food giveaway to their consultations with psychics and mobsters to the recent "family reunion." There is no small delight taken in the return to the fold of the "Patty" who in April 1974 called her parents the "pig Hearsts" and vowed to "stay and fight."

The prodigal daughter myth is only one of the many best-selling "Patty" stories that has emerged. The most lurid is the inverted Horatio Alger myth: the beautiful young heiress, granddaughter of "Citizen Kane," transformed by wild metamorphosis into an "urban guerrilla" and, latest, tragic prisoner. Perhaps in a period of economic decline America needs to run the rags-to-riches scenario backwards.

The Hearst family is so filthy rich that the spotlight on "Patty" is making those charged with administering "justice" uncomfortable. Bourgeois "justice" ranges all the way from cop terror on the streets of the ghettos through the wrist-slapping of the perpetrators of the My Lai massacre to negotiating "deals" with the Spiro Agnews and pardons for the Richard Nixons. In an editorial statement, the *New York Times* (20 September) tried to present differential justice as if it were an open question: "Will justice be blind to the social and economic background of the defendant, or is there indeed one form of justice for the poor and another for the rich?" Even the *Times* knows the answer to this question!

Under bourgeois democracy both the rich and the poor have an equal "right" to hire millions of dollars worth of legal counsel. Not surprisingly, the Hearst family has engaged a small army of lawyers. There is pervasive speculation that the rich-kid-come-home will get off with a year or so as a "brainwashed" mental patient. Today in court speculation about Patricia Hearst's legal strategy ended as the heiress' lawyers read her sworn statement claiming she was locked up, starved, tortured and forced to rob banks by the SLA. Now that "Tania's" slumming adventure is over, her battery of lawyers is moving to separate her from the other defendants and setting up a case to claim that she acted under duress. It will no doubt have occurred to her lawyers that one way to prove Patricia's "sincerity" and her wish to be "normal" again would be, in the finking tradition of Jane Alpert, to supply the names and addresses of other fugitives she may have met while in her "trance."

But the point is not to put Patricia Hearst in a frame house in LA and invite crazed cops to burn it down in order to provide equal "justice" for the black lumpens and the daughters of the bourgeoisie. "Patty" Hearst should get her legal rights—and with her money she probably will.

Not with a Bang but a Squeak

The comic-strip exploits of "Sally" Moore and "Patty" Hearst have all but crowded out of the limelight the saga of the third in a trio of "weird sisters," "Squeaky" Fromme, Charles Manson's administrative assistant who on September 5 pulled a gun on President Ford in Sacramento. The incident catapulted Lynette Fromme's freckled face onto the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* as the media recalled with horrified fascination the sadistic Tate/LaBianca murders by the "Manson family" five years ago. "Squeaky" embodied the childish, simple-minded vacantness for which Manson's "girls" became notorious as she demanded, "What are they mad about? The gun didn't go off."

According to Prosecuting Attorney Vincent Bugliosi's well-documented account in *Helter Skelter*, "Squeaky," though not personally a participant in the orgies of murder that took place at the Tate and LaBianca residences on 9 and 10 August 1969, was integral to the operations of the Manson cult and generally served as Manson's second in command. During the period of the clan's squalid existence at the Spahn ranch, staging ground for the murders, "Squeaky" handled such business matters as selling autos and other accumulated loot. She was also assigned to be the trusted companion of the 81-year-old owner of the ranch. While George Spahn permitted the "family" to occupy the ranch, Manson preferred to own it and, according to the plan, "Squeaky" was to become Spahn's heir by virtue of the sexual services she performed.

"Squeaky's" arrest record ranges from drug possession to murder, though her convictions have been for relatively minor offenses. The "family" has on different occasions claimed to have committed at least 35 murders, and the circumstantial evidence surrounding unsolved murders and attempted murders of "family" associates is indeed chilling.

In 1971 "Squeaky" was sentenced to 90 days in the near death of witness Barbara Hoyt. That a murder attempt had been made could not be sufficiently proven. Likewise in 1972 the body of 19-year-old Lauren Willett, who had fallen out with the "family" (as had her husband, who also disappeared) was found buried under the house occupied by Manson "family" members. "Squeaky" was among those charged with the murder, but the evidence was again insufficient for conviction.

Witnesses were understandably reluctant to testify at the Manson trial, for less than a dozen members of the "family," which at times claimed more than 100, were behind bars. The rest, led by "Squeaky," executed Manson's will on the outside with well-coordinated energy. She led the Manson followers who maintained a vigil outside the Los Angeles Hall of Justice throughout the trial, shaving their heads when Manson shaved his, carving crosses into their foreheads when he did. Ever the chief cheerleader of the Manson cause, "Squeaky" explained that "We have Xed ourselves out of this world." The mutilations became a ritual for new members, "complete to tasting the blood that ran down their faces." Since Manson's imprisonment "Squeaky" has waged a crusade for Mansonism, attempting to recruit new members and to prevent members from deserting the group.

The blood fetish, the god/devil worship of Manson's person, the slavish self-

Farm Workers...

(continued from page 6)

intimidated" by the appearance of Border Patrol agents at election sites to "inquire about alien status of voters." UFW organizer Eliseo Medina has also charged that employees arrested in raids following the filing of election petitions have been fingered by Teamsters and farm managers. Furthermore, according to a *New York Times* (9 September) account, "a source close to the situation" said that one of the deported workers telephoned him from Mexico to say "a Border Patrol agent had told the workers while they were at the Border Patrol detention center that 'we will call lawyers for you if you go with the teamsters'."

In the past, Chavez has repeatedly asked this same Border Patrol to remove "illegals," a demand which not only stabs fellow workers in the back but also facilitates the present union-busting activities of U.S. Immigration officials. The UFW has nothing to show for this treacherous finking, nor for its endless appeals to the courts against the cops and vigilantes. When California AFL-CIO leader John Henning recently appealed to the state attorney general, Evelle Younger, to help the local San Joaquin sheriff disarm the "posses," Younger answered that he thought the sheriff "has things under control."

Whatever the rulings of the ALRB, union representation in the California fields clearly belongs to the UFW. Labor must demand: Teamsters out of the fields! For a massive state-wide farm workers' strike—defend the picket lines! Militant workers in all unions must push for labor support to the embattled farm union: For the formation of union defense squads to smash the "posses"! Hot-cargo scab produce—For a California general strike in defense of the UFW! And once again the farm workers' struggle demonstrates that the working class must place no faith in the phony "neutrality" of the capitalist government: Dump the sellout union bureaucrats, break with the Democrats—Form a workers party to fight for a workers government!■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 ..... (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

negating servility achieved through personality decomposition are all part of Mansonism. Manson espoused an ideology as consistent even in its contradictions as it was demented. The murders were part of a strategy for achieving his megalomaniacal ends, to which "Squeaky," like the others, fully subscribed.

As "revealed" to Manson in personal messages in the lyrics of Beatles songs and the Book of Revelations, he had a historic mission to carry out: to lead the chosen through a cave in Death Valley to a paradise in the center of the earth where all the other "tuned-in tribes" that had ever existed had escaped to avoid extinction. There they were to wait out the Armageddon that was imminent on earth in the form of a race war whereby the entire white race would be exterminated by the black, who were believed to be biologically inferior and would therefore have to turn to serve the real leader: Charlie Manson and his followers. The murders—the more shocking the better—were to be blamed on blacks, thus precipitating "Helter Skelter," a holocaust triggered by the whites' retaliation.

Known for this racist filth, it is little wonder that Manson refused to leave his cell in Folsom prison out of fear for his life, and does so now at San Quentin only since he has reportedly found a protective home among the reactionary fascist scum of the Aryan Brotherhood.

In recent months "Squeaky" and her roommates proclaimed a new "religious order" to pray for Manson's freedom. She told an interviewer:

> "We're nuns now, and we wear red robes. We're waiting for our Lord [Manson], and there's only one thing to do before he comes off the cross, and that's clean up the earth. Our red robes are an example of new morality. We must clean up the air, the water and the land. They're red with sacrifice, the blood of the sacrifice."
> —*Time*, 15 September

According to her roommate, "family" member Sandra Good:

> "Squeaky is very, very gentle, and that's why all this monstrousness out here hurts her. It's on her back; she carries that weight. Every day we would wake up and think, 'How many whales did they kill today?'"
> —New York *Daily News*, 8 September

This summer a xeroxed letter was sent to the *Sacramento Bee* and an LA television station, headlined "Manson is Mad at Nixson" and signed with a backward swastika. It indicated that Manson was still angry over Nixon's public declaration of Manson's guilt during the trial and went on to say, "If Nixon's reality wearing a Ford face continues to run this country, your homes will be bloodier than the Tate-LaBianca houses and My Lai put together."

We wept no tears over the death of John Kennedy, and class-conscious workers are not concerned to protect the physical safety of the chief imperialist warmonger, Gerald Ford. But the assassination of the president by a member of the Manson family spouting semi-political verbiage would have been far from funny, and the left in this country should heave a sigh of relief at "Squeaky's" failure. The Mansons help create the atmosphere of "law and order" crackdown and generalized repression that Nixon dreamed of.

Just as Bernardine Dohrn and others had earlier sought to make Manson's murderous band into counter-culture heroes, some groupings on the left, titillated by the chance to shock bourgeois sensibilities, were willing to claim a kinship on the basis of SLA "serve the people" rhetoric. The media are delighted to identify the SLA with the leftist movement. But the SLA, the Mansonites and self-confessed former FBI informant Moore are not part of the left. The SLA's killing of an obscure black school administrator, Oakland School Superintendent Marcus Foster, was simply an indefensible criminal act; its "hit list" of people to be shot on sight was evidently compiled on the basis of personal vendetta. As *Workers Vanguard* explained at the time, "the essential character of the SLA is clear: the SLA is an irrational and cultist expresssion of lumpen-proletarian rage having nothing in common with the struggle of the working class for socialism" (*WV* No. 43, 26 April 1974).

Some left-wing terrorists, while dangerously derailed from the path of socialist revolution, nevertheless exhibit a distorted anti-capitalist impulse. While their acts are often stupid or vicious, falsely personalizing the struggle of classes, organizations like the Weathermen, or petty-bourgeois left-nationalist groups like the IRA and sections of the Palestinian resistance movement, express in a deformed way the aspirations of the oppressed. The left must defend such people against repression by the capitalist state, in order to defend itself. But such people must be carefully distinguished from the SLA and the Mansonites who engage in criminally degenerate ritual killings.

Among the recently arrested SLAers only Wendy Yoshimura can be defended from a class perspective. Linked to the SLA by the alleged discovery of her fingerprints in the Pennsylvania farmhouse where the fugitives may have lived some months ago, Yoshimura is accused of having explosives said to have been used in blowing up an ROTC building in 1972, before she became associated with the SLA. Born in a detention camp for Japanese-Americans, the daughter of a Fresno gardener, Yoshimura is the only one who sits in the Santa Rita prison farm and speaks to her family through barbed wire.

Counter-Culture Fungus and Left-Wing Morbidity

The crisis of mankind, said Trotsky, can be reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership. That crisis is demonstrated not only in great historic events like Chile and Portugal, but also by the terroristic exotica and other strange fruit grown on the political soil of the U.S. That a disturbed crackpot like Lynn Marcus, for instance, can gain a following of hundreds of youth (some of whom want to see a socialist society) is an expression of the extreme weakness of the U.S. left and the present quietism of its misled and racially torn working class.

It is a Marxist commonplace to note that petty-bourgeois elements are driven to frenzy by their inability to influence events which affect their lives. Sealed off from the great social forces of history, petty-bourgeois currents express a world view so narrow and special that they often maintain only a tenuous grip on reality.

With the break-up of the New Left many young people became convinced that they could not change the world, and began to act as though the world itself was not real. The rapid spread of obscurantist religion, as well as deep political cynicism among a significant layer of youth, provides the culture medium in which the Mansons and Marcuses recruit. Both the Mansonite and Marcusite milieux shelter alienated, disoriented and despairing elements of the petty bourgeoisie.

But the Manson "family" and Marcus' Labor Committees are not the same; the former is a criminal cult, while the latter is a political cult. There is a significant difference between the left-wing reformist scientology of the Labor Committees and the wanton murderous activities of the Mansonites. Although Marcus can torture his membership and accuse his "comrade of great dignity" of "sucking and actuating a pig," the Marcusites, unlike the Mansonites, are not committed to a program of genocidal race war.

Although both exhibit behavior that can best be described only by a competent clinician, the Labor Committees express (and are part of) a weak left movement. This can be judged by its two most important split-offs, the Socialist Labor Committee and the International Workers Party, which defined themselves as political and leftist when they broke with Marcus. After the proletarian revolution we would try to win over elements of the cult of Marcus, while simply protecting society from the cult of Manson.

There are also political cults on the far right, such as the Ku Klux Klan, in which (unlike the Mansonites) the political component prevails over ritual criminality. The workers movement will deal with such groups on the way to and during the revolution.

During the Spanish civil war a venerable old professor, Unamuno, who had cultivated a sophisticated vision of the absurd, was grief-stricken to discover his students outside his window chanting the fascist slogan, "Down with Intelligence—Long Live Death!" From Jacques Barzun and R. D. Laing to Manson, the cult of the irrational nourishes petty-bourgeois frenzy.

While the SLA projects shadows to the left, at points it overlaps the Manson cult as well. Petty-bourgeois cultism may contain a political component, but it is not usually clear where such groups and individuals floating above solid political terrain will touch down. These amorphous bodies revolve on an axis of their own, ungrounded by a stable connection to the material world and the realities of its social dynamic, and cannot simply be analyzed on a linear political continuum from left to right.

The political shading off into lunacy and criminality becomes even more difficult to separate in a social-cultural milieu in which it is not difficult to imagine someone joining the Revolutionary Union, then Venceremos and then the SLA. "Squeaky" at points can sound like any residual California dreamer who cares more about whales than wars. Sometimes the most misguided individual can be won to the cause of proletarian revolution, but the traffic goes both ways.

Marxists look carefully at the motives involved in terrorist acts. We have sympathy for the rage of the oppressed. It is also understandable that a petty bourgeois, confronted with the brutal oppression of capitalist institutions, could be guilt-shocked into social work, mad bombing or both. We care for the human creature who wants to answer the terror of capitalist society with a terror of his own, but we do not support the acts. Equally importantly, just because someone takes aim at a prominant capitalist politican or robs a bank, that act does not make him automatically part of the left and defensible as such.

Individualist terror is a stupid petty-bourgeois self-indulgence, the flip side of the "self-made man." Political assassination is a particularly stupid act. It is also fundamentally negative—that is, against something but not clearly for something else. Ford could just as easily be lined up in the rifle sights of some right-wing nut who thought Helsinki was a sellout to the "commies." The most obvious point is the correct one: Rockefeller is no better than Ford.

Wealthy individuals or their children must not be considered "fair game" for maniacal hunters who espouse a hatred of capitalism. Class war is exactly that—a war between classes in which the question of terror is subordinated to the military strategy of the class. Individual American anarchists are famous for botching military matters; Alexander Berkman, who served 20 years in prison for missing industrialist Frick, used a cheap second-hand pistol. At the time it was correctly noted that, typical of anarchists, "Berkman couldn't shoot straight or think straight." The connection is organic.

The painful social relations of an exploitative society in its death agony can only produce more and more "insanity," and more grotesque symptoms of its social decay—pimps and pushers. But a Marxist does not call on the cops to fight the evils of the social order they violently defend, not even to bring the most vicious and wholly indefensible mad-dog killers to "justice." The LA cops in burning out the SLA proved again that capitalism's mad-dog killing is systemic, organized and infinitely more dangerous than the SLA.

Predictably, the newspapers are once again howling for gun control. Such control has as its aim the further concentration of the means of violence as the monopoly of the state. Not the bourgeoisie, but the organized and powerful future proletarian movement, will overwhelm "the politics of crazy" as a by-product of the destruction of the bourgeois order.■

Build the Weekly

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

78

Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)

☐ $5/48 issues ☐ $2/16 issues (Introductory)

Women and Revolution

☐ $1/4 issues

Young Spartacus

☐ $2/11 issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Subscribe Now!

SUB DRIVE SPECIAL:

☐ **$6 for 48 issues of WORKERS VANGUARD, and 11 issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS**

WORKERS VANGUARD

Mike Andersen/Boston Herald

Enthusiatic strike vote at Boston Teachers Union meeting Sunday.

Smash Racist Anti-Busing Drive!

Victory to Boston Teachers' Strike!

BOSTON, September 22—Members of the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) went on strike today in defiance of a court injunction rather than accept the paltry wage increase, elimination of class size restrictions and undermining of job security contained in the School Committee's "offer." A solid 94 percent of the teachers and aides stayed out (unlike the last strike in 1970 when many elementary school teachers scabbed), and the School Committee's plans to keep the schools open fizzled.

The strike follows two weeks of extreme tension in the schools as Phase Two of the desegregation program went into effect. A fragile calm was maintained only by the presence of a small army of 1,800 state and city police. Even this massive force did not prevent a rash of fights and racial confrontations in the schools. A black student described to the *Boston Globe* the ugly atmosphere at South Boston High School: "In a way things are worse than they were last year.... I'm afraid that when something happens the whole school is just going to explode."

It is widely believed that the School Committee pursued a deliberate policy of provoking the teachers' strike as a last-ditch effort to stop Phase Two. By tossing the teachers into the middle of the busing conflict, the committee hoped to simultaneously disrupt school integration and to squeeze the militancy out of the union.

However, on the picket lines today the extreme racial polarization of the city did not infect the strikers. The strike is strongly backed by black teachers and aides who, as newer members of the union, have a particular stake in fighting layoffs and maintaining class sizes. This in fact represents the first time that these non-white members have been drawn into the life of the union, and consequently the atmosphere at BTU meetings has been sharply altered. At a meeting of several thousand strikers this morning, a teacher who demanded that the union take a position against "forced busing" was met with jeers and hoots. Even President Henry Robinson felt compelled to respond that his son is happy to be part of the busing program.

The unity of black and white teachers against the School Committee's attack is not, however, the result of any principled anti-racist stand taken by the BTU leadership. Robinson and his predecessor, John Doherty, were responsible for past attempts to isolate the aides, who are mainly black and Latin, in separate meetings, and for a BTU resolution calling for a year's delay of Phase Two busing.

The strike represents an important opportunity to fight for militant united working-class struggle which alone can cut across the hard race lines in Boston. Fighting unity can be forged in defense of the teachers and all public employees threatened by budget cuts and in the struggle for quality, integrated education. This requires the union to reverse its past stand and unequivocally support the immediate implementation of busing and that it take the lead in mobilizing for labor/black defense against racist terror.

The union faces a hard battle. Boston's liberal Mayor Kevin White set the tone when he labelled this a strike "against the people of Boston." Already Robinson has been subpoenaed to appear in court and face charges of violating an injunction issued under a state law banning public employees' strikes. In addition, liberal black groups like the NAACP and the Black Educators Alliance have petitioned Arthur Garrity, the judge who ordered the busing plan, to issue a federal injunction against the strike.

Such a short-sighted policy (supposedly to protect the desegregation program) reveals the true loyalties of these petty-bourgeois liberals. They prefer to line up with the mayor and School Committee rather than support the BTU which, despite its wretched position on busing, is fighting for smaller classes, more nurses and librarians, remedial reading and other special programs to benefit all

continued on page 10

Free Pat Swinton!

SEPTEMBER 23—The trial of Patricia Swinton began this week in Federal Court in New York. Swinton is alleged to have participated in a conspiracy in connection with the bombing of several military installations and banks in 1969. Communiqués issued at the time of these bombings indicated that the actions were intended as acts against "the corporate state" and in solidarity with the NLF.

David Hughey, an indicted co-conspirator along with Sam Melville, Jane Alpert and Patricia Swinton, refused to testify at Swinton's trial; in 1970 Hughey pleaded guilty to the charges and served two years in federal prison. Jane Alpert also refused to testify yesterday—not in solidarity however, but rather on the grounds that testifying would "put my life in danger." The *Daily News* reported that, "many radical groups have accused her [Alpert] of giving information that led to Mrs. Swinton's capture last March in Vermont."

The case against Swinton rests entirely on the blanket charges of conspiracy and on the trumped-up testimony of George Demmerle, a self-proclaimed infiltrator and informer with no credibility.

The PDC has contributed to the Pat Swinton Defense and demands that the charges against her be dropped immediately. Inquiries about the case may be sent to: Shoshana (Pat Swinton) Defense Committee, 339 LaFayette Street, New York, N.Y. 10012.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 79 3 October 1975

CIA Funnels Millions to Socialist Party

Showdown in Portugal

SEPTEMBER 30—Events in Lisbon during the last ten days have escalated to the long-expected showdown between discipline-minded "moderate" generals of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) seeking to reassert bourgeois law-and-order, and militant workers and soldiers determined to defend their conquests against government attack. Caught in the crossfire is the left wing of the officer corps, torn between the realization that their heads, too, are on the chopping block in the rightist purge, and their commitment to preserve at all costs the capitalist army.

The brewing confrontation burst into the open yesterday as the acting president and premier, Vice Admiral Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo, declared a "de facto state of emergency" and sent troops to occupy radio and television stations controlled by leftists. Azevedo issued a statement accusing news media of launching a "provocative campaign of seditious attitudes" and placed nearly all military units on alert, with guards at barracks doors to keep civilians out and rebellious soldiers in. In response to the occupation, the "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR) issued a call to workers to "mobilize against the counterrevolution, occupy plants and business and stop all work" (quoted in *New York Times*, 30 September), while the Communist Party (CP) reportedly mobilized in the factories and neighborhoods. All sides were poised in tense expectation.

Workers and Soldiers Fight Back

The stage for a bloody clash was set with the September 19 swearing-in of the sixth provisional government since last year's April 25 "revolution of the carnations." The flowers have been long since removed from the rifle barrels. The new regime dominated by the right wing of the MFA, the Socialists (SP) and Popular Democrats (PPD) is committed above all to restoring order in the rapidly disintegrating armed forces. In his inaugural speech Premier Azevedo pledged to establish "authority, stability, peace, security, order and freedom." His governmental program called for "severely repressive legislation against armed groups of civilians."

The workers' response was immediate. "In the southeastern Alentejo wheat belt, Communist-led workers kicked out landowners and occupied 25 farms over the weekend and said they would turn the land into Soviet-style cooperatives," UPI reported (22 September). "The Socialist-dominated government sworn in last Friday has vowed to halt such actions but the region's Communist rural union has threatened a general strike...." Tensions continued to mount as disabled veterans demonstrated non-stop in front of the presidential palace, broke into the national radio transmitting station to demand broadcast of their demands, and took over the bridge linking the capital with the industrial belt south of the Tagus River.

What really jolted the MFA commanders was a massive march led by the clandestine SUV (Soldiers United Will Win) soldiers committee Thursday night. According to the rightist weekly *Expresso* (27 September) the demonstration drew "around 100,000 persons, bringing together dozens of workers and neighborhood commissions, and

continued on page 8

Lisbon demonstrators sack Spanish Embassy and burn contents in protest over execution of Spanish militants by butcher Franco.

Avenge Martyred Spanish Militants!

The September 27 executions in Spain of two Basque nationalists and three Maoists triggered a wave of international protest against the bloody Franco regime. Demonstrations were held in several European capitals; ambassadors were hastily recalled; Pope Paul and U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim appealed for clemency. As a concession to the worldwide outcry, the five prisoners were executed by firing squads rather than the barbaric garrote. Six others were granted a last-minute reprieve.

Outrage against the latest atrocities by the Franco butchers swept major European cities in the wake of the executions. The Spanish embassy in Lisbon was gutted by an angry crowd, as was the consulate in Porto. Demonstrators turned the posh Champs-Elysées into a battlefield as a massive Paris demonstration set up barricades to ward off the police. Large demonstrations and some attacks upon Spanish embassies were also reported in Switzerland, Turkey, the Netherlands and Sweden.

The Spanish masses are once again showing their hatred for the 36-year-old Franco dictatorship. The day after the executions a militant demonstration of thousands in the Basque city of San Sebastian was met by police machine-gun fire. As we go to press, thousands of Basque workers are responding to the call for a two-day general strike against the regime.

In its death agony the tottering Franco dictatorship lashes out frantically to suppress mounting social protest. But for every left militant cut down, more rise up to join the struggle. It is by a powerful proletarian revolution that the murders of hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers and peasants must be avenged! Only under the rule of a victorious working class can it be assured that the sadistic torturers and blood-stained butchers will be brought to justice.

DOWN WITH FRANCO—DOWN WITH CAPITALISM!

BUILD A SPANISH TROTSKYIST VANGUARD PARTY!

FORWARD TO A SOVIET FEDERATION OF THE IBERIAN PENINSULA!

CSL Is Dead

Platsky/Varga: Anti-Spartacist Odd Couple

It is too seldom that justice is both pnetic and rapid, but the recent demise nf the tiny rotten bloc known as the Class Struggle League (CSL) provides a rare example. The CSL, which for two years had been a fetid culture medium fnr slimy cliquism and unprincipled combinatinnism, has dissolved itself into two deformed creatures, each of which inherits the wnrst features of the discredited parent. Having failed together, the CSL leaders are now busy failing separately.

One wing of the former CSL, headed by Henry Platsky, has "fused" with the "Truth" group, itself the product nf a clique fight in the Revolutionary Socialist League. "Truth" follows the Paris-centered Internatinnal League Rebuilding the Fourth International (LIRQI) led by the highly dubious figure, Michel Varga.

Platsky, let us remember, is distinguished chiefly by his position in support of the suppressinn of the 1956 Hungarian revnlution. This baggage of betrayal he has carried around for years: frnm Sam Marcy's Workers World Party to the Vanguard Newsletter (VNL) group, tn the CSL and now tn "Truth."

Varga (Balazs Nagy) — Informations Ouvrières

Henry Platsky — WV Photo

But who is this Varga with whnm Platsky has nnw "fused"? The nnly bright spot in his pnlitical history is that Varga (Balazs Nagy) was nne of three secretaries nf the Petőfi Circle, whnse demands fnr educatinnal refnrm and the truth abnut the Stalinist practices nf the brutal Rakosi regime helped spark the Hungarian revolution. Thus the Platsky-Varga "fusinn" turns nut to be a shot-gun marriage of a new type—with guns pninted at each other's heads!

Varga ought to be tormented by recurring nightmares in which he sees himself speaking to assembled students and wnrkers during a mass meeting in Budapest, 1956, only to lnnk up and see Henry Platsky riding in atop a Russian tank preparing tn blow his head off in the name nf "the glnbal class war."

The other CSL remnant, headed by Harry Turner, nnw styles itself the Trotskyist Organizing Cnmmittee (TOC). The disintegration nf the CSL puts Turner back on square one of his shell game nf "revolutionary" politicking; he shares the square with a few friends who agree only to disagree.

In 1969 Turner had announced that his VNL would "begin, in effect...as a discussion group. It is our hope that agreement on principle and program will be forged, so that a democratic-centralist nrganizatinn will emerge from the circle." But nothing emerged from the circle except a smaller circle. Six years later the TOC nffers "what the forerunner of the Trotskyist Organizing Cnmmittee, Vanguard Newsletter, alsn offered, 'discussion, debate and a principled unity in action,' sn as to achieve the necessary clarity nf program...." Even after the shnrt-lived fusion which created the CSL—a rntten bloc between Turner's VNL and the fnrmer "Leninist Factinn" of the SWP (headed hy Vukovich and Stein, now departed for parts unknown)—had crumbled, Turner is still waiting for prngrammatic clarity to emerge frnm organizational unificatinn, rather than the other way arnund.

As we reported in *WV* No. 71 (20 June), the document of Turner's wing nf the CSL had four signers, only one of whom agreed fully with the program (Turner). After each of the other signatures asterisks appear, footnoting disagreements: nne signer objects to the section on China; another is for revolutionary defeatism on both sides in the Near East; the third takes exception to the position that Cuba is a deformed wnrkers state.

Nnw this document is circulating again, along with a TOC cnver letter of 25 June 1975 proclaiming it "the basic prngrammatic document of the TOC." But wait! It is not exactly the same dncument. It has gained a new signature—and, of cnurse, one more asterisk. This suppnrter disagrees with Turner's positions on Vietnam, the Near East and the Equal Rights Amendment!

The one constant point of programmatic agreement shared by all and sundry in the pathetic Platsky and Turner combines has always been and remains their gut hatred fnr the revolutinnary Trntskyism of the Spartacist League.■

The Invisible LIRQI

From its inception in 1973 as a split from the French OCI, the International League Rebuilding the Fourth International (LIRQI) of M. Varga has brandished its voluntarism as a sign of seriousness. In particular, as early as January 1974 the LIRQI has insisted that from its "Fourth Open International Conference" would emerge the "rebuilt" Fourth International not later than the summer of 1975 (letter to the Spartacist League, 12 September 1974). The LIRQI later pinned down the date of the resurrection of the Fourth International for the thirty-fifth anniversary of Trotsky's death, 20 August 1975 (*Quatrième Internationale* No. 10, March 1975).

As the date approached, the proclamations became ever more triumphant. But on July 5 the LIRQI had to announce that

> "The delay in fulfilling our tasks cannot be camouflaged by artificially maintaining dates without regard to the content of the goals which have been set.
>
> "The IEC has therefore decided to postpone the date for proclaiming the IRJ [Revolutionary Youth International] in Berlin to the month of December 1975. Consequently the Fourth Open International Conference, whose goal was the reconstructing of the Fourth International and whose date was set for 20 August of this year, has also been postponed to the end of January 1976."
>
> *Quatrième Internationale* No. 14, July 1975

Normally, the LIRQI does not even bother to publicly announce its failures. The founding conference of the IRJ was postponed from "spring" to July of 1975 without a mention. The LIRQI proudly acclaimed the affiliation of the Chilean OMR in September 1974; all references to the OMR, however, ceased abruptly and finally in February 1975 the OMR's split was admitted in print. A "dossier on the OMR" was promised in March but has not appeared.

Public demonstrations much trumpeted in the LIRQI press also tend not to materialize. A Paris demonstration against repression in Spain announced for 11 June was cancelled at the last minute.

Varga's U.S. satellite, the "Truth" group (now billed as the Trotskyist Organization/U.S.), is similarly embarked upon the construction of a phantom "mass revolutionary party." They have advertised one public function after another for which even they themselves have not bothered to show up.

When supporters of the SL/SYL went to the scheduled first meeting of the Committee for the Revolutionary Youth International in Chicago on April 5, they found nothing to expose; the room had not even been reserved. A founding meeting of the "Ford-Torrence Worker-Youth Circle" announced for August 9 likewise failed to materialize.

The TO/U.S. actually brought off one picket line to defend its imprisoned Spanish co-thinkers, but a planning meeting to build a second one never took place, nor did a rally announced for August 2.

Even such die-hard Potemkin Village organizers as Wohlforth/Mazelis would blush at the ghost town being built by Varga's little band of con-men.■

Mao's Army Smashes Workers' Strikes

In late July over 10,000 troops of the Chinese army, navy and air force were reportedly sent into 18 (some accounts say 22) factories in the industrial and port city of Hangchow, near Shanghai, to quell labor disturbances and "help with production." More recently, a 3 September UPI dispatch speaks of troops being dispatched to steel plants in Hofei and Huhehot and to a coal mine in Kiangsu province. A part of the troops in Hangchow were sent frnm distant regions after some local units went over to the side of the workers. Unrest in the coastal Chekiang province (of which Hangchow is the capital) has included workers' strikes for higher wages, factional struggle in the party and youth organizations, and a mini-purge of two party secretaries, the commander and the commissar of the military district. Already many of the striking workers of Hangchow have been sent tn "re-education" camps for rehabilitation through physical labor.

Mention of the Hangchow incidents has been made in a broad range of media, from the bourgeois Western news agencies to the Soviet papers, with some echoes even in the official Chinese press. According to a 15 August UPI dispatch, the workers' demands, at least in some regions, were not completely economic in nature. In Heilungkiang province, "some of the dissidents demanded 'independence from the (Communist) party'." One report quoted the Peking *Jen Min Jih Pao* ("People's Daily") of 14 July as saying that "a few counter-revolutionaries" and "followers of the capitalist path" were guilty of stirring up the trouble. U.S.-monitored radio broadcasts from Hangchow claim that the workers were "unable to increase production under the pernicious influence of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and bourgeois factionalism, and due to the

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions, $5.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

sabotage activities of a handful of class enemies" (*New York Times*, 29 July).

Regarding the origins of the strikes there is some speculation that the publicity given them indicates backing from a faction of the ruling bureaucracy. The 17-18 August *Le Monde* writes: "But is it surprising that the workers go on strike in Hangchow to protest against their leadership precisely when Mao, who a few weeks earlier had the right to strike written into the constitution, was staying there?" Other reports talk of anonymous letters received by diplomatic missions in Peking attacking persons who were purged during the "Cultural Revolution" of the 1960's and rehabilitated recently.

The Soviet press and that of the pro-Moscow Communist Parties have reported the Chinese workers' strikes with undisguised pleasure. A TASS dispatch notes that "dissatisfaction is growing not only in the cities, but also in the country....In the south-western provinces of Yunnan and Szechuan there have been uprisings of peasants" (*Komsomol'skaia Pravda*, 20 August). The *Daily World*, mouthpiece of the CPUSA, picked up on this with an article subtitled "Workers Battle for Rights" (23 August) from the Soviet press service, Novosti.

Closer to home the Russian bureaucrats have always imposed a news blackout on strikes in the Soviet Union and East Europe, or label them the product of CIA machinations. In this case, however, they report the Chinese strikes as being the result of popular discontent with Mao's anti-working-class policies, which they no doubt are. This phony pro-worker stance can boomerang against the Kremlin as Soviet workers could easily be inspired by the example of the Chinese strikers.

The recent Chinese strikes are not an isolated phenomenon and must be seen in the context of continuing repercussions from the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution" of the 1960's. Although the "GPCR" plunged China into turmoil and chaos, arousing millions of youth to political action, its only concrete result was the ousting of a few "capitalist roaders," most of whom are now back in power. In 1966 the Maoist wing of the bureaucracy, frightened by its extreme isolation, declared that, in Mao's words, "it is right to rebel." However, given an opening, the Chinese workers rebelled as much against Mao as against his bugbear, Liu Shao-chi. Mao's program for the workers was the same as Liu's—low wages and speed-up—and labor resistance culminated in the January 1967 Shanghai general strike and a major railway strike.

After a few months of indiscriminately inciting peasant and student youth against all "persons in authority," Mao soon realized that arousing the workers could quickly lead to a powerful proletarian *political* revolution which would topple all wings of the bureaucracy, including his own clique. In Shanghai, where the workers overwhelmingly supported the *anti*-Mao forces, organized as the Scarlet Guards, Mao *discouraged* even those few workers who were loyal to him from taking part in the "Revolution":

> "Even the Central Committee in Peking seems to have been reluctant to take the lid off the urban proletariat. Most instructions from the Center were cautious or ambiguous; workers were urged to 'stay at their jobs but take part in the movement after hours,' and the slogan coined for them was the practically meaningless 'Make Revolution: Boost Production'."
>
> —Neale Hunter, *Shanghai Journal: An Eyewitness Account of the Cultural Revolution*, 1969

The Hangchow events of this July must be seen as a continuation of the Chinese workers' strikes at the time of the "Cultural Revolution." According to the *Far Eastern Economic Review* of 15 August, the official sent to Hangchow to conciliate the workers, Wang Hung-wen, is the same man who performed that role in Shanghai during 1967. Although the government press labelled the striking workers either class enemies or their dupes, the People's Liberation Army (PLA) is allegedly treating these "enemies" mildly:

> "The bid to win hearts and minds is not confined to the presence of uniformed soldiers unswervingly devoted to Peking's policies. Considerable attempts have been made to improve welfare amenities in the factories through the efforts of army doctors, cooks, barbering and laundry teams."

The fact remains, however, that after all the talk of "winning hearts and minds," both in the touted "Cultural Revolution" and today, working-class unrest has been put down above all by sending in the army. Unlike the centrists and pseudo-Trotskyists like Mandel and Healy who, during the "GPCR," tailed the Red Guards and the overwhelmingly peasant PLA, the Spartacist League unambiguously denounced the Maoists and their strike-breaking activities and called upon the workers to split the army and win it over to the Trotskyist program of political revolution to oust the petty-bourgeois bureaucracy.

Among adulators of the Peking regime, such as Carl Davidson of the Maoist *Guardian* (27 August), the recent Hangchow strikes called forth diatribes against "economism," buttressed with quotes from Lenin's speeches on the need for austerity measures during the Russian civil war when the very existence of the Soviet state depended on maximum self-sacrifice by the proletariat. However, under present conditions in the degenerated and deformed workers states (from the USSR and East Europe to China, Vietnam and Cuba), economic demands of the workers are directed not against sacrifices necessary to win a civil war, defeat imperialist invasion or fulfill crucial plan goals, but rather against anti-working-class measures imposed by arbitrary and self-serving bureaucracies.

That strike movements in the deformed workers states almost instantaneously become political confrontations with the bureaucracy was clearly shown by the Polish strikes of December 1970. Beginning as a protest over price increases on basic necessities, they rapidly triggered military intervention by the Gomulka regime. The proletariat of the port city of Szczecin, led by workers council leaders from the shipyards, marched on the Communist Party headquarters and burned it down while singing the Internationale. But the area-wide general strike in the Baltic coast cities was eventually squelched through the appointment of a new premier, Gierek, as a reform gesture.

What the Polish workers lacked—as did the East German workers in 1953, the Hungarian workers in 1956, the Czech workers in 1968 and the Chinese workers both during the "Cultural Revolution" and today—was a Trotskyist party fighting against *all* wings of the bureaucracy. Revolutionary Marxists must support the just demands of the Chinese workers while warning against dangerous illusions of pressuring or reforming the despotic Stalinist misrulers. Only under the leadership of a conscious Trotskyist vanguard can the Chinese workers and their allies among the students, soldiers and collective farm peasants go forward to the proletarian political revolution, precondition to advance on the road to world socialism.■

Forum:

"The Politics of Crazy"

Speaker:
Charles Burroughs
SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 4 at 7:30 p.m.

306A Barnard Hall
Barnard College
NEW YORK

Smash the Anti-Red McCarran Act!

Let Hugo Blanco Into the U.S.!

The well-known Peruvian socialist militant and former peasant union leader Hugo Blanco has been denied entry to the U.S. by the State Department. After stalling until the last minute, Washington announced that Blanco, who applied for a visa in July and has a long list of speaking invitations, was "ineligible" under political exclusion sections of the Immigration and Nationality Act (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act). This law is blatantly anti-democratic, arbitrarily denying entry to those who "write or publish or advocate or teach...communist doctrine" as determined by the State Department. Once a person is declared "ineligible," the only way he can gain entry is with a special individual waiver from the government.

Blanco is only the latest victim of anti-communist harassment in the recent rash of political exclusions by the U.S. government. Among those denied entry are Cuban official Melba Hernandez, Ceylonese Trotskyist Edmund Samarakkody, Australian labor leader Laurie Carmichael, Ernest Mandel of the "United Secretariat," Italian CP functionary Sergio Segre and a throng of Chilean militants, most recently MIR spokesman Carmen Castillo.

It is critically important for the U.S. left to initiate a campaign aimed at striking down the cold-war McCarran-Walter Act. However, in the case of Segre the Italian Communist Party, rather than fighting the witchhunting law, has apparently decided to seek a deal on a waiver before even formally applying for a visa. Similarly the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) led by it have taken the tack that exclusion of Blanco "would violate the recent Helsinki Agreement" provisions for international freedom of movement, in particular provisions for promoting "international contact and communications between authors and publishing houses."

It is perfectly in order to point to the bottomless hypocrisy of Ford and Kissinger, who attack the Soviet Union's anti-democratic restrictions on travel for dissidents and then exclude alleged communists on undisguisedly political grounds. But this is no basis to fight McCarthyite exclusionism. Not Helsinki, but a massive international defense campaign is necessary to smash the witchhunting McCarran-Walter Act. We demand freedom of entry for all representatives and supporters of the international workers movement!

Now the decision to deny entry or issue a waiver rests with Henry Kissinger. One of the main authors of the Chilean coup of September 1973 is to sit in judgement over one of the Latin American militants who barely escaped that bloodbath alive. We protest this anti-communist exlusion! Let Hugo Blanco into the U.S.! Smash the McCarran-Walter Act!

The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League/U.S., urges that telegrams protesting Blanco's exclusion be sent to: Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, U.S. State Department, Washington, D.C. 20520.

TELEGRAM

Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State
U.S. State Department
Washington, D.C. 20520

The Partisan Defense Committee, legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, protests the denial of a visa for Hugo Blanco and demands that he be allowed to enter the United States. The viciously anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act, under which representatives of the international working-class movement are arbitrarily and unconstitutionally barred from entry, must be struck down.

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Copy to: USLA
156 Fifth Ave., Suite 600
New York, N.Y. 10010

Corridor Coalition After Ontario Elections

NDP: From Trudeau to the Tories

EDITOR'S NOTE: The following article is slightly abridged from Spartacist Canada *No. 1, October 1975, published by the Trotskyist League of Canada (TLC), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency. We congratulate our Canadian comrades on the publication of the first issue of their newspaper. Copies of* Spartacist Canada *can be obtained by writing to TLC, Box 6867, Station A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada.*

For the first time since the 1972-74 national "corridor coalition" with the Liberal Party, the social-democratic New Democratic Party [NDP] today finds itself wielding the balance of power in a minority government. The 18 September Ontario provincial elections brought an end to more than three decades of relatively stable rule by a majority Progressive Conservative government, reducing the PC's representation in the Legislature from 74 seats to 51 and elevating the NDP to the position of official governmental Opposition with 38. The provincial Liberals under Robert Nixon were displaced by the NDP, finishing third with 36 seats.

For Premier Bill Davis' Conservatives the situation is quite unstable. Unable to govern on the strength of their own votes, the Tories must seek an alliance, formal or otherwise, with one or both of the opposition parties in order to "make the minority government work." Historical animosities and their current relative political weights nationally mitigate against any viable Tory-Liberal alliance. Despite their third-place finish in this election, the Liberals are generally seen as the main bourgeois alternative to the Tories. Thus, just as the federal Liberals did when faced with a minority government in 1972, the provincial Tories are turning for support to the eager social democrats of the NDP.

In 1972, national NDP leader David Lewis agreed wholeheartedly to a bloc with the Liberals, proclaiming a strategy to "make Parliament work." Eighteen months later in the 1974 national election campaign, Lewis stated his party's intention to continue the corridor coalition "perhaps for two, three or four years" (*Globe and Mail*, 18 June 1974). The NDP was unable to do so only because it lost its balance-of-power position, dropping 15 of its 31 seats as the Liberals swept to a new majority. Lewis himself lost his seat in the Liberal sweep and was forced to step down as national leader.

Like Father, Like Son

Today the national NDP is temporarily too weak to pursue its tacit coalitionist strategy. But such is not now the case for its provincial affiliate in Ontario, where David Lewis' son Stephen led his party into the elections against a weakened Conservative Party and the seemingly resurgent Liberals with a stated strategy of fighting for (at best) second place and on a program which did not repudiate the coalition policy....

In his key campaign debate with Premier Davis, Stephen Lewis said *not one word* about the interests of labor or the unions. Lewis explicitly posed the NDP program as one to be taken up by the Tories—indeed as the campaign progressed Davis was forced to adopt key planks in the NDP's arsenal of populist reforms, such as a rent review board empowered to lower the rate of rent increases.

As early election night returns pointed toward a Conservative-led minority government with an NDP Opposition, Davis moved quickly to take up Lewis' implicit offer of support to a PC government willing to implement certain NDP policies. He praised the social-democrats' "constructive" campaign, pointedly remarking that "if this same kind of constructive approach is carried forward into the Legislature, we can look forward to progressive government" (quoted in *Globe and Mail*, 19 September). Lewis was quick to respond, pledging to approach the new Legislature "in good faith" and promising that the Conservative government "can last as long as the government meets the needs of the people of Ontario" (quoted in *Toronto Star*, 19 September)....

A number of bourgeois journalists have been predicting that the NDP's strategy is not a long-range coalition, but a goal of bringing down the government in six to nine months. The NDP is maintaining the "clever" politician's evasiveness on its future strategy and such analyses are simply speculative. No doubt the NDP will behave in accordance with the "realities" of political power maneuvers and may very well seek power in its own name in Ontario in the next year. However, so long as its approach is a tacit coalition with the Conservatives, it is the task of communists to expose this class-collaboration for the betrayal that it is.

Toronto Star/Jeff Goode

Stephen Lewis (left), leader of Ontario New Democratic Party with father David Lewis (center), former head of federal NDP.

Conditional Opposition to the NDP

Communists can give critical electoral support to reformist workers parties running in their own name—not as some kind of "prize" for their class betrayals, but as a tool to expose them....Critical support to the NDP in the 1972 British Columbia elections would have been a valuable tactic, enabling Marxists to exploit the contradiction between the NDP's stated intention to act in the independent interests of the working class and its betrayals once in office.

When a reformist workers party enters a government coalition with bourgeois parties, however, this contradiction is suppressed. The organic tie to the bourgeoisie that such coalitions represent means that the crucial question of class independence cannot be addressed through a critical-support tactic, but only by a policy of conditional opposition to the workers parties in the class-collaborationist bloc.... Communists must call upon workers parties within actual or tacit alliances to break with the bourgeois parties as a precondition to even the most critical support.

The NDP has not repudiated the policy of bourgeois coalitionism which it most clearly stated in the 1974 federal elections. In fact the party's July national convention implicitly confirmed the coalition policy by electing Edward Broadbent as the new party leader, a prominent member of the NDP's right wing who actively participated in the 1972-74 bloc. Broadbent symbolizes the rightward motion of the NDP in recent years, from the expulsion of the left-reformist Waffle caucus in Ontario in 1971 to the 1974 electoral policy. Disgruntlement within the party was reflected in the fact that Rosemary Brown, a black feminist from British Columbia and a relative unknown in leading NDP circles, came in as a surprise second to Broadbent in the elections.

The election campaign of the Ontario NDP was based on the same strategy of bourgeois coalitionism as the 1974 federal campaign, even if less overtly expressed and despite Lewis' disavowals of any intent to enter a more formal coalition. In this context it would have been folly to consider critical support a useful tactic in the election.

A far more useful policy, one that would have made an impression on the workers disgruntled with the party's class-collaborationist strategy and with their current economic situation, was a call for conditional opposition centered on the demand that the NDP repudiate coalitionism. This was the position of the Trotskyist League of Canada, as outlined in a 12 September statement distributed at NDP rallies and meetings of left groups during the week prior to the elections.

Canadian Left on the Elections

This position of conditional opposition was not, however, adopted by any of the ostensibly revolutionary groups on the Canadian left. The Communist Party, rather than directly addressing the question of the NDP, ran 33 of its own candidates on a call for the election of a "wide progressive bloc" to include everything left of the Conservatives, that is, an explicit call for a popular front. The CP thus did not represent an independent class pole in the elections and in no way merited support.

The ostensible Trotskyist groups all called for some variant of "critical" support to the NDP. The third-campist Independent Socialists (sometime self-proclaimed Trotskyists, depending on which member one talks to) and the Canadian-nationalist Socialist League both cast themselves in the role of pushing the NDP to the left, the IS pointing out that the NDP in power means progress in the fight against inflation and unemployment (*Workers Action*, 15 August 1975), and the SocL paying homage to the NDP's wretched program which they claim "clearly challenges the priorities of big business" (*Forward*, September 1975)!

The Revolutionary Marxist Group has covered itself with a more left, and essentially self-contradictory, veneer this election period, calling for an NDP vote with "no confidence," running through a list of the NDP's betrayals and then posing the question to which they clearly do not know the answer themselves: "After all this, why vote NDP?" ("NDP the Solution?," undated RMG leaflet, distributed in September). The RMG's only answer is—"in order to show what side of the class fence we're on"—precisely what the NDP's coalitionist policy *prevents* an NDP vote from showing.

> "I shall turn to my father as my political mentor. Not only does David Lewis have advice for me, but he will have to hold my hand from time to time. After all, he's Canada's resident expert on minority governments."
>
> —Stephen Lewis, quoted in *Toronto Star*, 19 September 1975

Critical Support to the LSA Candidate

The League for Socialist Action, reformist co-habitants with the RMG in the so-called "United Secretariat of the Fourth International," was the only left organization besides the CP to run a candidate in the name of its party in the elections. The platform of Robert Simms, LSA candidate in Brampton, was yet another variant of the minimum/maximum program so dear to the social-democrat's heart. Prior to the final plank calling for socialism (the maximum demand), the LSA program outlines a series of reform (minimal) demands which in no way can provide a bridge to the stated ultimate goal....

Despite the reformist nature of the LSA's program and its support to the NDP, the LSA was the only organization in the campaign which represented an independent working-class pole. For this reason, the Trotskyist League called for a vote to the LSA candidate, while pointing out that the LSA's overall program of reformism contradicts and will work against the political independence of the working class, that is, will betray the class in practice.

The compromise of labor's interests in favor of political blocs with the lackeys of the bourgeoisie is the strategy for working-class defeat. In Portugal today thousands of worker militants face a possible bloodbath at the hands of rightist reaction, because of the popular-frontist strategy of the Stalinists and social democrats and the adaptation to this popular frontism on the part of ostensible Trotskyists.

In a situation where much more is concretely at stake than in the recent Ontario elections, the logic of the politics of the LSA, RMG and IS can be seen in Portugal where their fraternal groups, the Liga Communista Internacionalista and the Partido Revolucionario do Proletariado, have *joined* an explicit class-collaborationist alliance, the so-called "revolutionary" or "popular united front" (see *Workers Vanguard*, newspaper of the Spartacist League/U.S., 12 September). Only the working class, independent of the bourgeoisie and conscious of its historical role under the leadership of an authentic Trotskyist vanguard, can lead a victorious socialist revolution.■

"Particularly dangerous has been the role of the Portuguese Socialist Party, which has sought to give a 'left' cover to the actions of openly counterrevolutionary elements. With CIA agents at work and the 'Portuguese Liberation Army' poised across the border in Spain, genuinely revolutionary forces must redouble their efforts to create organs of workers power, the only means to decisively crush bourgeois reaction."

—*Workers Vanguard*, 1 August 1975

"What is certain is that the real vanguard of the Portuguese working class at the present time participated in the SP demonstrations....
"In fact, the anti-Communist feeling in the SP demonstrations was less backward, since it was a reaction to real efforts at repression suffered at the hands of the Communist Party and its allies."

—*Militant*, 8 August 1975

"United States money for the Portuguese Socialist party and other parties is being funneled by the Central Intelligence Agency through West European Socialist parties and labor unions, the sources said. The C.I.A. involvement, the sources said, amounted to several million dollars a month over the last several months."

—*New York Times*, 25 September 1975

SWP Fronts for "State Department Socialism" in Portugal

For 10 years the Spartacist tendency has denounced the abject reformism of the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). Many militants, however, have been taken in by the SWP's utterly fraudulent pretense of Trotskyism. We have put forward many proofs: its class collaboration in the antiwar movement, its capitulation to union-busting black nationalism and expressions of confidence in the cops and troops of the bourgeois state. But nowhere is the SWP's belly-crawling support for the bourgeoisie more dramatically revealed than by its policies on Portugal, currently the sharpest focus of the international class struggle.

Against virtually unanimous evidence to the contrary from both the bourgeois and left-wing press, the SWP's *Militant* has brazenly portrayed the Socialist Party (SP) of Mario Soares as fighting for "democracy" in Portugal. But last week this fairy tale was blown sky-high as the U.S. government confirmed what had been widely alleged, namely that the Portuguese SP has been receiving massive financial backing, literally millions of dollars a month, from the CIA!

Catching the scent of a social-democratic party on the rise, the SWP began chasing after Soares after the Socialists totaled up 38 percent of the vote in elections last April. During the summer, the SWP press systematically obscured the manner in which the Portuguese SP's break to the right from the bonapartist Armed Forces Movement (MFA) was serving as a smokescreen for a wave of vicious anti-communist terror. The *Militant* of 8 August hailed the SP demonstrations, initiated in mid-June in order to pressure the military regime to crack down on militant workers, as a "turn to the masses." While reporting some of the anti-communist chants at the Socialist rallies, *Militant* writer Gerry Foley claimed that this sentiment was "less backward" than charges by the Portuguese Communist Party (CP) that the SP was "reactionary."

In France, the SWP's new-found friend, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI), goes ever further, baldly asserting that "the SP is defending, on a whole series of fundamental questions, that which is essential to the development of the combat of the working class..." (*Informations Ouvrières*, 10-18 September 1975).

As it became increasingly impossible to ignore the rightist mobilization led by Salazarist agents, clerical fascists and pro-NATO generals, the SWP has attempted to cover its tracks by backing off ever so slightly from its contemptible role as American press agents for Soares. The SWP's position had become so exposed that even the wretched American Stalinists were able to pose in a series of polemics in the *Daily World* as being to the left of the "Trotskyite" SWP. In defense, the *Militant* (19 September) wrote that "the general approach of the SP is not different from that of the Stalinists," but quickly came to the "exception" which tips the SWP's hand:

> "However, for a period of about seven weeks, from early June until late July, the SP took the lead in organizing mass demonstrations in the streets against the government's attempts to restrict democratic rights."

No less a luminary than Joseph Hansen, the agile pen of U.S. Pabloism, was called upon to glue this house of cards together. Conjuring up the shades of Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein, he described socialism as "expanding" bourgeois democracy "qualitatively, that is, extending it into the economic structure and thereby liquidating one of the features that distinguishes capitalism—totalitarian command on the level of production." The League for Industrial Democracy may have said it first, but they never claimed such social-democratic garbage was Trotskyism!

Now the SWP's fragile structure has collapsed as it turns out that Mario Soares' struggle to "expand democracy" is nothing more than classic "State Department socialism" on the CIA dole, and the Portuguese SP's heroic "seven weeks" came shortly after the U.S. Treasury turned on the spigot!

And should Hansen & Co. seek to discover a "right turn" by the SP in August or September, we would remind them that Soares' program has been absolutely consistent throughout. Leaving the government on July 11 in protest against the "communist dictatorship" represented by MFA plans for the creation of local "popular assemblies," the SP leader issued a program on July 28 calling for a "government of national salvation," headed by a "personality of the MFA," whose task it would be to crush all forms of "parallel power to the state apparatus" and "severely punish the armed militias...and popular vigilance committees." Some defense of democratic rights!

In sharp contrast to the SWP's shameless apologetics for Portuguese social democracy stands the revolutionary policy of the international Spartacist tendency. From the beginning of the pre-revolutionary situation following the overthrow of the rightist Salazar/Caetano dictatorship last year, we have called for the creation of soviets and for workers revolution, not the stabilization of bourgeois democracy. We have consistently raised democratic demands against the bonapartist measures of the demagogic officers, while calling on the working class to place no confidence in either the social democratic or Stalinist misleaders who tie it to the MFA.

Caught *in flagrante* by revelations of U.S. bankrolling of the SP, the SWP has apparently decided to brazen it out, continuing to wave the banner of the "Yellow International" while brushing off the CIA connection. Nevertheless, this cravenly counterrevolutionary policy has caused it considerable embarrassment and turned a September 26 New York forum into a virtual debate with the Spartacist League on Portugal. In his speech, SWP national organizational secretary Barry Sheppard, remarked:

> "The Spartacist League, which likes to pride itself on being strong against Stalinism and really answering the Communist Party, has flopped right into line like all the other ultra-lefts...looking at the SP as the main danger. Stupid error! The reality is that the Socialist Party in Portugal became the rallying point of a majority of the working class and therefore a key element in the radicalization of the workers and petty-bourgeoisie."

After implicitly equating radicalization of the masses with anti-communist lynch mobs, it was no trick at all to redefine socialism as "complete democracy," which Sheppard explained as the masses' "democratic right to think [!], to discuss, to make their own decisions and to struggle to change their economic and social conditions and to fight for a new society that would be in their interests."

Supporters of the Spartacist League countered this classless rhetoric of "complete" (formerly "consistent") democracy. They pointed out that the SL never claimed the SP was "the main danger," but rather that Soares played a particularly dangerous role in providing a cover behind which openly counterrevolutionary terror was mobilized. One SL supporter pointed out that, "What a real revolutionary party would have done was to call for united-front defense of the left...united-front defense of the CP offices that were under attack. Incidentally, the Socialist Workers Party did not even *mention* that the CP offices were under attack for three weeks, or two weeks and six days behind the *New York Times*."

Other SL supporters challenged Sheppard's deceitful portrayal of the Russian Revolution as a sort of single-issue campaign for the constituent assembly. They pointed out that while the Bolsheviks fought for democratic demands (including convocation of a constituent assembly, as the SL also called for in Portugal), they never struggled to create a bourgeois parliamentary system but to establish a *proletarian* state power, based on destroying the capitalist state and replacing it with organs of workers' rule. (The soviets ordered the dissolution of the constituent assembly in January 1918 when it sought to oppose soviet power.)

It is obvious that the appetite of the SWP is to fill the political niche left vacant by the absence of a mass reformist workers party in the U.S. This instinctively leads them to search out kindred spirits elsewhere. While Pablo in the 1950's abandoned the struggle for independent Trotskyist parties in order to tail after the Stalinists, the Pabloist SWP (like reformist social democrats worldwide) today tails directly after the bourgeoisie. Of course Hansen and Sheppard have criticisms of Mario Soares. But as every good Pabloist is nurtured on the theory that "blunted instruments" (such as Castroist guerrilla bands) can take power just as well as Trotskyist parties, the SWP today sees State Department socialism as a blunted instrument...for "complete/consistent" bourgeois democracy.■

Socialist Party demonstration in Lisbon, July 19.

Informations Ouvrieres

Bandaranaike Coalition Dumps LSSP

by Edmund Samarakkody

EDITOR'S NOTE: We are publishing below an article written for WV by Edmund Samarakkody, veteran Ceylonese Trotskyist and head of the Revolutionary Workers Party of Sri Lanka. This valuable account illuminates the political bankruptcy of the LSSP, which broke from the ostensibly Trotskyist movement to pursue unhindered its coalitionist parliamentary cretinism, only to finally reap the bitter reward of ignominious ouster from the Bandaranaike government. Due to space considerations it has been necessary to slightly shorten the article.

COLUMBO, September 15—The break-up of the Bandaranaike-led coalition government came on September 2 with the removal from office of the three Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP) ministers, N. M. Perera, Colvin de Silva and Leslie Goonewardena, by the president on the advice of Prime Minister Bandaranaike. What remains now is a Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) government, although the Communist Party (pro-Moscow) minister, Keuneman, continues in office.

The alleged provocation for the sacking of the LSSP ministers, which led to the break-up of the coalition government, was the speeches made by Perera and de Silva at a public meeting of their party in which they indulged in some criticism, by no means hostile, of the SLFP and its late leader, S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

But the alleged denigration of the name of the late SLFP leader was not the issue for the break-up of the coalition, especially as the LSSP decided on abject surrender by a public apology. And this could well have been the end of the matter. But the response of the Prime Minister was, significantly, to reject this apolngy out of hand and to inform the LSSP that she was re-shuffling her Cabinet and that Finance Minister Perera and Transport Mioister Gnonewardeoa would hold lesser portfolios.

Bandaranaike's move was too obvious. She believed that the LSSP would oot be able to agree to this demotion of its ministers, especially N. M. Perera, aod that she would then be free to take the oext step to remove the LSSP ministers and push the LSSP out of the coalition.

But the question, to be or not to be in the coalitino goveroment, was from the pniot of view nf the LSSP a momeotous decisioo. The party is wedded completely to coalitioo politics, and divorce was iocooceivable for its leaders. It was no surprise that the LSSP Central Committee debated the issue for several days. Apparcotly, some leadiog members argued strnogly fnr acceptiog the proposal of the Prime Minister, however damagiog it would be for the party, and in that way remaining in the gnvernmeot. But the majority apparently thought otherwise and decided to say "no."

WV Photo

Edmund Samarakkody

Nevertheless, having said "no," the LSSP leaders looked hopefully for a miracle to turn up to save them from what, in their view, was a calamity. The miracle they hoped for was opposition to the expulsion of the LSSP ministers by the SLFP left wing. But there was no such miracle. The SLFP Executive Committee, as well as its parliamentary group, lined up behind the Prime Minister, and the decision to expel the LSSP from the coalition received unanimous approval....

The reality behind the sacking of the LSSP and the break-up of the coalition is linked to the pressing problems of the survival of capitalism in Sri Lanka. The services rendered by the LSSP and CP tn the bourgeoisie through the coalition government were indeed iovaluable. Fnr the last five years these two parties have successfully contained and cootrolled the working class and the masses when the government and the capitalist class struck ruthlessly at their liviog staodards. What is more, the LSSP aod CP helped the SLFP to strengthen, more thao ever before, the repressive apparatus of the state aod eveo massacre io cold blood thousaods of youth who were suspected of beiog involved in the April 1971 youth uprising.

But all the past services of the LSSP and CP to the SLFP aod the bnurgeoisie are of no avail io the situation facing Sri Laoka's bourgenisie. The SLFP and the bourgeoisie oeed to go much further. The maintenance of capitalist profits io the context of the backlog of recurring and ever-growiog balaoce-of-paymeots prnblems io a backward country, io a contiouiog world economic crisis of capitalism, calls for a more systematic aod ruthless squeeze. And this cao be achieved only by breaking all resistance of the working people to such attacks. Concretely, this means that the trade unions and all other organisations of the working people, and the left movement, have to be smashed. And this is in line with the needs and advice of Sri Lanka's imperialist mentnrs, especially the U.S.

It is in such a context that the decision was taken to oust the LSSP and break the coalition. And this decision was made, not on September 2, but ahout as far back as the middle of 1974. And what is more, the LSSP as well as the public was made well aware that there was a drastic change in the relations of the SLFP to the LSSP when Prime Minister Bandaranaike launched her public attack on Marxism in a rural constitueney of the SLFP. Soon thereafter, Bandaranaike left no room for doubt about her intentions toward the LSSP when, while still on her visit to the Soviet Union, she sent orders from Tashkent banning the rally and public meeting nrganised by the LSSP-led Ceyloo Federation of Labour a few hours before it was due to take place. She even ordered a curfew to be declared to make it abundantly clear that the LSSP would be out of the coalition sooner rather than later.

But the LSSP followed an ostrich-like policy of burying its head in the sand when the storm was approaching. LSSP leaders stressed the need for "unity" and blamed unnamed enemies of the coalition government for seeking tn bring rifts betweeo the parties of the coalition. And they disarmed their ranks and supporters with declarations that complete harmony prevailed within the coalition.

Furthermore, the LSSP, even after it was sacked, far from even appreciating the reality of the coming offensive against the working people by the SLFP government and the forces of capitalist reaction, continues its faith in coalitinn politics. Its preoccupation after being ousted was to prove that it was loyal to the coalitioo aod that it was Baodaraoaike who broke the coalition; that she took this step because she was pressured by the reactionary forces. Far from eodeavnuring to draw a balance sheet of the coalition politics that led to the extraordioary strengthening of capitalist reaction, and to the catastrophic situation facing the workiog class and the masses, the LSSP leaders seek to go alnng the same road for another such betrayal. The LSSP is seeking only to disarm the workiog class and the left in this gravest hour for the working people.

The LSSP has expressed faith in the so-called left wing of the SLFP. It lost no time in calling fnr a "left froot" and has already indicated that it considers the left wing of the SLFP amoog the left forces in the country. The LSSP has not forgotten how it ... called for aod formed the "Uoited Left Front" which iocluded the Stalinists and the petty-bourgeois Philip [Gunewardena] group. N. M. Perera and the LSSP leaders know that at the appropriate momeot they broke even this "left front" to form the coalition goveroment with the SLFP in Juoc 1964.

LSSP leaders Colvin R. de Silva (above) and N. M. Perera.

The coalition politics of the LSSP will continue. It has been, withnut any such iotentions oo its part, thrown into the opposition benches io parliameot. While its leaders are denounciog the reactiooaries in the SLFP and blaming the Prime Minister for succumbiog to the pressure of the oewly emergiog industrial bourgeoisie and the reactionary forces, the party has nnt re-defined its attitude to the SLFP goveroment. It is ioconceivable that the LSSP will take the correct position of irreconcilable opposition to the goveromeot as a capitalist goveroment. Oo the contrary, it is very likely that the party will adopt the so-called policy of "respnosive cooperatioo" by which the leaders of this party deceived their ranks and the masses

continued on page 11

SWP Rewrites History of Betrayal by Ceylonese LSSP

The recent ouster of the LSSP from the Sri Lanka government has prompted the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP) to reiterate its version of the sordid story of the descent into full-fledged reformism of the LSSP, until 1964 the Ceylon section of the revisionist "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec). An article entitled "Balance Sheet of the LSSP's Betrayal" by Peter Green appeared in the 29 September 1975 issue of the SWP's *Intercontinental Press*. *IP*, edited by Joseph Hansen, is the SWP's international news digest and de facto factional organ of the USec's reformist Leninist-Trotskyist Faction.

In the main, the "Balance Sheet" is simply a bland rehash of the elaborate evasions concocted by USec leaders in 1964 to whitewash their complicity in this historic betrayal. It quotes liberally from 1964 articles by Ernest Germain and Pierre Frank as well as from documents (reprinted in *IP*, 22 September 1975) which found the USec madly scrambling to dissociate itself from the LSSP following the latter's entry into a bourgeois government in 1964.

In July of 1964 the LSSP accepted the invitation of Ceylon's Prime Minister, Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike, to join a coalition with her Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP). In constituting this classic *popular front*, sought by the bourgeoisie to enlist the services of a mass reformist party in disciplining the working masses and deflecting them from struggle, the LSSP demonstrated its complete abandonment of even lip-service to the fundamental proposition of revolutionary Marxism: the perspective of *class against class*.

The USec revisionists' need to maintain the pretense of fidelity to Trotskyist principles compelled them to speedily disavow this action by their Ceylonese section. They expelled the LSSP from the USec—hastily recognizing in its place the LSSP minority which split from the LSSP at that time and later constituted the LSSP (Revolutionary).

Germain and Frank were faced with the job of "proving" that the USec leaders had always opposed the reformist course of the LSSP. The *IP* recapitulates these 1964 efforts to claim that the USec (and its pre-1963 predecessor, the International Secretariat) had resolutely fought the LSSP's courtship of the Ceylonese bourgeoisie. It resurrects a rather mildly phrased 1960 public criticism of the LSSP's electoral policy of a mutual support bloc with the SLFP (as well as a more outspoken criticism emanating from the SWP, which had little to lose as it was not then associated with the International Secretariat).

The central falsification is the attempt to discover a sharp breakaway into reformism by the LSSP in 1964, although weaknesses are acknowledged as predating the entry into the government. In fact, the LSSP had begun openly courting the Ceylonese bourgeoisie much earlier. Almost in passing *IP* mentions the party's vote for the "Throne Speech" in which Bandaranaike laid out the intentions of her government after its 1960 electoral victory. *IP* follows the same tactic by mentioning the LSSP's policy of "responsive cooperation" without locating it precisely in time. This policy, undertaken vis-à-vis the 1956 government and prefigured even earlier, meant that the LSSP explicitly defined itself as not in opposition to the capitalist government.

An interesting aspect of the *IP* account, perhaps unintended by its editors, is that Edmund Samarakkody emerges as the hero of the piece. The story of the struggle against the LSSP's capitulation cannot help but feature Samarakkody as a pre-eminent figure: Samarakkody, along with Meryl Fernando, breaking party discipline to vote against the "Throne Speech"

continued on page 10

Calls Cops to Suppress Spartacist Literature

Lawyers Guild Tramples on Workers Democracy at Berkeley "Extravaganza"

BERKELEY, September 27—The National Lawyers Guild, an organization of radical/liberal lawyers and "legal workers" which claims to be the defense arm of "the Movement," today called on the police to protect its "Law Student Extravaganza" from exposure to Spartacist League literature. But despite their best efforts to "quietly" get rid of the SL, Maoist leaders of the Guild were unable to prevent the issue of this anti-communist exclusion and use of the cops against left groups from erupting on the floor of the conference and drawing sharp criticism from many participants.

The incident began as supporters of the SL set up a literature table outside the conference in the hall of Hastings Law School on the University of California (Berkeley) campus. A group from the Guild, apparently in charge of maintaining "law and order" at the Extravaganza, sent a school watchman to tell the Spartacists to take down the table. When this failed Guild organizers surrounded the table and tried to take it down themselves. SLers were told that they were not invited to the conference and that no political groups had the right to sell in the building. However, inside the meeting a representative of China Books, run by the pro-Peking U.S.-China Friendship Association, set up a table and displayed a huge poster of Mao without objections from the Guild.

The Extravaganza organizers, including known Maoists, then turned to the bourgeois state to do their hatchet work. A squad of city police arrived in the hallway, alarming many conference participants who came outside to find out what was happening. Perplexed at the Guild's explanation of why the SL should not be permitted to sell there, one cop asked, "What's the matter, are they [the SL] too revolutionary for you?" Discovering that the Guild did not represent Hastings Law School and had only rented rooms for the day, the cops said it was out of their jurisdiction and summoned the California State Police. The latter also turned down the job, turning it over to the campus cops. After some time a dean appeared, flanked by a Guild organizer, and told the Spartacists to take down the table until they could fill out a permit to sell in the building.

Many law students and others at the conference were outraged at this grossly anti-democratic political exclusion. Spartacist supporters at the table were baited as "macho women" by a Guild organizer, who accused the SL of "inverted chauvinism" because women supporters of the SL present were prepared to defend their table and their right to an organizational presence outside the conference. This obscene sexism can be expected from the various Maoists who embrace the reactionary nuclear family and propagate bourgeois puritan bigotry on sexual questions. (Supporters of the Maoist October League reportedly are pressuring to prevent homosexuals from holding office in the Guild!) On the other hand, one Spartacist supporter was told by a Guild organizer that he thought they should have kicked the SL out themselves—a real macho exclusion!

Meanwhile, inside the conference a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), non-sectarian legal defense arm of the Spartacist League, was invited to the podium by keynote speaker Howard Moore, a prominent black civil rights attorney, to protest the vicious harassment outside. The PDC spokesman denounced this violation of workers democracy as a deliberate political exclusion, pointing to the prominently displayed Mao poster to prove her point. Moore then condemned the Guild organizers for calling the cops and said the SL should be invited inside the conference.

Seeing that many present were furious at the incident, a Guild organizer rose to defend calling the police. "We shouldn't be ashamed of calling the cops," he said, because "it's true that police can be an arm of oppression but also true that police are an arm of protection against violent crime. Oppressed masses [i.e., the National Lawyers Guild!!] have to be able to call on police for protection." Moore took issue with this absurd "analysis," stating that police are parasitic and a law unto themselves, and can never be relied upon to protect the oppressed.

Workshops followed the opening address. A member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), a class-struggle opposition in the Communications Workers of America, who attended the labor law workshop told a *Workers Vanguard* reporter that most of the discussion centered around suits against various unions by labor law collectives inside the Guild. In particular, two suits based on the anti-labor Landrum-Griffin Act have been brought against San Francisco Culinary Workers Local 2 over elections and accountability of funds.

Dan Siegel, a member of the Fruitvale law collective who is reportedly sympathetic to the views of the October League, discussed plans to bring in the U.S. Labor Department to monitor elections in a San Jose Teamster local of cannery workers. It is only logical that those who call on the police to suppress communist literature should make the axis of their strategy inside the labor movement an open invitation to the bourgeois state to "clean up" the unions. The class line apparently bends a little around the cops and courts for these Maoist "radical" lawyers when they attempt to bring their expertise to the working class. Recent injunctions against United Farm Workers organizers during the government-run union representation elections should disabuse any thinking person of the notion that the state is neutral toward the labor movement. Ousting the parasitic labor bureaucracy and turning the unions to the path of class struggle is the job of militants armed with a revolutionary program, not cops and courts of the class enemy!

Siegel finished by saying that the Fruitvale law collective only handled cases in which they had political unity with the defendants. "We would never defend members of the SL," he said, "because that would be political prostitution." Such a narrow, sectarian conception of legal defense work only strengthens the bourgeoisie's attacks on the left. Under James Cannon, a founder of American Trotskyism, the Communist Party-led International Labor Defense (ILD) vigorously supported the anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti during the 1920's, despite political differences. In sharp contrast, the Stalinized CP in 1941 refused to defend 18 Trotskyists and leaders of the Minneapolis Teamsters jailed for opposing World War II as an imperialist war. This sectarianism only paved the way for jailing of CP leaders under the same witchhunting Smith Act later in the decade. (Despite the Stalinists' despicable sectarian backstabbing, the Trotskyists nonetheless defended CP defendants against the government.)

Continuing the tradition of the ILD, the PDC seeks to build a non-sectarian pro-working class legal defense organization, defending socialist, labor and left militants (regardless of their political affiliation) against attacks by the capitalist state. Radical lawyers and students in the Guild who desire to use their knowledge in the service of the left and labor movement should contact the Partisan Defense Committee for additional information. They should also vigorously protest the Stalinist-style exclusion of the Spartacist League from outside the Guild conference. ■

259 Wilmington Teachers Under House Arrest

One-Day State-Wide Strike Backs Delaware Teachers

WILMINGTON, Delaware—In the midst of a series of teachers strikes throughout the country, labor leaders here took the unaccustomed step of calling a one-day state-wide work stoppage September 24 to protest the vicious government assault against striking members of the Wilmington Federation of Teachers (WFT). Faced with a clear attempt to break both the strike and the union, state AFL-CIO leaders had no choice but to denounce as a "union-buster" their "friend" in the Democratic Party, Mayor Thomas Maloney.

After first provoking the strike and then stalling negotiations, despite grovelling attempts at appeasement by WFT officials, Maloney ordered his cops to move on strikers picketing the Board of Education building only two days before the planned Delaware-wide "sympathy" action. Some 259 teachers were arrested, released, and then ordered by a judge to remain "quarantined" in their homes from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. in order to prevent them from picketing.

This sweeping house-arrest order only further incensed the embattled teachers. Asked if she intended to return to the picket lines in spite of the "quarantine," one teacher replied defiantly, "Hell, yes!" Signs at the downtown Wilmington rally on the day of the state-wide stoppage included "Stop Fascist Terror Tactics" and "No Contract, No Work."

Having gained a well-deserved reputation as a hard-line opponent of labor in earlier dealings with firemen and sanitationmen, Maloney has personally directed the attack on the teachers union, thus graphically demonstrating the futility of labor officialdom's one-way "alliances" with capitalist politicians. Four of the seven members of the school board are Maloney's appointees, and the "negotiations" are being conducted by an assistant city solicitor who is also the chief prosecutor of the arrested teachers in court!

There have been no real negotiations so far. Mayor Maloney refused to extend the WFT contract as requested by the teachers union leaders to permit further bargaining, and obtained an injunction against the strike before it began. It took two weeks to get the school board to even begin talks, during which time registered letters were sent to the teachers breaking their contracts individually. According to WFT president James Warnick, the board then walked out of the session after only an hour, despite concessions made by the union at the meeting!

Local and state union officials have done their best to restrain the teachers' struggle and keep it within the bounds of the bureaucracy's perspective of class collaboration. While defending the union principle of "no contract, no work," Warnick has followed the defeatist lead set by AFT president Albert Shanker's capitulation in the recent New York City teachers' strike. Although the official demand for a 12 percent increase in each of the four years of the contract would probably fail to keep teachers abreast of inflation, the WFT head declared that this was "only the asking price. We're willing to settle for less than that."

Despite Maloney's attacks and Warnick's conciliation, the strike has remained about 85 to 90 percent effective, with good morale in the 1,200-member union and good response throughout the city. Teacher demands for such improvements as lower class sizes have produced support from the predominantly black population of Wilmington. In addition, the rally on the day of the support strike drew a number of construction workers. However, the demonstration was attended by only about 400, out of roughly 25,000 AFL-CIO members in Delaware.

While the very calling of a state-wide general strike to back the teachers was a welcome break from the established pattern of letting each union win or lose in total isolation, the poor turnout must be laid at the doorstep of the labor bureaucracy. Since the courts had enjoined teachers and other public employees from participating in the work stoppage, WFT and state AFL-CIO leaders urged them to stay away from the September 24 rally. It was clear that the union leaders did not mobilize anywhere near the full force of labor for the "general strike."

UPI

Wilmington, Delaware, police handcuff one of 259 teachers arrested during strike.

The perspective laid out by speakers at the rally was less than promising. John Campanelli, president of the Delaware State Labor Council, speaking about the law prohibiting public employee strikes, said, "We are going to demand a law where not only we have to sit at the bargaining table, but they have to sit there too, regardless." Such a law would not even provide free collective bargaining, but simply compulsory bargaining. Without the right to strike, public workers would remain chained to compulsory arbitration, at the whim of the employers' state.

Worst of all was the officials' predictable ignoring of the political lesson of the WFT strike. Campanelli was quoted in the Communist Party's *Daily World* (24 September) as calling for the state-wide work stoppage in order to "bring to the attention of the community the sorry political mess" that forced teachers to prolong their strike into the third week. What neither the labor bureaucrat nor the reformist CP said is that labor support for capitalist politicians is responsible for creating this mess.

At the Wilmington rally Campanelli admitted to a *WV* reporter that the AFL-CIO had supported Maloney for election, adding that unions are now threatening to withdraw their support if the mayor does not mend his ways! Such "threats" are impotent, for at best they represent nothing more than cheap maneuvers in a futile "strategy" of class collaboration. Instead of a token general strike and political support to the class enemy, Wilmington teachers (and all workers) need to dump the sellout labor bureaucracy and replace it with a leadership committed to a class-struggle program for *victory*, including demanding a workers party to struggle for a workers government. The treacherous policies of the Campanellis and Warnicks only increase the dangers of union-busting. ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

also about 15 units and services of the Lisbon Military Region" along with elements from the navy, some parachutists and "quite a few officers dressed in civilian clothes."

After a march through Lisbon, the demonstrators gathered to listen to speakers. A spokesman for the SUV expressed solidarity with the disabled veterans, then called a demonstration the next day at a military prison across the river in Trafaria to demand the freeing of two soldiers jailed for distributing SUV leaflets attacking the military command. According to *República* (26 September) the crowd shouted back "today, today," and then "now, now!" Protestors quickly commandeered a fleet of buses and, accompanied by hundreds of cars, streamed across the April 25 Bridge, exchanging revolutionary greetings as they passed toll booths occupied by the veterans.

In Trafaria the fort was surrounded and barricades were thrown up in the streets. UPI reported tanks stationed on the suspension bridge to prevent reinforcements from reaching the besieged jail. Finally, in the early morning hours the two soldiers were released, on orders from General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho.

General Staff Challenges COPCON

General Carvalho also played a role in yesterday's events, sending troops to take over the "far left" dominated Radio Renasçenca. The troops reportedly did not stop the staff from broadcasting but also did not leave. When Carvalho attended a meeting at the Information Ministry he was booed by left-wing demonstrators.

Usually referred to as leader of the extreme left of the Portuguese officer corps, Carvalho is head of the elite COPCON strike force and governor of the Lisbon Military Region. This makes him the most powerful commander of combat troops not part of the now-dominant right wing of the MFA. In fact, however, Carvalho is only the most opportunist of the top officers. And while alternately leaning toward syndicalist-led workers commissions and then the "Group of Nine" anti-Communist officers, he has always been consistent in two things: opposing anything which threatens the existence of the armed forces (e.g., workers militias or soldiers committees) and denouncing all political parties.

Carvalho has given the general staff a good deal to worry about lately. Upon leaving for a short trip to Sweden last week he declared that "As soon as I feel betrayed [by the government], I have no doubt that from that moment on I will immediately betray the government" (*Diario de Noticias*, 22 September). In addition to the by-now universal plotting, there is the far more serious matter of 1,000 G-3 automatic rifles which disappeared during transport in early September. Last week the COPCON officer in charge of moving the arms, Captain Alvara Fernandes, declared in an interview that he diverted the guns to "revolutionary workers and peasants." Fernandes, who is in hiding, stated that he considers Carvalho still a revolutionary, and that he merely "extrapolated" his orders from the COPCON chief (*República*, 24 September). Carvalho replied that the arms "are in good hands" since they are with the left.

Given the small size of the Portuguese army (less than 50,000 combat troops in the country) and the very few relatively secure units controlled by the top command (not even a handful), MFA leaders are deeply worried by the spectre of armed workers uniting with dissident leftist soldiers. The high command answered the workers demonstrations the day after the SUV march in Lisbon by creating a new strike force, the Military Intervention Group (AMI). The AMI is clearly intended to shunt the "unreliable" Carvalho aside, having functions identical to those of COPCON and a commander firmly part of the "moderate" right wing. In response, General Carvalho immediately convened an assembly of delegates of the Lisbon Military Region which adopted a communiqué backing COPCON against the new intervention group.

Split the Army!

Since the beginning of the pre-revolutionary situation in Portugal, the Spartacist tendency has called for the

Informations Ouvrieres

Left: workers commission at Lisnave shipyards leads march of 6,000 against government no-strike law, 12 September 1974. Right: members of "popular vigilance committees" stop cars entering Lisbon to check for arms during attempted rightist putsch, 11 March 1975. Goal of the new Portuguese government is to suppress all soldiers committees and workers militias, and to break the back of workers commissions.

establishment of workers councils, workers militias and soldiers committees, and their unification in a national soviet as the means to advance toward socialist revolution. We also called for united-front defense of the left against the wave of anti-communist terror this summer, and (during the recent drive for power by the MFA right wing, as in attempted rightist putsches on 28 September 1974 and 11 March 1975) for a temporary military bloc even with leftist sections of the MFA.

But while emphasizing the need for united-front initiatives and joint military action, we have always stressed the central importance of building an authentic Trotskyist party and the need to break the masses' illusions in the bourgeois MFA. In contrast, much of the left has tailed after the so-called "progressive sector of the MFA," and in particular General Otelo de Carvalho. Much was made, for instance, of his recent statement that "in case of emergency, I would immediately turn over arms to the people." However, he immediately defined "the people" as those in whom COPCON units have confidence. He also criticized the seizure of the guns as unnecessary and potentially harmful, since they were allegedly given to a political party.

Carvalho saved his sharpest criticism for the SUV soldiers committees which, he said, "however well intentioned they may be, appear as a counterrevolutionary activity.... I watch with a certain preoccupation the appearance of such organizations which... increasingly disintegrate the armed forces" (*República*, 26 September). Likewise he denounced as inopportune the demand "reactionaries out of the barracks right now!" and declared that "the great majority of the Portuguese people is of a conservative frame of mind" and is "afraid" and "shocked" by activities such as those of the SUV.

But this commitment to the maintenance of the capitalist armed forces is not limited to generals. The lowly captain Fernandes who "diverted" the 1,000 guns complained that if the privates and sergeants had "assumed their responsibilities and together had supported the officers who placed themselves decisively on the side of the working class, my gesture would not have been necessary." In other words, it is only the desperate situation posed by the threatened purge of the military by the high command that led Fernandes to break discipline. This is not insignificant, for Fernandes is one of two authors of the famous "COPCON document" (calling for "popular assemblies" to cement the "MFA-People Alliance") and also the main initiator of the "Revolutionary (or Popular) United Front" (FUR) formed on August 25 by the CP and five other leftist parties to support the "fifth provisional government" headed by Vasco Gonçalves.

Even in going underground the best-known "revolutionary officer" in Portugal reaffirmed his support for the bourgeois military. Even when threatened with dissolution of his command, General Carvalho condemns soldiers committees and sends troops to repress leftist workers. This should be a graphic lesson to those impressionists who believe the MFA, or its "progressive sector," can be a revolutionary force. It is necessary to split the capitalist army, organizing the soldiers *against* the command structure and in alliance with the workers movement. The signers of the August 25 FUR communiqué, supporting the MFA and the Gonçalves government, tied the workers to the class enemy, thereby proving themselves to be *obstacles* to the independent mobilization of the proletariat.

CIA Gold to Soares

While events in Portugal centered on the confrontation between the government and leftist workers, the *New York Times* reported on 25 September that vast amounts of U.S. money have been funneled to the Portuguese SP, as well as to anti-communist nationalist movements in Angola (the FNLA and UNITA). According to "four official sources in Washington,"

> "United States money for the Portuguese Socialist party and other parties is being funneled by the Central Intelligence Agency through West European Socialist parties and labor unions, the sources said. The C.I.A. involvement, the sources said, amounted to several million dollars a month over the last several months.... "Until the spring, most of the Western aid to anti-Communist forces in Portugal was being given secretly by the West German Social Democratic party and the Belgian Socialist party without any American involvement."

Although Socialist Party leader Mario Soares heatedly denied receiving CIA dollars, the information was confirmed the next day by a State Department official, who put the amount received by the SP as "$2-million to $10-million a month" according to Associated Press.

The heavy flow of U.S. backing to the SP, the bourgeois PPD and several far-right groups has long been presumed. But by publicly confirming these facts, for whatever motive, the U.S. government was admitting the utter hypocrisy of President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger's warnings to the USSR in August to keep "hands off Portugal." The rhetoric of the Helsinki accords on "non-interference" in other countries is shown to be just so much cant, and Ford's statement that while "Western European countries are helping their Social Democratic friends in Portugal.... because of the [Congressional] CIA investigation and all the limitations placed on us in the area of covert operations, we aren't able to participate with other Western European countries" (*U.S. News and World Report*, 11 August) is revealed as an outright lie.

While the CIA is now trying to clean up its image, insinuating that "dirty tricks" are a thing of the past, this money is far from being the sum total of U.S. intervention to shore up capitalist rule in Portugal. The very real Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP), which has been increasingly active in recent months, is reported with good evidence to be advised by Latin American CIA operatives, and several known American intelligence agents have been observed at the U.S. embassy in Lisbon in recent months. There is no doubt that U.S. imperialism is doing its best to "repeat Chile in Europe."

But to revolutionaries this should not be surprising. The CIA funnelled millions of dollars to West European social democrats and anti-Communist unions during the late 1940's and early 1950's as well, just as it greatly aided reactionary plotters and ultra-rightists in Chile. It is necessary to demand the abolition of the CIA and removal of all U.S. forces from Europe. But in the main, counterrevolution, just like revolution, grows out of the internal contradictions and the concrete political struggle in Portugal. The Portuguese trusts, Salazarist bishops, domestic fascists, pro-NATO generals and admirals, etc., are quite capable of raising the banner of counterrevolution themselves.

A showdown looms on the Portuguese horizon, as it did in Chile in 1973. It is not too late for Portuguese militants to learn the tragic lesson of Chile. Those who had been the most unshakeably confident in Allende's "road to socialism," who had dismissed as "sectarian purism" all warnings that the "progressive Chilean bourgeoisie—unless expropriated *as a class*, and its state power *destroyed*—would unleash a bloody reaction against the workers, scrambled to lay the entire responsibility for the junta's bloody coup at the CIA's door. To be sure, the CIA exists to promote and assist reaction, and seeks to smash revolutionary struggles wherever they break out. But the "revolutionary" Pollyannas of today reveal on the morrow their underlying defeatism, for the logic of their self-alibiing position is that so long as the CIA exists, no revolution can possibly win.

The CIA, an arm of American imperialism, is not all-powerful. In Portugal today the key to proletarian victory is a revolutionary policy. U.S. imperialism, its allies and lackeys seek to defend, with all the formidable weapons of terror at their disposal, a decaying social order. A revolutionary Trotskyist party would turn the struggle to defeat reaction in Portugal into a struggle for proletarian power—breaking the workers from their illusions in the MFA, splitting the army, arming the workers, creating organs of dual power and fighting for soviet power. It is the treacherous misleaders of the Portuguese working masses, with their policy of class collaboration, who give the bankrupt bourgeois order a new lease on life and facilitate the murderous machinations of the CIA.■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday 3:00-6:00 p.m.
330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.
650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday 3:00-7:30 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.
260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- Milton Friedman and "Chicago Boys" Implicated in Chilean Repression: Protest Barbaric Junta's Collaborators!
- Pat Swinton Acquitted: Abolish All Conspiracy Laws!
- SWP/YSA Pushes "New Civil Rights Movement": Ex-Trotskyists Tail Uncle Toms
- Banker Barons Slam New York City!
- Portuguese Workers Must Take Power!

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
$2/11 issues

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____
79

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

Letter:

29 September 1975

To the Editor:

Workers Vanguard No. 74 (1 August) reprints a Partisan Defeose Committee telegram dennunciog the State Department's denial of entry into the U.S. to Cuban official Dr. Melba Hernaodez. The telegram also called for strikiog down political exclusion provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act (officially entitled Immigratioo and Nationality Act of 1952). It should be clear that the PDC is for abolishing the rest of the McCarran-Walter Act as well. In additioo to the reactionary exclusion provisions, this act is the fouodation for the class-biased, racist and chauvinist immigration policies of the U.S., as well as provisions for deportation of "undesirable alieos."

The Partisan Defeose Committee fights for the abolition of all legislatioo associated with McCarraoism and McCarthyism, such as the Interoal Security Act of 1950 (popularly known as the McCarran Act) whose uncnostitutiooal and anti-democratic provisioos include setting up "detentioo camps" for "subversives" (of which the government kept at least one list with over 10,000 oames) in times of "natiooal emergency." The struggle to defend and extend the democratic rights of working people in the U.S. is intimately linked with, aod oecessitates a relentless struggle for, the right of entry fnr all supporters and representatives of the international workers movement.

Comradely,

Reuben Shiffmao
for the Partisan Defense Committee

Bridges' Contract

(continued from page 12)

work gangs would be reduced by approximately 25 percent through attrition as the gang bosses die or retire.

Local 10 Paralyzed

Uofortunately, Local 10 has beeo paralyzed in the face of the drastic cut in the PGP and the PMA's move to crack down on working conditions. The civil war in the Local, between Bridges supporters and those led by now-suspeoded Local 10 president Larry Wing, continues with full fury.

Thus the Thursday, September 18 union meeting was dominated by squabbles between the pro-Wing and pro-Bridges forces. As reported in a recent issue of *Workers Vanguard*, the pro-Bridges forces, incensed by Wing's nppositioo to their policies of raiding and scabbiog during the recent SUP/MFOW strike, moved to impeach the Local 10 president on trumped-up and vague charges of "malfeasance and misfeasance in office." This was done despite *five* votes by the August 21 membership meeting rejecting these charges as being too vague to constitute a basis for a trial.

As we also reported, Wing retaliated by moving to impeach the pro-Bridges secretary-treasurer Carl Smith for suspendiog him in disregard of the August 21 votes. Then Wing weot running to the bosses, suing the union in the capitalist courts to get his job back.

Longshoremen who atteoded the September 18 meeting thus faced two petitioos calliog for removal of the Local's two main officers, Wing and Smith. Immediately the issue was posed of who would chair the meetiog. With Lupher, a loog-time Bridges supporter, chairing, a vote on this question was taken. It was immediately protested since ooly those on the floor of the hall had their votes counted, but not those in the balcony of the packed meeting hall. Wing lost the "vote" by a small margin, and vice-president Watson chaired the meeting.

The meeting theo proceeded to vote to accept the charges and select trial committees for both Wing and Smith. This reflected real aoger among the members of the Local aimed at both officials—for raiding on Smith's part aod Wing's dragging the union through the bosses' courts.

With both main officers of the Local suspended peoding trial there is a real daoger that Bridges will take the opportunity to move in and put the Local into receivership. Disgusted with the antics of Smith aod Wing, a certain section of the membership might well be prepared to accept receivership. Bridges has been involved in a long war with Local 10, origioally to gain possession of the Local's hall in order to sell it to the Alioto family, and more recently because the Local has become a ceoter of opposition to his last contract sellout.

If Bridges is able to put this explosive Local into receivership it will simplify his job of forcing longshoremeo to accept the employers' terms without a struggle. West Coast longshoremen must not allow this to happeo. Any move by Bridges toward receivership must be resolutely opposed. The first step to eliminatiog this danger is to get both sides to drop their charges and put an eod to the wrangliog that is preveoting the Local from getting down to the business of fighting the PMA's attacks.

The September 18 uoion meeting showed that a lot of the ranks share this sentiment. Thus a motion by CP supporter Archie Brown urging both sides to drop their charges got loud applause. Unfortunately, Brown's motion and a similar one put forward by Stan Gow of the *Longshore Militant* were arbitrarily ruled out of order.

While an end to the bureaucratic squabbliog is vital for cooducting a struggle against the PMA bosses, it is far from sufficient. Neither Bridges nor Wing nor reformist fakers such as Archie Brown have showo the capacity or will to fight the capitalist bosses. The attack on longshoremen is not an isolated attack. The attacks on wages and working conditions, the whipping up of racial hysteria, chauvinist protectionism and campaigns against foreign workers—all these are part of a general capitalist drive toward a new imperialist war. Simple trade-union militancy and reformist horse-trading are not adequate in this situation. Only a leadership committed to the international perspective of putting an end to capitalism can show the way forward. The problem of forging such a leadership is not simply the problem of the ILWU but the problem of the eotire working class.■

SWP Rewrites . . .

(continued from page 7)

in 1960; the "Samarakkody-Tampoe motion [which] was opposed in principle to any coalition" at the 6-7 June 1964 LSSP split cooveotion; the founding statement of the minority which split rather than enter the government, issued by Samarakkody; Samarakkody's 15 July speech in which the "revolutiooary wing" "scathingly attacked the LSSP traitors" thereby preserving "the program of Trotskyism and the honor of the Fourth Internatiooal."

A full and authoritative account by Edmund Samarakkody of the history and definitive degeneration of the LSSP and the fight nf its revolutionary elements to uphold the essential principles of Trotskyism appeared in *Spartacist* No. 22, Winter 1973-74. It illuminates the battle waged *beginning in 1957* by the tendency arouod Cnmrade Samarakkody to reverse the LSSP's degeneration. It documents the fuodamental disinterest of the Ioternational Secretariat in this struggle and its sudden discovery of the LSSP's reformism only *after* the 1964 split (Pierre Frank had refused to support the minority at the coovention itself). Hansen and the USec have never dared to respood to this account.

But prior to this recent article, *IP* had oot been entirely silent about Edmund Samarakkody—far from it! The recent "Balaoce Sheet" ootes in a footoote that Samarakkody "split from the section with a small group after the April 1968 confereoce." We are curious as to the restraiot shown by *IP* on this occasion. For on 19 March 1973 this same *IP* levelled the gravest of charges against Comrade Samarakkody and the Spartacist tendency.

In the fall of 1972, *Spartacist* No. 21 had precipitated ao ioternational furor by publishing suppressed documents of the USec's own "Ceylon Commission" at its April 1969 "World Coogress," supplied to us by Comrade Samarakkody. The two reports of the Commission described "actions and policies of Comrade Bala [Tampoe, head of the USec's Ceylon section] and the LSSP(R) brought to our attentioo by Comrade Edmuod aod not denied by Comrade Bala." Among these "actions" were a trip by Tampoe to the U.S. finaoced by the CIA-fuoded Asia Foundation aod a private chat with U.S. imperialism's minister of war, "Defense" Secretary McNamara.

The tack taken by *IP* on 19 March 1973 was to deny the authenticity of the documents aod the very existence of the Ceylon Commission, to lump Edmund Samarakkody and the Spartacist teodency together with the notorious Healyite teodency (which had picked up the Tampoe scandal following the publication of *Spartacist*) and to label Samarakkody, along with the rest, "slanderers and liars io the working-class movement." (*IP* did oot see fit to openly abandon this colossal bluff eveo following *Spartacist's* subsequeot publication of a photograph of a page of the SWP's own interoal bulletin showing that a poiot on the Ceyloo Commissioo appeared io the "World Congress" mioutes!)

We are gratified that *IP* has now appareotly abandooed its policy of smearing Coorade Samarakkody. We hope (but do oot expect) to see in the pages of *IP* a public apology to Comrade Samarakkody explicitly repudiatiog *IP's* monstrous assault on the iotegrity of this veterao fighter for socialist priociple.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Aon Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188..... (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Maio P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
Sao Fraocisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Statioo A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Build the Weekly

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____
Zip _____ Phone _____
79

Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)
☐ $5/48 issues ☐ $2/16 issues (Introductory)

Women and Revolution
☐ $1/4 issues

Young Spartacus
☐ $2/11 issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Subscribe Now!

SUB DRIVE SPECIAL:

☐ **$6 for 48 issues of WORKERS VANGUARD, and 11 issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS**

Bandaranaike...

(continued from page 6)

in 1956 when S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike formed his government. The LSSP, while remaining in the parliamentary opposition benches, gave "critical" support to the Bandaranaike government....

In fact considerable sections of the masses, including the working class, are severely critical of the LSSP. The leading part that LSSP ministers took in pushing through some of the unpopular measures of the coalition government, like price increases in food and essential commodities and cuts in food rations, is brought out against the party now. The SLFP has been quick to exploit the situation in its favour, by attempting to throw the whole responsibility for the sufferings of the people onto the LSSP ministers. It will by no means be easy for the LSSP to defend itself in the face of these criticisms and charges....

But the SLFP government and the rightist forces will not watch in silence any growth of an opposition movement, especially of left currents. On the contrary, they will seek to counter not only the moves of the LSSP but of all other oppositional currents.

The options for the SLFP government and the rightist forces in the period ahead are not altogether clear. There cannot be any doubt that there is general agreement among rightist forces that what is needed in this situation is the "strong government" of the capitalist class that could deal firmly and even ruthlessly with the working class and the left....

This evolution of a "strong government" of the bourgeoisie has to be considered in light of the policies of U.S. imperialism and of the Kremlin and Peking bureaucracies, which make common cause in promoting the forces of counterrevolution. Since despite the needs of "détente" power politics will continue, the Kremlin cannot favour the growth of U.S. influence in Sri Lanka to its detriment. But that is not the case in regard to the Peking bureaucracy, which considers the USSR a capitalist country and "Soviet Social Imperialism" more dangerous than U.S. imperialism. It is in this orientation that Peking is calling for a continuing, and even greater, presence of U.S. imperialism in Asia and South East Asia. If the Peking bureaucrats and U.S. imperialism intervene in strengthening the SLFP government, it would mean that the "strong government" of the bourgeoisie would be realized sooner than expected....

In regard to the task of reorientation of the working class, the LSSP and CP still remain the biggest obstacle. The CP believes that it could even remain while the LSSP and the left are under fire; the LSSP has not even posed the danger to the working class and the left from the SLFP government and the rightist forces. The LSSP is functioning under the perspective of reforming the coalition with the SLFP under cover of a "united left front."

Thus the LSSP opposition to the government will not mean a mobilisation of the working class and the masses against the government from an anti-capitalist perspective. Once again, their policies, in and outside parliament, will remain parliamentarist. They will continue to discourage and blunt the class struggle when it breaks out, especially in the context of preparing for the elections.

Nevertheless, in spite of the LSSP and the CP, the class struggle will break out and it will not be as easy for these two parties to block or hold back the working class as when the LSSP was in the coalition. There are even now real possibilities for a reorientation of the working class and toilers.

But what is likely is that the government's repression would come faster than the rise of the class struggle. Thus the principal question today is the defense of the working class and the left movement from the coming offensive from the right. In this context, united-front action is sharply posed as the need of the hour. But it is the aim of the LSSP to confound the Marxist united-front tactic with the so-called strategic united front, the so-called "united left front" leading to coalition with the bourgeoisie....

For a long time now the Bala Tampoe group (United Secretariat) has been calling for the rebuilding of the "left movement." Even after the break-up of the coalition, Tampoe has repeated this call.... Like the LSSP, Tampoe has no perspective of mobilising the working class for struggle in the gravest hour of the Sri Lanka working class. As for the Revolutionary Communist League (Healyite) it has been obsessed by the fact that it supported the SLFP-LSSP-CP coalition in the 1970 elections. Having soon thereafter publicly confessed its error, about three months after the coalition government was set up the Healy group called upon the LSSP and CP to break from the bourgeoisie and take the power, a slogan that was put forward by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Russia during 1917 under very different conditions. Thereafter, its next slogan was calling upon the LSSP and CP to organise the left independently of the SLFP. It has repeated this slogan even after the break of the coalition, and thus the politics of this group come very close to those of the LSSP....

It is the view of the Revolutionary Workers Party (Trotskyist) (RWP) that the alternative revolutionary leadership cannot be built on the shifting sands of opportunism, parliamentarism or adventurism based on Stalinist or neo-Stalinist "theories" of two-stage revolution or on varieties of pragmatism masquerading as Trotskyism, but only on the granite foundations of the revolutionary program, or more precisely, the Transitional Program flowing from the theory of the permanent revolution. This means the need to categorically reject all forms of coalition politics pursued under the guise of strategic united fronts. A revolutionary program means concretely today mobilising the working class and toilers for the defence of the working class against the coming onslaught of the government and the capitalist class, on a united-front basis. And this means the mobilising of the workers for struggle for their immediate day-to-day demands, like wage increases, linked to the anti-capitalist demands of workers control; nationalisation under workers control of all capitalist enterprises without compensation; formation of workers committees, defence squads and workers militias. The slogan in this context cannot be the so-called united left government in parliament, or any such parliamentarist slogan, but a workers and peasants government. In the RWP's view, the alternatives sharply posed today are either proletarian revolution or the smashing of the working class and the left for naked capitalist dictatorship. ■

— LOS ANGELES —

United Front Demonstration

FREE PHILIP ALLEN!

Wednesday, October 1 at Noon
LACC at the Flagpole

Sponsored by SYL

Now Available as a Pamphlet!

The Fight to Implement Busing

For Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Attacks and to Smash Fascist Threats

Price: 75¢

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825 Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

Black-White Unity

(continued from page 12)

eliminated and that teachers work an extra unpaid class period per week. They also refused to seriously respond to the union's demands for job security provisions and preparation time for elementary school teachers. The Committee, which hypocritically counterposes "quality education" to "forced busing," is obstructing the BTU's proposals for educational improvements such as new remedial reading programs and music, art and science teachers in elementary schools.

In addition, the 27 August *Boston Globe* noted that "The committee tactic... is to generally give the union a hard time—to 'stick it' to them—for not buying tickets to fund-raising testimonials, a practice the BTU ended several years ago"!

Despite this unanimous opposition from Boston's rulers the strike remained solid right down to the day of the sellout. Attempts to keep the schools open were an obvious farce, with principals herding the few students who showed up into auditoriums for attendance taking, after which they let them slip out the back door.

The bosses' courts played their typical role. A Suffolk Superior Court judge first fined the union $5,000 a day, then upped this to $25,000 a day, and threatened to jail BTU leaders. The racist cops, treacherous and totally unreliable as "guardians" of black children on buses, have proved more enthusiastic in enforcing a ban on picketing within 100 yards of the schools. At some sites this made it impossible for striking teachers and aides to confront scabs entering the buildings.

The NAACP, plaintiffs in the desegregation suit, requested Judge Garrity to issue a federal injunction against the strike. Garrity backed up the School Committee and accused the BTU of "bad faith" in the negotiating. Even the *New York Times* (24 September) chimed in and piously condemned the strike as "a no-win contest that reflects poorly on the teachers' comprehension of their self-interest and of larger social issues confronting the schools."

The liberals' opposition to the strike underscores the hypocrisy of their narrow bourgeois approach to busing. While some support integration of black and white students within the Boston school system, they oppose the teachers' demands to upgrade the city's schools and refuse to extend busing to the more privileged suburban schools. Racial oppression is deeply rooted in the capitalist system, and the liberal "champions" of racial equality instinctively draw back from any fundamental challenge to that system. The NAACP's strategy of reliance on the bourgeois courts and cops to protect black people's rights leads them to line up against the labor movement.

The Spartacist League proposed a winning strike strategy for Boston teachers based on labor solidarity and a BTU appeal for black community support, through reversing the union's position of delaying Phase Two and instead adopting an unequivocal stand for immediate school desegregation and labor action to protect black school children. Not so the fake-socialist camp followers of the liberal bourgeoisie. Instead of calling for resolute working-class struggle, the reformists advised the teachers to give up. A leaflet distributed at BTU meetings by a "Concerned Teachers Committee," backed by the Maoist October League, called for "continued negotiations up to and including arbitration." New England Communist Party spokesman Ed Texeira issued a statement urging teachers to "look to other tactics than the strike such as refusing to work the extra 45 minutes" (*Daily World*, 25 September)! And although the Socialist Workers Party supported the strike, it pointedly refused to criticize the union-busting tactics of its friends in the NAACP.

In contrast, the black members of the BTU demonstrated a laudable understanding of the need for racial unity to win the strike. For a brief period early last week it appeared that some black teachers and aides had been disoriented by the NAACP's demagogy and by the difficult intersection of the strike with the busing controversy. A union member reported to *WV* that a meeting of the Black Educators Alliance (BEA), headed by aspiring Democrat politico John O'Bryant, decided by a slim margin (and after three votes) to advise black teachers to enter the schools in order to protect black children during the strike. This policy, fortunately never carried out, would have led to black teachers' crossing picket lines, greatly poisoning the atmosphere within the union and tragically playing into the hands of the School Committee.

Discussion between BEA supporters and other members of the union soon led to a reversal, however. At a strike information meeting held on September 24, a newly formed Black Caucus, whose membership overlaps with the BEA, distributed a statement saying that caucus members "unanimously support the present strike" and "intend to become an effective force for change within the BTU." While the Black Caucus' support to the strike was an extremely positive step, what is needed to oust the present union bureaucracy (which capitulates both to racism and union-busting capitalist politicians and courts) is not a caucus drawn on racial lines but a militant opposition committed to fight for class-struggle policies and in defense of the rights and interests of oppressed minorities.

In the absence of a powerful class-struggle opposition within the union, the BTU leadership has been able to run the strike from the top down. At daily informational union meetings BTU president Henry Robinson prohibited all floor discussion and motions. In addition, the executive board claimed that it was empowered to send teachers back to work as soon as it was ready to recommend acceptance of a settlement (as it did today). Such bureaucratic procedures could only weaken the struggle.

More generally, the greatest obstacle to a strike victory has been the union leadership's craven pro-racist "neutrality" on the busing question and its refusal to adopt class-struggle policies. In particular, the BTU did not challenge the ban on picketing near schools nor did it call on the Central Labor Council for concrete solidarity actions (demonstrations, sympathy strikes). Robinson's real strategy was revealed at the strike rally yesterday where he said, "I call on the courts to force the School Committee to remain at the bargaining table."

All along, the union tops hoped that the School Committee would agree to some minimal face-saving compromise under pressure from Garrity's court. When Garrity sided with the Committee, the bureaucracy simply capitulated, in the process stabbing the provisionals in the back. So long as pro-capitalist leaders such as Robinson remain in control, sellouts like this will be the norm and promising steps to racial unity in militant struggle will be sacrificed on the altar of class collaboration. ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 9, Summer 1975

—Black Women Against Triple Oppression
—German Social Democracy: Work Among Women
—United Secretariat Betrays Women
—Joan Little Must Not Be Sent to Death Row!
—Sheila Rowbotham: Hiding From History
—Anti-Abortion Laws: Weapon of Church and State

Subscription rate: $1 for 4 issues
Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, New York 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

Vote "No" Against Sellout Contract!

Black-White Unity in Boston Teachers' Strike

BOSTON, September 29—This afternoon Boston teachers returned to work on orders from their union executive board. Despite militant table-thumping by bureaucrats at yesterday's strike rally, the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) leadership accepted a settlement that seriously undermines the union and saddles teachers with an extra 40 minutes of *unpaid* work every week. Protection against inflation is wholly inadequate (6 percent wage increase and no cost-of-living escalator), and union proposals for educational improvements which would have created more teaching jobs were thrown out the window. Provisionals can expect layoffs despite their solid support to the strike.

During the last two weeks local politicians from liberal Judge Arthur Garrity, who ordered the busing plan for desegregation in Boston schools, to the racist School Committee, which opposed it, joined hands to crush the strike. Against them stood the ranks of the BTU, black and white alike, who refused to allow their leadership's miserable record of capitulation to racism to divide them in the struggle against the threat of layoffs and pay cuts, and for decent education for all the city's students. But the miserable settlement will destroy the tenuous unity between black and white, provisional and permanent teachers that was forged on the picket lines. The rank and file must reject this wretched sellout.

The venal politicians on the School Committee hoped to wear down the BTU through intransigent negotiating and by forcing a strike just as Phase Two of the busing program was being initiated. They provoked the strike with outrageous demands that class-size restrictions be

continued on page 11

WV Photo

Boston teachers demonstrate outside School Committee office September 26.

ILWU Local 10: Stop the Bureaucratic Squabbling, Fight the Bosses!

Hard Times Under Bridges' "Depression-Proof" Contract

Pay Guarantee Slashed, Further Work Cuts for "B-Men"

SAN FRANCISCO, September 26—Just a few months ago International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Harry Bridges was crowing that his new longshore contract would be "depression proof." The real needs of longshoremen—the need for a manning scale on all operations, to eliminate the steady man category and strengthen the hiring hall, to upgrade all "B men" to A status and permit no deregistrations; the need for a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, for a big wage boost and a full cost-of-living escalator, for the right to strike over safety and work conditions—did not find a place in Bridges' new contract. But Bridges did insist that the ILWU/PMA Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) would give every "A man" his 36 hours' pay a week, depression or no depression.

Yet the Pay Guarantee fund, like the auto workers' SUB fund, is proving hopelessly inadequate in times of slump. In the last few weeks the PGP has paid only 88 percent of the full guarantee. Next week it is rumored that the PGP will be cut by 31 percent!

These cuts in the income of longshoremen, many of whom are dependent on the PGP to get a "full week's pay," are unprecedented on the West Coast. What's more, the situation can only get worse. This time of year shipping is at its peak. During the usually slow winter period loss of work may reduce the guarantee money paid to less than 50 percent of the full guarantee.

Bridges' strategy of selling out the real needs of the membership in exchange for crumbs from the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) capitalists is a recipe for defeat. But thanks to Bridges, more is in store for longshoremen than a slash in the PGP. Under the terms of his new contract Bridges has essentially put the area arbitrator in control of the dispatch hall, giving the PMA a powerful lever in its drive to smash long-established work rules.

In one instance under the last contract an employer ordered longshoremen to do work that was in direct violation of the contract. Rather than grieve the matter and continue working (a sure guarantee nothing would happen), the men stopped work. In stepped the area arbitrator, an ex-attorney for the PMA named Barsimian. How did he rule on this beef? He noted the employer was wrong to order the men to work in violation of the contract. However, he also declared that the men were wrong to stop work. His conclusion: no punishment for the company, time off for the men who stopped work!

Now Barsimian has begun to release his rulings on the exact terms of the recent contract as they apply to Local 10. As reported at the September 18 membership meeting he ruled that the night dock board will be reduced from 300 men to 50 men (PMA had asked for 25). This will force many longshoremen who had chosen to work nights onto days, where they will compete with other longshoremen for a shrinking number of jobs. Barsimian also ruled that B men, who are coming under especially heavy economic pressure aimed at forcing them out of the industry, will lose their right to job callbacks and only be allowed to be dispatched for one day's work. At present both A and B men can be called back for one or more days after the initial dispatch to finish a job. To cap it off, this "arbitrator" ruled that the number of

continued on page 10

San Francisco ILWU hall, subject of dispute between union president Bridges and Local 10 leaders a year ago when Bridges tried to sell it to Alioto business interests.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 80 10 October 1975

Ranks vs. Officers

Split the Army in Portugal and Spain!

Actualidad Espanola

Generalissimo Francisco Franco with Henry Kissinger.

Eduardo Gageiro

Leftists demonstrate in front of Ministry of Information in Lisbon last week protesting government occupation of radio stations.

Basque Strikes Rock Franco Regime

OCTOBER 6—As Generalissimo Francisco Franco's fragile regime is battered by repeated waves of social unrest, its manifest incapacity to impose public "tranquility and serenity" has given rise to protest on both the left and right. The working class is so imbued with determination to be rid of the senile hangman and his entourage of sadistic torturers that renewed repression only generates more massive and more militant opposition. The fascist butchers, well knowing what their fate would be once the strait jacket of the corporatist state is removed, fight against the slightest "opening" of the dictatorship.

Reactions to last week's execution of five leftist militants spread rapidly across Spain as three Madrid policemen were fatally shot and the entire Basque region erupted in a general strike. The ETA (Basque nationalist) appeal for a "dead-still region" succeeded in halting all economic activity, particularly in the Bilhao and Algorta industrial zones. The 48-hour strike was highlighted by a protest funeral procession, numbering in the thousands, in the native village of one of the ETA martyrs, Juan Paredes.

Meanwhile, stung by denunciations from Common Market governments and strikes against Iberia Airlines in many European cities, Franco addressed a large Madrid rally where his vapid denunciations of a "leftist Masonic conspiracy" in conjunction with "Communist terrorist subversions" were hailed with the traditional fascist salute. The regime's death throes have also spurred increased activity by the fascist Falange and the ultra-rightist death squads, the Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey (Warriors of Christ the King). At a recent burial of a slain policeman, Franco's premier, Carlos Arias Navarro, was jeered by reactionaries who denounce the "liberalism" of the present cabinet and call for a complete military takeover.

Carnations and Monocles

But the fascists are not the only ones looking to the army. Ever since the April 25 "Revolution of the Carnations" last year, the example of Portugal has loomed large in the minds of its Iberian neighbors. The Madrid press has closely followed developments in Lisbon, and in particular the role of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). The liberal reputation of the Spanish defense minister and

(continued on page 10)

Program for Workers Power in Portugal

OCTOBER 7—During the past week there have been rumors of possible putsch attempts by both right-wing and left-wing officers in Portugal. On Wednesday the Socialist Party claimed to have discovered a plot by the leftist Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment (RALIS, formerly RAL-1). RALIS countercharged that the "moderate" commander of the northern region was preparing to rain bombs on their unit, which guards the capital's airport, the road to Spain and approaches from the north. Then yesterday the Supreme Revolutionary Council, leading body of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), reportedly decided to undertake the disarming of civilian leftist groups. The situation in Lisbon is balanced on a razor's edge.

The program of the Sixth Provisional Government—a popular front of the MFA leadership, the bourgeois Popular Democrats, and the two largest reformist workers parties (Socialist and Communist)—has been stated in no uncertain terms by Premier Azevedo: to put an end to the escalating pre-revolutionary situation by forcibly reimposing military discipline, dissolving the soldiers councils and workers militias, imposing strict censorship of news, and breaking the backs of the workers commissions.

But although the "moderate" officers were able to impose their views within the MFA—the officer corps of the bourgeois military—the regime has been unable to gather sufficient strength to enforce its will on the soldiers and workers. Its decree on news censorship had to be withdrawn under fire from the entire press; the occupation of the radio stations was largely a failure due to fraternization by troops and workers; and soldiers committees continue to spread.

While the right wing of the MFA has had great difficulty finding "secure" army units to follow its orders, and objective conditions for successful working-class resistance against its plans for repression exist, it would be a grave error to think that the bourgeois state could be toppled simply by administering a deft blow from left-wing sectors of the military. The officer corps remains intact, although rent with divisions. Thus the regime resulting from a left-wing coup would still rest on the core of the capitalist state. A

(continued on page 10)

Letter

16 September 1975

Dear WORKERS VANGUARD,

Please enter my subscription. Really, your paper is far and away the most articulate and most sophisticated organ on the left.

I attended a forum sponsored by IS on the events in Portugal tonight and outside was re-introduced to WV. I had been working loosely with IS for the past several weeks, trying to convince myself that there was some real potential for the organization and its voice, WORKERS POWER. But compared to WV, WORKERS POWER seems limp indeed, little more than pepping and rallying. It is a relief to see that there is an organization whose writers know how to *think*.

On the other hand the weaknesses of your organization were also apparent this evening. One of the distributors of WV engaged me in conversation, and as soon as I began to contribute some criticism of Spartacist he became bitterly defensive. His tactics were reversed by a more mature member of your organization. But still your main problem so far as personal propaganda and especially polemics is concerned remains arrogance, impetuosity, impatience—in short, idealism: engaging in ideological struggle without sensitivity as to the particular opinions of particular individuals in particular situations. Being right is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for winning over potential recruits. There is a self-destructive aspect in your members' propaganda. It is the bourgeois intellectualist pride of beating instead of winning over. This is the result of insecurity not overconfidence. You recruit largely from the intelligentsia. It's about time you took it upon yourselves to eradicate this amateurism, this snobbishness, this self-righteousness only thinly disguised as the courage of your convictions.

Your strategy seems to me to be thoughtful and deliberate, and not at all pretentious. You say what you are, no more, and even verge on self-effacement. Your contribution at this stage must be basically programmatic and polemical. Excellent. You cannot help but grow.

I would only make two main suggestions. First, advanced workers are not necessarily as advanced in intellectual skills as in outlook. You must try harder to use a vocabulary and grammatical structure which is not as intimidating, which is not as elitist. Your writers must rub their hands at their own brilliance (and much of your writing *is* brilliant!) a little less often and concentrate more on the enormously difficult problems of *popularizing* social science. Put definitions in parentheses, annotate common formulae, inhibit the usage of the less familiar word (even if it is somewhat less exact), etc. Though this may appear as the contradiction between exactness and comprehensibility I think this is often deceptive. Popularization as often means clarification as simplification.

A more important suggestion has to do with your program, the basis of your propaganda. Though you identify yourselves as a propaganda organization you base yourselves on an *agitational* program, the Transitional Program. You do not say what you want if you came to power. You do not express your maximum program in any detail. In fact, the communist movement has not produced a maximum program since the *ABCs of Communism*! I believe that such a document is the most pressing theoretical task of our movement, a statement of the political, economic and social aims of a workers' state; an explanation and defense of the proletarian dictatorship, of economic and political internationalism.

I have spent the last eight years among the proletariat, most of them as an open communist. (Now I am working in a ... with an independent union and am its vice-president.) Most of my discussions with workers center around the maximum program, what is socialism, how would it solve the problems of capitalism, and so on. It is true that during a mass upsurge it is necessary to pose demands which expose the inability of capitalism to fulfill the objective needs of the workers. Thus the Transitional Program. But during present times the workers do not want to discuss "fair" but impossible demands upon the capitalists. They want to hear formulated a solid alternative. It is not as important to expose capitalism as to counterpose to it the socialist future. Especially the political future. Given the examples of the USSR and China, what is popularly needed is not so much an attack on capitalism but a defense of socialism.

Congratulations on becoming a weekly. I am glad to begin reading your paper regularly again.

Sincerely,
David S.

Workers Vanguard replies:

WV enjoys publishing informative or controversial political letters. This thoughtful critical contribution from a

SLA: From "Heroic Guerrillas" to "Police Plot"

Workers League Bitten By Seven-Headed Cobra

The uproar over recent assassination attempts against Gerald Ford together with the capture of Patricia Hearst and the remnants of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) has spotlighted the chronic inability of ostensibly socialist organizations to analyze social phenomena and events from a Marxist viewpoint. The Spartacist League has been unique in consistently maintaining that the SLA is not part of the left but "an irrational and cultist expression of lumpen-proletarian rage having nothing in common with the struggle of the working class for socialism" (*WV* No. 43, 26 April 1974).

Quite a different line is presented by the fake-Trotskyist Workers League (WL), which asserts that, "This fantastic tale [Patricia Hearst's 'amnesia'] is being whipped up as a smokescreen to cover up the fact that the SLA was a police operation from beginning to end" (*Bulletin*, 26 September). This is at least consistent with its cop-plot "theories" at the time the SLA kidnapping of Hearst first hit the headlines: according to a 19 February 1974 *Bulletin* editorial, "The SLA has all the characteristics of a CIA or FBI creation."

However, between then and now the WL said something entirely opposite. Shortly after Patricia Hearst announced her "conversion" to the SLA, Melody Farrow wrote in the *Bulletin* (19 April 1974):

> "There can be no question of the courage and dedication of the SLA members who are willing to risk their lives to fight capitalism. They must be unconditionally defended against the plans of the government to massacre them."

Thus with consummate fake-"dialectics" the SLA was transformed from a group with "all the characteristics of a CIA or FBI creation" into a band of courageous and dedicated anti-capitalist fighters. And with a wave of the Healyite magic wand—presto!—the SLA again becomes a police creation from start to finish, without a word of explanation.

The explanation is, however, self-evident to those who know the Workers League: discovering that Patricia Hearst and the SLA evoked sympathy from various petty-bourgeois radicals, the WL decided to appeal to these strata by transmogrifying their heros from cops into revolutionaries. Nor is this something new for these practised political bandits.

Under the leadership of Tim Wohlforth the WL gained widespread notoriety for its political dishonesty, its subordination of political principle to pursuit of organizational opportunities. A truly gross instance was Wohlforth's hailing of Black Panther Party leader Huey Newton for turning to "dialectics" just weeks before Newton turned to the church and the Democratic Party. In the same issue of the *Bulletin*, Wohlforth also called for all-out labor support to the strike of New York City cops!

Wohlforth is gone, reduced to spending his time sniffing around the social-democratic Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the unsavory, ethereal sectlet of Michel Varga, the International League Rebuilding the Fourth International (LIRQI). But his fabled "method" remains. Under its new lackluster manager, Fred Mazelis, the WL is every bit as unprincipled and dishonest. (See page 8 on the *Bulletin's* recent flipflops over Portugal.) In addition to the time-honored technique of the Big Lie, one of its favorite modes of argumentation is the amalgam. Thus the 30 September *Bulletin* attempts to lump the Spartacist League together with the snivelling reformists of the SWP, claiming the SL has been driven into a frenzy by the bourgeoisie's anti-terrorism campaign.

Mere facts are of little importance to the WL, but for anyone else there is an obvious difference between the SWP's condemnation of assassination attempts on Ford as "part of the violence, hatred and irrationality which seem to poison American society today," and the SL's forthright statement: "We wept no tears over the death of John Kennedy, and class-conscious workers are not concerned to protect the physical safety of the chief imperialist warmonger, Gerald Ford" (*WV* No. 78, 26 September).

The *Bulletin* writer is particularly upset that we could say: "That a disturbed crackpot like Lyn Marcus, for instance, can gain a following of hundreds of youth (some of whom want to see a socialist society) is an expression of the extreme weakness of the U.S. left and the present quietism of its misled and racially torn working class."

"Aha!" cries the *Bulletin*. "Here in its purest form, is the enormous cynicism and despair of the American middle class." It continues: "The exact opposite is the case. The use of provocations by the ruling class expresses its enormous weakness when confronted by the labor movement.... The key issue is not that the working class lacks sufficient strength to defend its rights, but that it is not conscious of its strength. The task of making it conscious is the central responsibility of the revolutionary party."

The Workers League specializes in the preposterous truism, first presenting false premises, then obscuring the issues and conveniently missing the point. Yes, we said the U.S. left is weak, the working class is quietist, i.e., not conscious of its strength and unaware of its true interests. Why? Because it is misled, by confusionists and opportunists. Given the WL's penchant for changing its line as casually as most people change their underwear, it is evident that Mazelis and Co. offer no alternative but only more of the same. The construction of a truly revolutionary, Trotskyist party in the U.S. will have as one of its byproducts the political destruction of such pettifogging snake oil peddlers.■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- Milton Friedman and "Chicago Boys" Implicated in Chilean Repression: Protest Barbaric Junta's Collaborators!
- Pat Swinton Acquitted: Abolish All Conspiracy Laws!
- SWP/YSA Pushes "New Civil Rights Movement": Ex-Trotskyists Tail Uncle Toms
- Banker Barons Slam New York City!
- Portuguese Workers Must Take Power!

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

$2/11 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

80

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: $5.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

reader expresses a conception of press which if systematized is at variance to the party-building press policy of the Spartacist League.

The characterization of "elitism" is not a point of style but a political characterization, which seems to be based on *WV's* angular polemical edge and its meticulous attention to political preciseness and correctness. In the IS milieu, the charge of "elitism" is generally a jargonistic shorthand to conceal a social-democratic revulsion against seriousness, professionalism and our insistence on aiming *WV* at an audience of advanced workers already interested in a perspective of basic social change. The IS, like other ostensible Marxists, chooses instead to produce a fake-popular press which talks down to the radical petty bourgeoisie's stereotype of the working class. The function of *Workers' Power* is to pretend to mass influence, not to build cadres and lead militants on the basis of program.

More important, *WV* is not simply a newspaper: it is a weapon in the class struggle and a means toward the construction of a hard revolutionary *organization*. "Independent" radicals, who do not accept the centrality of the fundamental Leninist proposition of the need for a party, tend to see press policy as static rather than as reflecting the specific needs of the embryonic vanguard formation in a particular period. *WV's* present main function is not to attempt to convince broad masses of the general desirability and feasibility of a socialist solution to the evils of capitalism. It is rather to regroup those most conscious and committed class-struggle militants and subjective revolutionaries around the authentic Trotskyist program, as part of winning them to active participation in the fight to build the Bolshevik organization.

Explanation of socialists' general long-range goals is an important aspect of our work, and is certainly not absent from the activities of *WV* supporters in the working class. Nor is it absent from *WV* propaganda. We disagree with the writer's implication that presentation and argumentation of a concrete programmatic orientation toward specific situations is an ineffective means for illuminating what the socialist world of the future will be like.

Over particular issues, for example recently in discussing the protectionist anti-Soviet grain boycott, *WV* has printed articles and resolutions explaining concretely why workers must solidarize with the historic gains of the October Revolution. Perhaps out of disagreement with the Trotskyist program of unconditional defense of the deformed workers states, the writer may overlook the way in which such articles present the basic Marxist arguments for the abolition of private ownership of the means of production, the inherent advantages of a rational division of labor in a worldwide planned economy, the potential for human freedom which would be unlocked by the demise of oppressive bourgeois institutions such as the nuclear family, etc. Similarly, in explaining the counterrevolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracies, such articles present the need to place political power in the hands of workers soviets through political revolution.

WV believes that the presentation of the Marxist world view as elucidated in the treatment of concrete issues links the fundamental solution of the burning problems of mankind to the central issue of our epoch—the crisis of revolutionary leadership. To proceed otherwise implies abstract propagandism in the manner of utopian socialists. ■

"All the Way With the MFA!"

Archie Brown's Recipe for Defeat in Portugal

BERKELEY, September 25—As the Portuguese officer corps moves rightward to "discipline" the Portuguese working class, threatening a bloodbath à la Chile, the American Communist Party (CP) has experienced considerable difficulty explaining the sudden setback. This was obvious at a CP-sponsored forum on Portugal held here tonight, with featured speakers including Archie Brown, advertised as "member Executive Board longshoremen's union" and "national council—Communist Party, U.S.A."

Brown is a veteran apologist for Stalinist class collaborationism including a stint in the late 1930's as defender of the Spanish CP's participation in the bourgeois popular-front government. His recent record includes a long campaign in support of the bourgeois Chilean "Popular Unity" government during 1970-1973, and his *non*-support of a boycott of Chilean goods organized by ILWU Local 10 militants to demonstrate solidarity with victims of the blood-stained junta.

For almost a year and a half the CP has been enthusing over the Portuguese "Armed Forces Movement" (MFA). Recently (*Daily World*, 17 September) it went so far as to state that while "the imperialist news media will describe the new Azevedo cabinet as a 'defeat' for the Communists" in fact "going from no cabinet members at all to some cabinet posts is a gain for the PCP"! This cynical idiot optimism notwithstanding, the Stalinists both here and in Portugal are in fact quite nervous about the recent sharp right turn in the Lisbon government. This was clear from *People's World* reporter Stephanie Allan's speech in which she said that "the working class is not in power in Portugal," and that the country is only in "a process of a democratic revolution." Allan warned that while the masses support the "revolutionary program of the MFA," people should "make no mistake, there *are* Pinochets in the Portuguese armed forces" (surprise!). She did not bother to mention the fact that from May of last year on, the Portuguese CP has been a member of popular-front governments together with the future Portuguese Pinochets!

Archie Brown seemed not to have caught up with the new line yet. Ecstatic over the "revolutionary process" in Portugal, he complained that the CP-controlled Intersindical union federation still faces tough problems, such as "making sure people get to work"! He might also have mentioned the CP's "difficulties" in preventing strikes. In June 1974 the Intersindical tried to break a militant postal strike in Lisbon by sending goon squads to beat up the strikers. But Brown preferred not to talk about this, just as he now remains silent about his support to the job-cutting ILWU contract in 1960 and his failure to oppose the same sellout in 1966.

Incredibly, Brown assured the audience that the present government "will be the one to carry out a socialist revolution." When in the discussion period a spokesman for the Spartacist League challenged this reformist illusion, warning of the danger of "another bloodbath" similar to Spain and Chile, CP goons began to move in. They were halted by protests from two black members of the audience who insisted on hearing the question. Continuing, the Spartacist speaker asked, "How can you make a socialist revolution with a bourgeois army?"

The CP's confusion deepened. Stephanie Allan responded that "nobody has claimed you can make a socialist revolution with a bourgeois army," but then alluded to a "left section of the MFA" which allegedly could make such a revolution. The parallels with Stalin's disastrous policy in China were obvious: first supporting Chiang Kai-shek, who butchered thousands of Shanghai workers in April 1927, and learning nothing from that tragedy, the "Great Organizer of Defeats" then accommodated Left Kuomintang leader Wang Ching-wei, by ordering the disbanding of an agrarian insurrectionary movement the next month, leading to the slaughter of 20,000 peasants.

Later in the discussion, when another Spartacist spokesman again asked how the CP could support the bourgeois military government, it was Archie's turn to put his foot in his mouth. "Everyone wants to take potshots at Communists," he complained. "We *have* read Lenin," he insisted, "and Lenin said, 'Look out for blueprints'." Brown then argued that the "method of arriving at workers power is not the same in every country." In Portugal, he exclaimed triumphantly, "the vanguard movement arose in the armed forces." Anyone who tries to "divide the people from the Portuguese military" is doing the work of reactionaries, he intoned.

"The opportunist has even forgotten how to think about proletarian revolution." That remark from Lenin's *State and Revolution* aptly fits the Communist Party. It is those who, like the CP, tie the working class to the class enemy that are "doing the work of reactionaries." Time and again Lenin stressed that far from merely weeding out the most blatant reactionaries from the capitalist state apparatus (what the Portuguese CP calls "saneamento") and attempting to perfect it (the French CP's "advanced democracy"), the state machinery including especially its core, the armed forces, must be broken and smashed. This is no blueprint, but an iron law of revolution. The task of proletarian revolutionaries in Portugal is not to capitulate to the leftist pretensions of the MFA, but to win the most class-conscious soldiers away from all wings of the bourgeois officer corps to the working class under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party. ■

CORRECTIONS

Due to an editorial error, an article in our last issue on a Bay Area lawyers guild conference incorrectly located the meeting in Berkeley. The conference actually took place at Hastings Law School in San Francisco.

Also, a correspondent has informed us that a factual error appeared in the article, "Stop Indira Gandhi's Repression!" (*WV* No. 73, 18 July 1975). The article stated that the Communist Party of India (Marxist) had been banned in Gandhi's campaign against her opponents. However, although some of its leaders were arrested, the CPI(M) was not outlawed. On the left, it was the Communist Party of India (Marxist-Leninist) and other Maoist groups that were banned.

Drop the Charges!

Anti-Racist Militants on Trial in East Boston

BOSTON—As a result of vicious racist assaults on black residents from the Sumner Maverick housing project in otherwise lily-white East Boston, eight people will stand trial October 8 in East Boston District Court, seven of them charged with disorderly conduct and one with assault and battery. In a typical display of bourgeois "justice," the defendants are not the perpetrators of the attacks but the victims and their defenders.

The arrests took place on August 25 following a successful effort by an organized, integrated defense force to fend off a gang of racist white youths who beat up two black teenagers and then hurled rocks through windows in apartments of the project's black residents. This was not the first time that black tenants had joined with members of a city-wide tenants' coalition and a group called Greater Boston People against Racism (supported by Youth Against War and Fascism) to defend themselves against attacks designed to drive all non-white families out of the project. The racists were emboldened by the obvious sympathy of the police and the success earlier in the summer of white thugs at another East Boston project, who forced out a number of Puerto Rican families by firebombing their homes.

On August 25 a number of police stood by and watched the rock-throwing. They only moved into action when a defense formation was set up. The cops then dispersed the tenant guards and broke into the home of Mrs. Anna Mae Lewis without a warrant, where they arrested her and the seven other defendants. Mrs. Lewis, a member of the East Boston bi-racial council set up under the court-ordered busing plan, has been a particular target of the racists.

This racist frame-up must stop! All charges must be dropped!

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 9, Summer 1975

- Black Women Against Triple Oppression
- German Social Democracy: Work Among Women
- United Secretariat Betrays Women
- Joan Little Must Not Be Sent to Death Row!
- Anti-Abortion Laws: Weapon of Church and State
- Sheila Rowbotham: Hiding from History

Subscription rate: $1 for 4 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001

SL Debates Milt Zaslow in L.A.

Socialist Union: Mandel's Orphans

LOS ANGELES—A long-postponed confrontation between the Spartacist League (SL) and the L.A.-centered Socialist Union (SU) finally materialized on September 21. Milt Zaslow, father figure of the SU, consented to the debate in a last-ditch effort to turn his few remaining peripheral sympathizers away from the SL. Among the topics touched on in the debate were strategy in the trade unions and orientation to the military regime in Portugal.

Predictably, Zaslow served up the usual opportunist theme about supposed SL "sectarian abstentionism." He charged that the trade-union caucuses supported by the SL are completely isolated because they oppose the bureaucratic misleaders on the basis of a principled class-struggle program. To Zaslow "lesser evilism is absolutely legitimate" as a revolutionary policy in the labor movement. In a crescendo of opportunist demagogy he proclaimed, "A movement to set workers into motion on a partial demand is 100 times more important than to give them a perfect formula that moves no one."

In contrast to Zaslow's advocacy of tailing labor's sellout artists, SL spokesman Doug Hayes cited modest successes achieved by SL-supported caucuses in applying a full political program to the workers struggles. He described successes both in winning partial victories (like defeat of a reactionary anti-red clause in the Communication Workers as the result of a struggle led by the Militant Action Caucus at the 1973 CWA convention) and in gaining support through election campaigns for class-struggle programs that included the call for a workers government and expropriation of all major industry.

On Portugal, Zaslow was made uncomfortable by the fact that the group supported by SU, the Internationalist Communist League, supports the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement. While Zaslow contended, "they are not exactly selling out," Hayes demonstrated precisely how the LCI was selling out, how it employs the same disastrous methods as the POUM did in Spain. But this analysis didn't disturb Zaslow, who earlier had made the utterly false and slanderous assertion about the Spanish Civil War that "Trotskyists...subordinate the class struggle to the war...restrain the class struggle in the interest of the [Republican] front." Hayes pointed out that this call for political support to the popular-front government was in stark contrast to the actual Trotskyist position, "that military victory could only be achieved by a successful socialist revolution."

Zaslow fared little better in discussion. Only "independents" were allowed to speak, a condition imposed by the SU who feared that the questions raised by SL supporters might prove unpleasantly embarrassing. Unfortunately for Zaslow, the independent speakers were quite capable of asking questions that were too hot for him to handle. When asked about the SU position on the Cuban state, he could only reply that Fidel had "personified in his own self the permanent revolution."

What is the Socialist Union?

After being bureaucratically expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the members of the former Internationalist Tendency (IT), American supporters of the majority faction of the misnamed United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec), were directed by their European mentor, Ernest Mandel, to crawl back to the reformist SWP and plead for reinstatement as the loyal opposition. Some refused the trip, instead finding a place with Zaslow. This loyal opposition from without continues to pledge its allegiance to the USec majority, which in turn scorns it in favor of the SWP. Thus the SU has become a pathetic home for Mandel's wayward orphans.

They did not get what they bargained for, however. Instead of an independent organization where they can put Mandelite politics into practice, the SU is an undisciplined cult around Milt Zaslow. It is one of the least serious groups on the U.S. left, a trait which Zaslow has made into a political principle in order to justify his long and sordid opposition to "Cannonism." Early in his presentation Zaslow lashed out at the "SL's Cannonite tradition." He referred to James P. Cannon's long history of providing revolutionary leadership to the SWP as a "regime always tainted by Stalinism." "Cannon after Trotsky's death—you can have him," he sneered.

This fear and trembling in the face of Cannonism is really an objection to serious democratic centralist organization. Zaslow's faith in the rotten-bloc USec demonstrates that objection ideologically, and his present rag-tag collection of dilettantes shows it in practice. Not unexpectedly, he consistently argued in the debate that democratic centralism "couldn't be enforced in the Fourth International."

The SU certainly can't be accused of having a "Cannon regime." Members do not attend meetings regularly, particularly if they have "something better to do." The top dues-payers contribute $7.50 a week, and some members with full-time jobs pay as little as 50 cents a week. The SU has almost no literary output and often cannot mobilize its membership for demonstrations, simply because of lethargy. Certainly no taint of "Stalinist" Cannonism there.

Who is Milt Zaslow?

"I was there" intoned Zaslow in self-praise for "long experience in the Trotskyist movement." His personal history is important not only because the SU is a personality cult but also because Zaslow derives much of his authority from claims to "experience and continuity." Yet what exactly was his "experience"?

Known as Mike Bartell in the SWP, Zaslow split in 1940, joining the Shachtmanites whose attack on Cannon's "bureaucratic conservatism" masked their own capitulation to petty-bourgeois Stalinophobia. He later rejoined, only to factionalize again with the Pabloites against the "brutal Cannon regime."

Bartell/Zaslow "was there" when Cochran, Clarke et al. were expelled in 1953 after their faction's provocative boycott of the SWP's 25th anniversary celebration of American Trotskyism. The central, overriding question facing the international Trotskyist movement at that time was the party question. Under the misleadership of Michel Pablo the Fourth International was faced with a crisis of confidence in its role as vanguard party of the international proletariat. Pablo and his supporters organized the liquidation of Trotskyist parties into the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties. In the U.S. this tendency was represented by the Cochran-Clarke-Bartell group, while the integrity of the party was represented by Cannon.

As organizer of the New York City local, Bartell tried to slide his liquidationist political positions under the door as "local tasks." He wanted the SWP to

continued on page 8

Rolling the Buses in Both Directions

SWP For and Against Integration

The extreme racial polarization and fierce segregationist backlash in Boston for the last year have sharply posed the busing issue before all self-proclaimed socialist and civil-rights organizations.

The Spartacist League (SL) has consistently supported busing as a means of implementing the democratic right of black people to equal access in public education facilities. Criticizing the limited scope of various busing plans reluctantly instituted by the bourgeoisie the SL has called for extension of busing, to incorporate the relatively superior schools in the suburbs and other exclusive white neighborhoods. As opposed to the feeble enforcement afforded by the capitalist state, we call for the organization of an integrated labor/black defense to ensure the implementation of busing and to protect black people from racist reaction. Marxists advocate on principle the elimination of every form of racial segregation and the all-sided integration of black people in every aspect of social life. The enforced social isolation of black people in the ghetto is poison for the united class struggle against special oppression and capitalism.

The reformist Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA) and its captive National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) have attempted to parade as the most active and stalwart champions of black equality around the busing issue in Boston and elsewhere. Until recently the "most consistent" cheerleaders for black nationalism, the SWP/YSA for years has uncritically enthused over schemes for "community control," which translates into the "right" of the oppressed black masses to accept forced segregation in return for token "control" of the decrepit ghetto schools. Today the "most consistent" bootlickers for Uncle Tom "leaders of the Black community" like the ultra-legalist NAACP, the cynical SWP/YSA now parrots respectable, gradualist integration.

Gearing up for its October 10-12 "Second National Student Conference Against Racism," the SWP/YSA wishes to avoid repeating the political clash between Maoist-influenced black nationalist militants opposing busing in the name of "community control" and the liberal-oriented NSCAR leadership which polarized the first bureaucratically manipulated conference of NSCAR. SWP/YSA leader Tony Thomas has recently ventured an "explanation" that busing and "community control" are complementary as a two-pronged approach.

Thomas "polemically" slays all those who contend that "community control" and busing—i.e., separatism and integration—are counterposed strategies with the single "devastating" argument: "If we lose this fight for integration, we won't be able to talk about community control as an alternative [!], because we'll be in no position to win it." However, the inescapable conclusion flowing from this argument is: If we win the fight for integration—eliminating the entire system of "community schools" based on residential segregation—then indeed we won't even be able to talk about "community control"!

Just as the SWP/YSA today bases its "support" for busing on the sentiment of allegedly authoritative "leaders of the Black community," these "consistent democrats" have taken a programmatic stand on the fundamental democratic questions involved. When busing in Pontiac, Michigan, provoked KKK bombings of the school buses and reactionary demonstrations by local white racists in 1971, the SWP/YSA, at that time pushing various black nationalists and ventilating a few criticisms of the NAACP, refused to support the NAACP-sponsored busing or even call for any measures of defense for the black students under attack (*Militant*, 24 September and 15 October 1971)! In the face of this racist onslaught, the SWP/YSA claimed that the "real issue" was not busing but "the question of Black people controlling the schools and other institutions in the Black community" (*Militant*, 17 December 1971).

When busing in Atlanta provoked a furious racist reaction across Georgia the same year, the SWP/YSA likewise refused to support busing (*Militant*, 7 April 1971). And when the 1972 National Black Political Convention, convened by black capitalist politicians, adopted an anti-busing, pro-"community control" platform, the SWP/YSA wildly applauded, hailing Gary mayor Hatcher's bombastic speech as "really very good" and promoting the platform of these bourgeois politicians as a "fairly radical, militant, nationalist platform" (*Militant*, 31 March 1972)!

The segregationist logic of the SWP/YSA's slogan, "Black control of Black education," was fully exposed by the 1972 struggle over busing in Canarsie, New York, where bigoted white parents fought busing with the battle cry, "community control" of the schools. The SWP/YSA, desperate to cover its political posterior, brazenly announced,

> "It is the right of the *oppressed community* to decide whether busing will or will not be used in order to achieve an equal education for their children, and it is also the right of the oppressed community to exercise control and supervision over such programs." [original emphasis]
>
> —*Militant*, 10 November 1972

According to the SWP/YSA, the whites opposing busing in Pontiac, South Boston and Louisville, even though overwhelmingly working people, are in no way oppressed and must not be granted the "democratic right" of so-called "community control." But the SWP/YSA apparently does consider the Catholic clergy to be an "oppressed community," since the *Militant* (17 September 1971) hailed nuns who called for black control over parochial schools!

Black people and all who stand for racial equality should judge these social-democratic fakers by their record. The SWP/YSA's "support" for busing rests on the shifting sands of the most rank opportunism. ■

SUBSCRIBE

Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)

U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

order from/pay to
Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia

I.S. Chases General Carvalho

OCTOBER 6—To kick off its autumn campaign to instantly recruit 100 workers through show-business gimmickry and "impressive rallies," the International Socialists (IS) last month sponsored a speaking tour for António Silva, billed as "Portuguese soldier and revolutionary." Silva is a delegate to the "Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors," a body which despite its pretentious name is actually little more than a satellite of the New Left-syndicalist Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP). He was accompanied on the tour by IS chairman Joel Geier, who unctuously hailed the PRP as the "most revolutionary" and "most far-seeing party" in Portugal.

Far from demonstrating the revolutionary mettle of the IS and PRP, the tour made graphically clear their total confusion and inability to present a class line on the most burning questions of the hour in Portugal. In city after city supporters of the Spartacist League demanded an accounting from Silva and Geier of the wretched history of PRP support to the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement (MFA). While Geier repeatedly tried to suppress left criticisms and open discussion through high-handed bureaucratic manipulation, Silva chose evasion. Although at the start of his tour he attempted to defend the PRP's many

Joel Geier WV Photo

capitulations, by the time he reached Los Angeles on September 18 Silva was complaining that it was "dishonest" to make him defend "every position of the PRP." While describing himself as a "sympathizer of the PRP," he said that the purpose of his tour was "simply to defend the Portuguese Revolution."

But in Portugal today virtually everyone claims to "defend the revolution." Just ask them. Ask Mario Soares, head of the Socialist Party, whose document "Conquer the Crisis, Save the Revolution" calls for the severe punishment of armed workers militias and popular vigilance committees. Ask General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, head of the COPCON security force, who "defends the revolution" by smashing strikes and arresting leftists. Ask the right wing of the MFA, who plot a counterrevolutionary bloodbath while their "Document of the Nine" demagogically proclaims a "new social and political organization of the socialist type."

Empty socialist verbiage like "defense of the revolution" is shared by all wings of the MFA, by centrist and reformist workers parties and even by the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party. Only a clear Marxist political program, not vague

Antonio Silva WV Photo

rhetoric, will differentiate a revolutionary party from the morass of opportunism. And on the key question, the class nature of the MFA and the correct orientation to it, the PRP employs a theoretical muddle to rationalize its class-collaborationist practice.

Silva's tour provided ample illustrations of the PRP's total lack of clarity and revolutionary integrity. In Seattle on September 16 he asserted, "at this time the MFA does not exist." A translator provided by IS attempted to "clarify" the statement, but Silva insisted in English that the MFA does not exist! The following day in the course of a *WV* interview in San Francisco, Silva said that with the August 25 formation of a "United Revolutionary Front" the nonexistent MFA was "subordinated to the workers vanguard." He added, "If the MFA had been left out, some of the MFA officials would go on saying that *they* were the vanguard of the revolutionary process in Portugal." In Los Angeles the next day Silva lapsed into total confusion about this military apparition, saying "Today I cannot characterize the MFA."

Incapable of characterizing the Armed Forces Movement, Silva along with Geier also had difficulty justifying the PRP's capitulation to it. During the course of the tour the speakers worked up a stock answer to accusations of class collaboration, consisting of reading quotes about "workers power" from the so-called "COPCON Document." (In Oakland, Geier claimed the PRP actually wrote the document.) While the IS and PRP ballyhoo the radical reforms enumerated in this platform, they purposely ignore its popular-frontist core, the "MFA-People Alliance," labeled in the document "the keystone of power to be built." The "organs of workers power" foreseen are to be "recognized," presumably by the bonapartist MFA, and discipline strengthened in the armed forces. Thus the PRP, like most other "far left" parties in Portugal, provides a left cover for the MFA, armed fist of the bourgeoisie and main guarantor of capitalist rule in Lisbon.

The inflated rhetoric of this grandstand tour was continually punctured by SL questions. In Los Angeles we noted, "On August 25 the PRP signed a popular-front type pact with seven other parties which openly called, in point 3, for political support for the...strikebreaking, capitalist government of Gonçalves.... What are the reasons why the IS and/or António Silva think this doesn't represent support for a capitalist government—political support?" Silva never got around to explaining the PRP's signing the August 25 communiqué and its political support to the now defunct Gonçalves government.

Another topic of repeated discussion was the PRP's hero, General Carvalho. In Oakland Silva lamely pointed out that the COPCON chief "sometimes does things for the workers." In Cleveland Geier hinted that Carvalho might even be won over to the revolution. Did the IS and PRP perhaps consider it a revolutionary step when Carvalho carried out the military occupation of leftist-controlled radio and television stations on September 29? Perhaps they also share the general's fears that soldiers committees "despite their good intentions.... increasingly disintegrate the armed forces" (quoted in *República*, 26 September). While the PRP does not condone everything done by Carvalho and COPCON, the critical support it extends to the "Carvalho wing" of the MFA leaves the workers and plebeian ranks of the armed forces unprepared for the necessary resistance *against the left-posturing bourgeois officer corps.*

Echoing Carvalho's self-serving demagogy, Silva deplored the fact that the Communist, Socialist and other parties are fighting for influence within the workers commissions. Silva advocated "councils without parties," certainly an appealing prospect for some sections of the MFA. So long as troublesome workers parties are eliminated and the military retains an exclusive right to "recognize" the councils, Carvalho's bonapartist appetites will be satisfied. But in the process of conciliating the generals, the PRP (and its IS shills) sows fatal illusions among the Portuguese workers and helps dig the grave of the revolution.■

Death in Chicago Strike

Scab Trucker Runs Down OCAW Official

CHICAGO, October 3—The 240 workers at the Capital Packaging Plant in Melrose Park, Illinois, have been on strike nearly three months. The strikers' quite limited demands include a 25-cent across-the-board pay raise, minor fringe benefits and a settlement retroactive to the date their last contract expired, in January. Faced with a small isolated strike, the giant Alberto-Culver Corporation decided to smash it, hiring in some thirty scabs, maintaining production at a runaway shop in Georgia and using the full brunt of the Melrose Park Police Department to muscle down picketers. The cops have escorted and protected scabs while arresting and harassing the strikers.

Brazenly demonstrating their role as guardians of the bosses' interests, Melrose Park police last week released on $25 bond a scab trucker who had run over a picketer, Dave Watson, vice president of the striking Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-507, resulting in his death several days later. The killer, reportedly a member of Teamsters Local 325 (Rockford, Illinois), was let off on a charge of *failing to yield to a pedestrian!* The day after Watson died, these same cops arrested 14 strikers and supporters at a mass picket line.

A leaflet put out by the Labor Struggle Caucus (LSC), a class-struggle opposition in UAW Local 6 (located at the International Harvester plant a few blocks from the strike site), demanded that "The outrage of all unionists must express itself in the demand that [the scab] be expelled from his local and the entire union movement. The labor movement cannot allow such murderous activity to pass unpunished and unprotested." The LSC pointed to the recent experience of Local 6 in forming a defense guard to protect the house of a black member and to the flying picket squads of the thirties as the way to deal with strikebreakers.

While the neighboring UAW local has contributed $200 to the strike fund and several OCAW locals donated proceeds from plant gate collections, little else has been done to support the beleaguered strikers. Much of the blame for this situation rests with the OCAW Local 7-507 leadership itself, which has done nothing to mobilize active support, even from sister locals in the area or from other plants in the Alberto-Culver chain. Nor have the 3,000 members of 7-507, which covers 32 other plants in the area, been brought in to defend their striking brothers and sisters.

The LSC has argued that "This strike could be assured of victory if our local, the Chicago Federation of Labor, and every union in the area committed their full support to the Capital workers." In contrast, other ostensible militants have offered the kind of "support" which is guaranteed to keep the strike isolated and ineffectual. In an act of stupid adventurism, the October League-supported Workers Solidarity Committee (WSC), which apparently has no members among the strikers, violated union picket discipline and attempted to overturn scab cars (resulting in the above-mentioned arrests, nine of whom were reportedly WSC members). While strikers must repel scabs and defend the picket lines, this ill-considered action by a small handful of supporters only provided OCAW bureaucrats with a red-baiting justification for excluding the WSC from the picket lines, which they proceeded to do.

The WSC's tactics, far from being a display of militancy, amounted to a cover for its failure to put forward any strategy of militant, united labor action to support the strikers. At a mass meeting of over 200 strikers and supporters held at the UAW Local 6 union hall on September 23, WSC members actually joined the OCAW leadership in arguing against the suggestion of an LSC supporter that the strike be broadened by seeking official support—financially, on the picket lines and through hot-cargoing of scab products—from other unions. After the WSC's exclusion from the picket lines, an October League leaflet distributed to the strikers argued lamely that unions, to be victorious, "need to unite with organizations like the October League which has won respect throughout the U.S. for giving revolutionary leadership to the people's struggle." However, OCAW and UAW workers in Melrose Park have had a chance to see in practice that behind the Maoists' gung-ho "action" mania lies a political program not qualitatively different from that of the present bureaucracy. Victory in the class struggle can be achieved only by militant labor action going beyond the limits of simple trade unionism to attack the very foundations of capitalist society.■

FRANCE

Bitter Strike at *Parisien Libéré*

Paris Printers Defend Closed Shop

PARIS—From the formation of the Union of the Left (a would-be-governmental alliance between the reformist workers parties and a small capitalist party, the left Radicals) in 1972 on, the central question for the French working class has again become popular frontism. Confronted by a rise in the class struggle, the reformist leaderships of the workers movement have sought to codify their treacherous policy of class collaboration by a formal coalition with representatives, however seedy, of the bourgeoisie. The Marchais (Communist Party) and the Mitterrands (Socialist Party) present this line in the name of "advanced democracy."

Although in themselves not very significant in influence, the Radicals provide the reformist leaderships of the workers movement with a ready-made excuse for betrayal: "keeping faith" with their bourgeois allies. As soon as the workers enter into struggle they find their road blocked by the popular-frontist policy of the misleaders of their organizations. The workers can go forward only *against* the popular front, which thus becomes the central political question for all the so-called revolutionary organizations. But the vast majority of the French "revolutionary" left, faced with the popularity of the Union of the Left, veered rightward to capitulate before the popular front.

From the beginning the Union of the Left went all-out to reassure nervous bourgeois elements of its reliability. Particularly revealing is the bitter eight-month-old strike at the *Parisien Libéré* newspaper. The strikers, who walked off the job on March 3, showed great determination and courage. When the paper was shut down, *Parisien* owner Amaury first attempted to have a pirate edition printed in Belgium. But the French and Belgian workers joined forces to form armed border patrols which physically prevented trucks carrying the scab edition from entering France.

On May 10, when the strike was two months old, *Parisien* workers occupied the printing plant, barricading themselves behind stacks of 1200-pound rolls of paper and giant metal plates to block production of scab editions. The workers have fought off Amaury's hired private militias and attack dogs from behind their barricades.

But the *Parisien* workers are being sold out by their union leadership. A mere ten days after the dramatic plant occupation began in protest against the attempt to lay off 500 workers, the printers' union stated that "two-thirds of the layoffs could be avoided" (*Humanité*, 21 June)—in other words, the workers should passively have agreed to the elimination of 150 of their jobs.

The union bureaucrats have refused to extend the strike to the industry as a whole or even to the other publications owned by Amaury, which include glossy magazines such as *Marie-France* (the French analogue of *Mademoiselle*) and the main French sporting daily, *l'Equipe*. Striking the other Amaury papers would have been extremely effective since the high point of the *Parisien* strike coincided with the beginning of the Tour de France bicycle race, sponsored by the Amaury-owned sports newspaper, *l'Equipe*. The prestigious and immensely lucrative Tour de France is probably *the* major yearly sports event in France and shutting down *l'Equipe* at that time would have been a serious blow to Amaury.

Not only did the union bureaucrats refuse to extend the strike, but one union federation, Force Ouvrière (FO), led by André Bergeron, actively organized its members to print a scab edition of the *Parisien* in Chartres, about 60 miles outside Paris. After running battles with striking workers, the scab *Parisien* was transported to Paris under heavy police guard.

Workers blockade the printing plant of Parisien Libéré.

Rouge

Closed Shop Under Attack

The bureaucratic sabotage of the *Parisien* strike is all the more disgusting because the main union of French printers—the Fédération Française des Travailleurs du Livre (FFTL—French Federation of Printing Workers) has a virtually unique status. In a country where closed shops are unknown and every factory normally has four or five competing unions, 90 percent of the workers in the printing and publishing industry are organized in the FFTL. Printers in Paris have an essentially closed-shop system. Although the FFTL is affiliated to the CP-controlled Confédération Général de Travail (CGT—French Federation of Labor), the FFTL itself is not dominated by the Stalinists.

Much of the union's powerful position rests upon the "technical annexes" to the contracts (worked out in the immediate aftermath of World War II in reaction to the collaboration of elements of the French bourgeois press with the Nazis), which provide the Paris FFTL with control over all hiring. The "annexes" also determine the number of workers that must be employed in different positions, the specifications for each job, the increase in the number of workers employed proportional to increased circulation, and so on—all unheard-of in other industries. With union control of hiring and an essentially closed shop, the FFTL-CGT starts out from an exceptionally strong position among French unions.

It is due to this that the strike has been able to continue until now. French unions normally do *not* have strike funds, but the FFTL has been able to constitute an effective strike fund by levying small percentage contributions on members' salaries. Through the fund the union has been able to continue the strike, but the bureaucrats have refused to take the measures necessary to win it.

In a whole series of strikes in the French printing industry—notably at Néogravure, Larousse, Lang—the main target of the printing bosses has been the "technical annexes" and union control over hiring. The owners' determined assault against the *Parisien* strike is the spearhead of their drive against the workers of the entire industry. Yet the FFTL leadership and the whole Union of the Left is prepared to surrender these historic gains. A CP member of parliament was quoted in *Le Monde* as saying that "although the union monopoly over hiring can be explained historically, it is not desirable" (!) (quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 2-9 July 1975). He later denied having made this statement, although the *Le Monde* reporter insisted that the interview is on tape.

In his main speech launching the CGT's fall campaign (autumn is traditionally an important time of labor struggles, when the bulk of the French workforce returns from the four-week August paid vacations which were won in the 1936 general strike), CGT head Georges Séguy implicitly abandoned union control over hiring (*Le Monde*, 9 September). And the general secretary of the FFTL-CGT, Roger Bureau, in an interview with the publishers' weekly, expressed his confidence in the mediation of "experts" to end the strike:

> "We have confidence in expert Thouvenot's mission and we suppose he will make proposals such that the conflict can be ended. We are prepared to take steps in the direction he determines. Naturally, management will have to have the same attitude...."
>
> —*Informations Ouvrières*, 18-25 June 1975

Struggle Against the Popular Front

The Union of the Left leaders' willingness to liquidate union control over hiring flows from their eagerness to demonstrate to the bourgeoisie that they will collaborate in modernization of the printing industry. In other words, if placed in power the Union of the Left would refrain from any attacks against profits. From the bosses' viewpoint, modernization is synonymous with reducing the number of workers. The working class does not oppose modernization, as long as it is not at the workers' expense. This requires maintaining and extending union control of hiring—modernization without layoffs. Make the bosses pay for modernization—divide the work among the printing workers with no reduction in wages!

The bureaucracy calls for symbolic and useless actions, such as the June 26 one-day "general strike" of the printing industry. But the only effective way to win the *Parisien Libéré* strike would be to extend it to other Amaury publications and to the industry at large. This means breaking with the class-collaborationist leadership of the FFTL and the Union of the Left—which appeals to the Paris Prefect, to the Minister for Industry, to the Prime Minister and even to French President Giscard d'Estaing himself to make the press bosses negotiate. It means fighting against the rotten bureaucracies for a revolutionary alternative leadership in the unions.

The central axis of the struggle against the no-win policies of the reformist leaderships is the fight to break the workers movement from class collaboration, which is embodied on the political level in the bureaucracies' subordination of the class struggle to the popular-front Union of the Left. To be taken seriously, this political fight must be carried to the masses of workers, that is, into the trade unions, and must be based on the Trotskyist transitional program.

A recent exemplary struggle

continued on page 8

National Guard on duty during riot in Long Beach, California, August 1965. The liberals' campaign for gun control escalated after mid-1960's ghetto uprisings and is primarily aimed at disarming blacks and poor people, and reinforcing the bourgeois state's monopoly on violence.

Liberal Ploy to Disarm Workers and the Ghetto

Racism and Gun Control

Not ten minutes after a bullet from Sara Moore's pistol whizzed past Ford's head, liberal congressmen took to the air waves to denounce the "gun culture." Their proposed "solution" to assassination attempts is gun control. Gun control is also preached as the way to solve "crime in the streets," "rising violence," "urban violence" and so on.

Nearly 150 bills are before Congress dealing with gun control, ranging from the Administration's proposed ban on domestic sale of small arms and mandatory jail terms for crimes involving guns to Democrat John Conyers' bill for complete prohibition of all handguns (except, of course, for the police and military).

The liberal *New York Times* editorialized on September 24: "Absolute safety is unattainable, but one way to discourage the gun culture is to remove the guns from the hands and shoulders of people who are not in the law enforcement business." Press magnate and bourgeois ideologue Arthur Ochs Sulzberger of the *Times* has good reason to trust the "law enforcement" agencies of *his* state. Had gun-toting Sara Moore burst into Sulzberger's office as he was writing that editorial, he would simply have pressed a button and brought in immediate armed assistance not only from the bourgeois police but from the private armed-protection business as well.

It is no accident that the staunchest defenders of the capitalist order—from the viciously anti-labor *Times* to Teddy Kennedy—are the spearhead of the gun control drive. Their sanctimonious horror of violence is a cheap posture for hypocrites secure in the knowledge that the awesome armed bodies of state repression exist precisely in order to protect *their* lives, *their* institutions, *their* private property and *their* imperialist investments.

The *Times* has always been "against" violence, but its definition of violence conveniently excludes wars in the "national interest," A-bombs, strike-breaking, imprisonment and torture of revolutionaries throughout the world, the casual brutality of the venal cops. Instead, the *Times* reserved the most venomous language for Malcolm X who, it insisted, was "for violence," unlike its darling, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Of course, Malcolm X said a thousand times that he was not *for* violence; he had lived with it all his life. He was for self-defense of blacks "by any means necessary" against racist attack. When Malcolm X broke from Elijah Muhammad toward revolutionary politics he knew that ruthless enemies were out to kill him. "I'm a marked man," he told an interviewer on 8 February 1965. When his house was bombed the police and press passed it off as a "publicity stunt."

The New York City Council zipped through some gun-control legislation against carrying rifles or shotguns in public; the bill was aimed at preventing Malcolm X from carrying his .30 calibre carbine in his car. When Malcolm X was savagely cut down at the Audubon Ballroom at possibly the beginning of his real life's work, one of his bodyguards who had managed to wound one of the assassins was jailed for violating the state's handgun law.

With consummate smugness the *New York Times* blithely blamed the murder of Malcolm X on... Malcolm X: "his ruthless and fanatical belief in violence... marked him for fame, and for a violent end.... The world he saw through those horn-rimmed glasses of his was distorted and dark. But he made it darker still with his exaltation of fanaticism. Yesterday someone came out of that darkness and killed him" (quoted in the *Militant*, 22 March 1965).

Policing the Ghetto

When convenient, the bourgeoisie dislikes death. This dislike has its blind spots: the furor over America's undeniably high murder rate (an estimated 750,000 homicides since 1900) is revealing contrasted with the casual acceptance of industrial accidents and job-related illnesses which produce more than 100,000 deaths each *year*. The clamor for gun control has as its purpose to complete the monopolization of the means of violence in the hands of the hired guns of the capitalist state. The aim is not merely to regulate guns but to control blacks and crush resistance to oppression. The bourgeoisie and the white middle class want the ghettos disarmed, while the cops continue unchecked their racist terror rampages.

Congressmen who found machine guns set up briefly on the Capitol steps when riots swept Washington, D.C., and 128 other cities after M. L. King was assassinated in April 1968 rushed to prepare the first federal anti-gun legislation in 40 years. Haunted by the spectre of black insurrection, they zeroed in on interstate mail-order guns and foreign imports, the cheap weapons that Robert Kennedy called the "tools of the urban rioter."

LBJ's Defense Secretary McNamara and liberal Attorney General Ramsey Clark (now head of the anti-gun DISARM organization) spoke before Congressional committees in 1966 and 1967 urging stringent gun control *specifically* to curb black riots. Though there was great moaning and foot-stomping when Robert Kennedy was shot in June 1968, the anti-gun portions of the Omnibus Crime Bill had already been prepared, and were rushed through Congress the day he died.

Malcolm X

One of the quickest bills ever to clear the New York state legislature was a 1969 law forbidding the carrying of arms on college campuses, enacted after armed black students seized a building at Cornell University. Similarly, legislation was slammed through in California after Black Panthers entered the State Capitol with loaded rifles and shotguns to demonstrate their right to bear arms.

The connection between the race question and the mass arming of the (white) population can be easily demonstrated by example. Although there are other cultural factors (e.g., the so-called "frontier tradition") it is the centrality of black oppression within the class dynamic which distinguishes the U.S., and to an even more extreme degree South Africa and Rhodesia, from the vast mass of comparably advanced capitalist nations, in which the general availability of guns among the white plebeian masses is the exception rather than the rule.

Parenthetically, those who argue that violence can be explained by the availability of weapons rather than the intensity of social conflict should take a good look at Europe, where many years of stringent weapons controls hardly impeded the ultra-rightist terrorists of the white Algerian settlers and army men (the OAS) in France or the endemic communal violence in Northern Ireland.

Liberal Hypocrisy and Lumpen Criminality

The *New York Times* argues for gun control on the basis of the dominant hypocritical abstractions upon which liberals thrive: "non-violence is better than violence." Such banalities are perhaps useful in instructing the Sulzberger children to refrain from gouging out each other's eyes, but have no value—moral, political or even conceptual—in the real world. All such liberal epiphanies demand the qualification "all other things being equal." And in the social world, all other things are decidedly not equal. The liberal preference for "non-violence" is the political ammunition loaded into the guns pointed at militants like Malcolm X. "Non-violence" exhortations abstracted from social reality prove disorienting in the face of massive social decay. The critical distinctions among different kinds of violence are lost on bourgeois pacifists.

Traditional violence, from the *Iliad* to the Hatfields and the McCoys, at least had rules. Even a blood-feuding McCoy considered it unjustifiable to shoot innocent bystanders. The bourgeois order produces the most desperately violent conditions for human life while generating no rules for the social control of violence except one: monopoly of the means of violence in a *disciplined* state police force.

Capitalism in its death agony has witnessed the rapid rise of indiscriminate violence, the resurgence of private armies, increasingly brutal police terror and even official torture by the most modern electronic methods. Although liberal ideology refuses to distinguish different kinds of violence—all the better to conceal the indefensible ruling-class violence it favors—it is the indiscriminate criminal terror associated with urban crime which almost uniquely provokes fear among the masses.

The Mafia has its own rules; it generally kills its own. Drug pushers routinely kill one another. The family produces its share of violent deaths. Cops shoot each other in drunken arguments and when they have traffic accidents, etc. But the main reason why most people want guns is a legitimate feeling of powerlessness faced with the felt menace of robbery, rape, assault and murder.

Marxists do not simply dismiss the widespread feelings of fear which have become a constant feature of daily life among both black and white residents of America's urban hellholes. Nor do we prettify the criminal parasites who terrorize the working people, while industrialists and bankers retreat to well-protected suburban strongholds. In the preface to his *Peasant Wars in Germany*, Engels described the Marxist attitude toward the lumpen-proletarian parasites who leech off the working masses:

> "Scum of depraved elements... this rabble is absolutely venal and absolutely

continued on page 10

Paris Printers...

(continued from page 6)

undertaken by Trotskyist militants in the banks points the way toward such a principled strategy. Bank workers, too, had experienced the treachery of the Union of the Left, which was instrumental in dismantling an industry-wide bank general strike just before the 1974 presidential elections so that they could take place under "normal conditions."

Presented as the basis for an orientation for the autumn campaign, the motion stated in part:

> "Against the treacherous line of the reformist leaderships, against their subordination to the bourgeoisie within the popular front, we demand that the workers parties and the union leaderships break with the popular front!... In their struggle against capitalism, the workers have no choice but to throw out the bourgeois government and install a workers government whose task is the revolutionary expropriation of the bourgeoisie!... Either class collaboration via the Union of the Left or the independence of the working class and its organizations fighting for power! The autumn campaign lies between these two poles; there is no third path."

Break with Opportunism—Build the LTF!

The French pseudo-Trotskyists have long ago abandoned this principled battle. The supporters of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) shamelessly voted against discussing the bank militants' motion (i.e., opposed raising in the unions the crucial question of the popular front), and in at least one case even voted in favor of a motion stating "full support to the [Union of the Left's] Common Program for Government" (Resolution of the CGT Congress in the Compagnie Bancaire, 13 May 1975). In the *Parisien* strike the LCR applied its usual line of advancing purely economic slogans—in this case the same ones as put forward by the bureaucrats! After seven months of the strike, the LCR meekly objects that the bureaucrats' demand for negotiations is "inadequate."

The scope of the LCR's liquidationism is strikingly shown in a recent pamphlet which in effect manages to support the prohibition of factions and oppositional formations in the unions:

> "Quite another matter is the recognition of the right to factions in the trade-union organization with a codification which appears to us unjustifiable. For us, the only real criterion is how representative the positions are within the union organization, which can be defined either by the number of union bodies adopting that position or by the percentage obtained in votes of the [CFDT] Congress."
>
> "Where is the CFDT Going?" *Taupe Rouge* No. 2

Instead of demanding the right of free expression for all tendencies in the unions, the LCR supports it only for "representative" currents—that is, its friends, the left bureaucrats of the CFDT.

In its haste to ally with strikebreaking social democrats, the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI) is equally unwilling to oppose the popular front. The OCI's trade-union policy is marked by grovelling tailing behind the social-democratic union bureaucracy. Its capitulation to the miserable FO bureaucrats apparently goes so far that OCI head Lambert actually voted for the general political report given by Bergeron at this year's FO Congress.

The OCI was therefore understandably embarrassed when Bergeron's FO scabbed on the *Parisien* strike. Three months after the start of the strike, the OCI could manage only the most mealy-mouthed evasion:

> "It is obviously not yet time to evaluate the tactics of the FFTL-CGT leaders and of the Inter-Union committee of the Paris printers in the *Parisien Libéré* affair. We will not fail to do so when the time comes."

For the OCI, the only "right time" to expose the bureaucrats is once the strike has safely ended. The harshest criticism the OCI can find for FO's scab role in the *Parisien* strike is that Bergeron's "position is considered unacceptable" to the printing workers.

"The historical crisis of mankind can be reduced to the crisis of revolutionary leadership." The strike at *Parisien Libéré* is yet another instance of a combative working class held in check by its treacherous social-democratic and Stalinist leaderships, abetted by centrist apologists of all stripes. Only a Leninist party built on the authentic program of Trotskyism and systematically combatting all forms of class collaboration can unchain the power of the organized working class. With revolutionary determination the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF—Trotskyist League of France) is preparing this vital struggle against the popular front.

Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International!

Socialist Union...

(continued from page 4)

"become the fifth wheel" in the American Labor Party's electoral campaign for Vito Marcantonio; he also wanted an orientation to right Stalinists. Cannon defended the party against Pabloist liquidation and the minority's "cynical gibes" against "the mystique of the party." He characterized the problem this way:

> "There is a certain sentiment of Stalinist conciliationism in our party, as we have to admit to our shame on the eve of our twenty-fifth anniversary. It is a foul disease, and we are going to fight it uncompromisingly, and clean it out of the party. Fortunately, it is confined to a small section of the party, almost entirely concentrated in New York under the dominion of Bartell. That is Bartell's chief contribution to the New York Local."
>
> —*Speeches to the Party*

No wonder Zaslow says "the SL can have Cannon."

What became of Zaslow after his expulsion? When his small group fell apart in 1955, he bought and managed a small greeting card factory. It is reported that he employed some other political burnouts in his enterprise. For the next 14 years—during the Cuban Revolution, the civil rights movement, the critical years of the anti-war movement—Zaslow "was there," sitting in his manager's office presumably rhyming birthday greetings and checking time-cards.

He left small-time entrepreneurship in 1969 to become a small-change radical hanger-on in Los Angeles. First he operated a liberal guilt club called "Friends of the Panthers," but the Black Panther Party decided they weren't needed. This amorphous-group of professional tailists renamed itself Liberation Union (LU) in the early seventies.

As LU leader, Zaslow approached a Los Angeles Maoist collective, the Communist Working Collective (CWC), which was breaking politically in the direction of Trotskyism. He proposed that, since the SWP's politics were fine and only the leadership was bad, the two groups ought to enter the SWP for factional purposes. But the CWC wasn't bamboozled by this cynical power play. On the contrary, its political confrontation with Trotskyism led it to examine all the Trotskyist tendencies and then to fuse with the Spartacist League in 1971.

The LU had a unique demise, a 50-50 cold split over the question of *reading Trotsky*! After a year and a half, Zaslow had evidently not even whispered the name Trotsky in the LU. Zaslow's half then tried to get into the SWP as a group, but the SWP was having no part of him and would consider the LU members joining only as individuals.

After the IT formed in the SWP, Zaslow formed the Socialist Union as a parallel external organization. With many of the same "friends" of the Panthers, the SU became "friends" of the farmworkers. And now with some ex-IT cadre Zaslow and Co. exist as the unwanted "friends" of the USec.

The debate represented another political defeat for this chronic opportunist. One of the independents present, a militant active in the Farm Workers Support Group, remarked afterwards on his reactions: "Throughout the whole debate he [Zaslow] repeatedly and completely revealed that the essence of his politics is an eagerness to gain popularity by political capitulation." He added, "'tailism' with Zaslow is both an art and a compulsion."

For all of Zaslow's hot air about the USec as the "only International" and his grandiose plans to build a nationwide tendency of co-thinkers, the SU is going nowhere fast. The Pabloite schemes of Mandel and Company have destroyed the legacy of more than five years of left oppositionist activity in the SWP. Militants looking for the revolutionary path out of SWP reformism are not wallowing in the wastelands of the SU and other such groups. They are joining the growing international Spartacist tendency, which is vigorously leading the struggle to build the revolutionary Trotskyist vanguard and preparing the way for the rebirth of the Fourth International. ■

Workers League "Dialectics" on Portugal

Workers League/Late July

"With the deepening of the economic crisis and the deterioration of living standards, the Socialist Party, led by Mario Soares, has been forced by the movement of masses of workers to take up a struggle against the increasingly isolated AFM [Armed Forces Movement] ....

"But in recognizing the reformist character of the Socialist Party leadership, absolutely no credence should be given to the Stalinist attempts to blacken the anti-AFM demonstrations as pro-fascist."

—*Bulletin*, 22 July 1975

Workers League/Early September

"The Socialist Party has joined forces with the most counter-revolutionary generals such as Melo Antunes and Fabião who are openly conspiring to carry out a coup d'état."

—*Bulletin*, 9 September 1975

Portuguese Socialist Party/Late July

"... the SP believes that a personality of the MFA must preside over the Fifth Provisional Government....

"... some measures of national reconciliation must be taken immediately....

"5) Reaffirm the principle that the neighborhood commissions and workers commissions are forms of people's power which must be developed, so long as they do not pretend to be a 'parallel power' to the state apparatus....

"6) Promulgate legislation severely punishing the 'armed militias,' which must be suppressed within a maximum of one month's time, along with the 'popular vigilance commissions' and others which have arms in their possession."

—National Secretariat of the Socialist Party, "Overcome the Crisis, Save the Revolution" (28 July), *Portugal Socialista*, 30 July 1975

Portuguese Socialist Party/Early September

"The SP...proposes a Government of Unity and National Salvation, agreeing to Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo to constitute it....

"There is a group of emergency measures which come to mind and are necessary....

"D) Reaffirm the principle that the neighborhood commissions and workers commissions are forms of people's power which must be developed, so long as they do not pretend to be a 'parallel power' to the political-administrative apparatus of the state....

"E) Promulgate legislation severely punishing the 'armed militias' which must be suppressed within a maximum of one month's time, along with the 'popular vigilance commissions' and others which have arms in their possession."

—Mario Soares, "Clarify the Military Situation to Overcome the Crisis" (3 September), *Portugal Socialista*, 10 September 1975

The "76 Strategy" in Practice

CAP Unites with Urban League in Albany

Last March the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) published "76 Strategy," a declaration of political war on the "intermediate lackey sector" of society, including "petty bourgeois politicians (democrats, republicans or 'independents')...." The April issue of CAP's *Unity and Struggle* boldly proclaims that "the intermediate lackies must be grappled with, struggled against and exposed as practically bankrupt" in order "to win the workers to scientific socialism and revolution and away from reform or bribery."

The apparently revolutionary determination of this strategic perspective stands in pointed contradiction to CAP's concrete tactics for carrying it out. Electoral campaigns are a key aspect, and CAP unequivocally announces its willingness to "sacrifice our classical purity for the power of coalition and mass motion"!

The reformist program that lurks behind the hyper-militant rhetoric of "76 Strategy" is expressed in CAP's current participation in an electoral coalition in Albany, N.Y. Clarence Samuel Johnson, a black minister and Urban League member, is running for a seat on the Board of Education. He is backed by a coalition which includes CAP, the NAACP, the Urban League and various church and community groups. The main components, according to the Albany press, are CAP and the Urban League, an odd coupling of Pan-Africanist disciples of Mao-thought and the most conservative of the petty-bourgeois, corporate and government-funded black organizations.

In fact, this alliance flows directly from the unprincipled combinationism which CAP and its leader, Amiri Baraka (formerly Imamu Baraka, and before that LeRoi Jones), have already demonstrated in the Black Women's United Front and the National Black Assembly. To attain the illusion of leading masses, Baraka embraces the programs of the "intermediate lackeys" that he denounces in his press. Laurence Burwell, Albany Urban League executive director, described this coalition as "a first." "For the first time," he said, "we have been able to overcome our differences" (*Knickerbocker News and Union Star*, 17 September).

Johnson's electoral program indicates that this political unity was achieved by CAP's simply accepting the Urban League's program: quality education, redistribution of educational funds, informing parents of their legal rights and a classic formula for union-busting, "accountability of teachers to the community." Johnson told a *WV* reporter that his platform explicitly does *not* include demands relating to desegregation of the schools or fighting budget cuts. Even within a program that narrowly focuses on educational issues, CAP has capitulated to the Urban League's subreformist "share the poverty" philosophy.

In a case where a working-class organization or black organization expressing the anti-capitalist aspirations of the oppressed minority masses advances an independent candidate against the bourgeois parties and politicians, a revolutionary Marxist organization could consider calling for a vote to this candidate. However, there is no basis for such critical support to Johnson's "independent" campaign, whose platform is, in some respects, more limited than that of a run-of-the-mill reform Democrat. But CAP, of course, is not even critically supporting this candidacy. It has politically liquidated into this coalition and advances Johnson as its own candidate.

With the Albany coalition CAP comes full circle back to Baraka's former role as left mouthpiece and bullyboy for Newark's Mayor Kenneth Gibson, whose friends in the Urban Coalition and Prudential Insurance Co. are identical to the interests that back the Urban League. Moreover, it was on the issue of "accountability to the community" that Baraka launched a vicious attack on the Newark Teachers Union during the 1970 and 1971 strikes. Although the NTU was led by black teachers and advanced demands for educational improvements that would have benefitted black students (a majority in the city's schools), Baraka threw his forces into Gibson's strikebreaking campaign in order to preserve his opportunist alliance with this black Democrat. Gibson's repeated attacks on Puerto Rican and black people subsequently forced Baraka to adopt a left posture, which echoes through "76 Strategy" and the advocacy of independent electoral activities. Nevertheless, the political essence of the Albany campaign is identical to Baraka's previous alliance with Gibson.■

Half-Way Through—Sub Drive Hits 86%!

Build the Weekly

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

80

Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)

☐ $5/48 issues ☐ $2/16 issues (Introductory)

Women and Revolution

☐ $1/4 issues

Young Spartacus

☐ $2/11 issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Subscribe Now!

SUB DRIVE SPECIAL

☐ **$6 for 48 issues of WORKERS VANGUARD, and 11 issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS**

As the supporters of the SL/SYL go into the third week of work to make the subscription drive a success in bringing the weekly *WV* to new readers, we also wish to note our appreciation for the readers who have written to express their solidarity with this important undertaking. During the month of September *WV* received many letters from subscribers saluting the inauguration of the weekly. We want to thank these friends of *WV* for their encouragement and support, and to note especially the contributions from N. P. of Brooklyn ($25); R. T. of Flushing, New York ($10) who wrote, "The weekly *Workers Vanguard* will be a welcome sight in my mailbox—Congratulations!!"; J. W. of Hamburg, New York ($25); and J. B. of San Francisco ($15) who told us that "... the paper has remained high in quality for the three years that I have been reading it and therefore feel it is well worthy of support from working people all over."

19 September-16 October 1975

SECOND-WEEK REPORTS

	total to date	*quota*	*parcant fulfillad*
Berkeley/Oakland	119	200	59
Bloomington	21	35	60
Boston	130	135	96
Chicago	173	200	86
Claveland	68	140	48
Detroit	116	130	89
Houston	86	70	122
Ithaca	39	40	97
Los Angeles	179	200	89
Madison	34	60	56
New York	394	400	98
Philadelphia	100	120	83
San Francisco	161	110	146
At Large	20	50	40
TOTAL	1640	1890	86

In addition, we have received thirty-five points from our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada.

Seventy-nine subs to *Women and Revolution* were also sold.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Franco Regime...

(continued from page 1)

head of the general staff, General Diez Alegría, resulted in widespread speculation about a possible "Spanish Spínola." But Diez Alegría was sacked soon after he began receiving monocles in the mail.

Discussion of a "MFA solution" to the "Franco question" increased again this summer with the arrest of seven Spanish officers accused of having contact with their Portuguese counterparts and of membership in an illegal subversive organization. The seven were part of the "Democratic Military Union," estimated by the UPI to have as many as 1,000 officer members.

Although this group does object to the use of the military "solely" as a repressive force, it steadfastly rejects any analogy to the Portuguese MFA. According to its declaration (reported in *Le Monde*, 13 August 1975), the Democratic Military Union sees itself as "responsible and upset military men" reacting to international deprecation, snubs from NATO and the Common Market, and conditions whereby "the terrorists prepare their blows with near impunity." No army likes to be a loser.

While there is certainly discontent in the Spanish army, there should be no illusions that it represents a liberal alternative to the Franco regime and much less that it could be a "revolutionary vanguard." The extinction of the Civil War generation of officers through death and retirement does not change the nature of the army. The young officers remain loyal to the armed forces, which are and always have been the power base of the bonapartist Franco regime. And if the Portuguese experience now in course is not yet conclusive for empiricists who chase after left-talking demagogues, the tragic experience of the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War should convincingly prove that the bourgeois army is *necessarily* counterrevolutionary. As Leon Trotsky wrote of the Republican Army under the popular-front government:

> "The officers' corps represents the guard of capital. Without this guard the bourgeoisie could not maintain itself for a single day. The selection of the individuals, their education and training, make the officers as a distinctive group uncompromising enemies of socialism.... The danger lies not in the military braggarts who openly appear as fascists; incomparably more menacing is the fact that at the approach of the proletarian revolution the officers' corps becomes the executioner of the proletariat.... The officers' corps, in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch."
>
> —"The Lesson of Spain," July 1936

The Spanish Left and the Military

As occurred in the unsettled prerevolutionary period following the fall of the Primo de Rivera dictatorship in 1931, and again during the Civil War years, the leaders of the Spanish working class are seeking to tie the proletariat to its class enemy by treacherous popular-front accords. The Communist Party (CP), led by Santiago Carrillo, has initiated the so-called "Junta Democrática," including the Popular Socialist Party, left Christian Democrats and the followers of Don Juan de Borbón, the Count of Barcelona who is also a pretender to the Spanish throne and father of Prince Juan Carlos, Franco's designated heir.

The social-democratic PSOE (Socialist Workers Party of Spain), on the other hand, has put together a "Platform of Convergence" which includes the followers of the Carlist pretender. In response to an "anti-terrorist" law decreed in August, these two popular fronts issued a joint declaration in which they pledge to work toward the formation of a "large democratic coalition" (*Le Monde*, 20 September). Presumably, in addition to blocking the struggle for working-class independence, this super-popular front is supposed to resolve the century-old division of the royal house as well!

As opposed to the reformists, who leave the proletariat prostrate before the unchallenged military hegemony of the bourgeoisie, Marxists understand that a necessary precondition for the success of a revolutionary uprising is a class polarization in the bourgeois armed forces and the passing over of its plebeian ranks to the workers' pole in a dual power situation. It is through the formation and extension of democratically elected soldiers and sailors councils, and their linking to workers soviets, that the proletarians and peasants in uniform will become a powerful force for revolution—*not* by preaching continued loyalty and disciplined submission to the *bourgeois* officer corps. To uphold the Spínolas and Diez Alegrías is to prepare anew the sanguinary slaughter which followed Franco's victory in 1939.

But it is precisely to the Spínolas and Diez Alegrías that the class-collaborationist Stalinists and social democrats turn. The CPUSA's *Daily World* (6 August) was quick to label the Democratic Military Union as the "Spanish MFA." The Spanish CP sings the same tune, declaring in a statement by the plenum of its executive committee that:

> "Within the heart of the officers' corps currents are asserting themselves which are opposed to the army's continued utilization as a repressive and praetorian force, and who favor democratic solutions which permit the Spanish people to be masters of their destiny, and who place the army in its true mission as defenders of the borders and of national sovereignty."
>
> *Mundo Obrero*, 22 January 1975

And Santiago Carrillo concludes: "Aren't conditions favorable to a Spanish April 25 thus created" by the appearance of the Democratic Military Union (*Le Monde*, 12 August).

Thirty-six years of the most brutal and naked capitalist dictatorship in Spain have only deepened the Stalinists' commitment to class collaboration. In their perennial search for the "progressive bourgeoisie" and "democratic officers," they prepare the way for new bloodbaths carried out by organized reaction. The struggle to disorganize the forces of counterrevolution and pave the road to workers revolution in Spain and Portugal is simultaneously the fight to expose and politically destroy these reformist "gravediggers of the revolution." Down with Franco—Down with capitalism! Split the army—Destroy the officer corps! For a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula!■

Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

socialist revolution cannot be carried out by a capitalist army! The task of proletarian revolutionaries is to *split* the army along class lines.

The key to victory is a Marxist leadership capable of providing correct revolutionary direction: a Trotskyist party. Such a revolutionary vanguard would unceasingly struggle against the class collaboration of the reformist misleaders, in particular to break all ties with and illusions in the various wings of the MFA. Vigilantly resisting all attempts to strike at the workers' gains, it would put forward a *transitional program* capable of mobilizing the mass of workers and soldiers, together with the exploited sectors of the petty bourgeoisie, to beat back the rightist onslaught and pass over to a revolutionary assault on capitalist rule.

—Smash rightist threats! For a united armed defense against attempts to purge army leftists and repress the workers!

—Polarize the MFA—Split the army on class lines! Build and extend elected soldiers committees, linked to the workers movement! For workers militias!

—Expropriate the bourgeoisie! Extend workers control through elected factory and enterprise committees!

—Build and unite workers councils nationwide, drawing in the workers commissions, popular vigilance committees, soldiers committees, neighborhood and agricultural workers commissions for the struggle for power!

—Down with the popular front—Communist Party and Socialist Party must break with the capitalists! Toward a workers government, based on organs of soviet power, composed of the mass and vital elements of the Portuguese proletariat, led by a revolutionary Trotskyist party!

—Toward a soviet federation of the Iberian peninsula! For the socialist United States of Europe! For the rebirth of the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution!

Gun Control...

(continued from page 7)

> brazen. If the French workers, in every revolution, inscribed on the houses: 'Mort aux voleurs! Death to the thieves' and even shot some, they did it not out of reverence for property, but because they rightly considered it necessary above all to get rid of that gang."

The American proletariat will vigorously suppress both street crime and organized gangsters—as the police who are tied to them through graft and kickbacks will never do—in the course of organizing the socialist revolution.

Marx characterized the lumpens as "the dangerous class" because they could easily be organized against a rising proletariat by a bonapartist, a fascist, a capitalist. At the same time, the pervasive fear of lumpen criminality can be dangerous as well. A rash of proto-fascist popular films has been released in the last few years; their insistent theme is the impotence of liberalism in dealing with street crime. In Don Segal's *Dirty Harry*, the "villain" is the first, fourth, fifth and fourteenth amendments to the Constitution, which have "tied the cops' hands." In *Walking Tall*, another cop creates his own law on the street and cleans up the town. Black as well as white audiences applauded the objectively racist pro-vigilante *Death Wish*: nobody likes to get ripped off.

It should be clear that traditional U.S. liberalism, like the German Weimar Republic, will remain limp before the rise in indiscriminate criminal terror. Marxists must work to undercut the dangerous myth that the answer to street crime is increasingly autonomous cops or vigilante vengeance. The proletarian movement must not allow right-wingers and outright fascists to present themselves as the alternative to lawlessness. Fascism represents bestiality and terror elevated to the level of a principle. It is the working-class movement which stands for decency, humanity and peace based on equality; only the victorious proletariat can establish just law and international socialist order.

Disarm the Capitalist State!

There are criminals in and out of office. In the United States there is good reason for the profound and pervasive distrust for a government which is continuously exposed as liars, snoopers, torturers, assassins, perpetrators of mass violence and mass illegality. The Mafia hero of *The Godfather* explains that his operation is really no different from the rest of big business and the government. Indeed, the Mafia is a small-change terror outfit in comparison to the torture campaigns unleashed in Indochina. The bourgeoisie buries *its* hit men in Arlington cemetary and blows bugles over them.

Recently it has been revealed that the CIA and the Mafia had collaborated in numerous criminal activities. In this context the Nixon administration's "enemies list" becomes even more sinister. The American public's resistance to gun control flows in part from an understandable reluctance to relinquish access to weapons solely to the government in a context in which it becomes increasingly difficult to distinguish mafiosi from CIA assassins.

There is a fundamental class logic to the bourgeoisie's desire to check the proliferation of firearms. As Lenin demonstrated in *State and Revolution*, the essence of state power is the monopoly on coercion, concentrated in the standing bodies of armed men—the police and the army. In the introduction to Marx's *Civil War in France*, Engels noted that following every revolutionary uprising "the disarming of the workers was the first commandment for the bourgeoisie who were at the helm of the state."

This impulse was not foreign to earlier rulers. Charlemagne, for example, collected the swords and pikes of the people whenever there was a famine, to protect the royal granaries. Bourgeois Europe, with the longest history of subduing plebeian and proletarian insurrections, has maintained the strictest gun legislation in the world.

But it would be a species of mindless urban Guevarism to confuse the struggle for power (as today in Portugal) with the present issue of American "gun control." And, in general, it is a profound mistake to fetishize the technical aspects of the military question in making a revolution, as do the Maoists and guerrillaists. The bourgeois state will not be defeated by simple military means abstracted from the consciousness, leadership, combativity and organization of the working class. Many workers will have received some rudimentary military training in the army, but it is the "lifers" and non-coms—who will overwhelmingly side with the reactionary forces—who are in advance effectively skilled in the use of weapons. In the early phases of the revolution, the insurgent workers are militarily no match per se for the armed bodies of the state power. The key to the workers' victory resides in their superior consciousness and ability to actively mobilize the broader masses including the military ranks. The success of the proletarian revolutionary struggle hinges on the central question of the *vanguard party*, which translates the workers' consciousness and heroism into effective organization and which, simultaneously with the creation of organs of dual power—including on the military level—works to split the bourgeois army and smash the capitalist state.

Because the U.S. Constitution and federal law are ostensibly class and color-blind, the "gun control" issue continues to be without a definitive outcome, to be *paralyzed*. On the one hand, the summits of the bourgeoisie and its state want a prohibition of private handguns and rigid regulation and control of long arms; on the other hand, in this racist and violence-ridden country the politically potent white middle class (and everybody else with felt vulnerability) *demand* the right to possess arms. Hence little piecemeal legislation gets through: partial bans where black militancy seems unduly threatening, elimination of cheap (i.e., poor people's) weapons, etc. But overall, the gun situation remains static, despite the howls at the top among the ruling pacifist-murderers.

Marxists must oppose the monopoly of armed might in the hands of the racist cops, strike-breaking National Guard and imperialist U.S. army. Unlike the smug liberals, we are all too aware of the fragility of bourgeois democracy and the real danger that significant upsurges in the class struggle will provoke the growth of paramilitary ultra-rightist and fascist bands devoted to the terrorization of blacks and Chicanos, striking workers and leftists. We must vigorously support the right of the populace to bear arms thus prefiguring the socialist future.■

Pinochet's Lackeys...

(continued from page 12)

prescribed just such a "shock treatment."

The results of this policy have been devastating—a 20 percent decline of industrial output in six months, an unemployment rate soaring to 20 percent and a projected 10 percent drop in gross national product for the year. For Chilean working people, the treatment prescribed by the author of *Capitalism and Freedom* means ever deeper misery, coming on top of a *50 percent* decrease in the real wages of the lowest-paid workers during 1974 alone. Chilean monopolists and foreign predators are free to brutally starve the working class. The workers, whose democratic rights and labor organizations have been outlawed, are "free" to submit to untrammeled exploitation (see "Protest Barbaric Chilean Junta's Collaborators," *Young Spartacus* No. 36, October 1975, for a full account of Friedman's and Harberger's complicity).

The SYL-led campaign against these two academic servants of the hangman Pinochet has generated considerable controversy at the university. Today's *Chicago Sun-Times* carried an article on the demonstration and the campus newspaper (*Chicago Maroon*) had three articles, an editorial and two letters on the issue. In an interview with the *Maroon*, Harberger (director of the UC Economics School) denied being a consultant to the junta, although admitting that he has visited Chile five times since the overthrow of the leftist Allende regime in September 1973. But the facts show that these two economics "experts" have played a major advisory role in generating Chile's savage austerity program. The Santiago magazine *Ercilla* (2-8 April) trumpeted the March visit by Friedman and Harberger, noting that it "included presidential and ministerial interviews and a talk before 400 officials of the Armed Forces."

The University of Chicago Economics School has a history of intimate links with Chile's oligarchy. Both of the junta's top economic policymakers, Finance Minister Jorge Cauas and the new Minister of Economy Sergio de Castro, are long-time associates of Friedman and Harberger. According to the latter, between eight and ten economic officials of the present regime are graduates of UC. The top managers running the Chilean economy today are frequently referred to in Santiago as the "Chicago Boys" because they were trained in the Friedman/Harberger school of freedom for capitalists and slavery for the workers.

Several speakers at today's rally ridiculed the lame excuses offered by these two henchmen of the reactionary Chilean butchers. Professor Rubinstein tore apart Harberger's deceitful cover-up in the *Maroon* interview. (Ignoring the tragic fate of more than 20,000 workers and peasants slaughtered by his *gorila* friends, Harberger proclaimed his loyalty to "those poor guys"—his former students—who are trying to "get the country closer to recovery" by forcing still lower the pathetic living standard of Chilean working people.) Sandor John, speaking for the Spartacus Youth League, scored the "disgusting hypocrisy" of Friedman's claims to stand for freedom while he helps plan mass starvation in Chile and advocates cutting social services and smashing the unions in the U.S.

Author and radio commentator Studs Terkel sent a message saying he was ashamed to be a graduate from UC where policy is determined by "moral midgets" like Friedman. Joseph Persky, a professor at the University of Illinois' Circle Campus, graphically described the depression conditions which have resulted from Friedman's "shock treatment."

A Spartacist League spokesman called for mobilizing international labor solidarity to defend class-war prisoners in Chile. He described the SL's campaigns to free leftist prisoners and for implementation of the two-day longshore boycott of Chilean cargo in September 1974. He also pointed to the treacherous role played by the Allende popular front in tying Chilean workers to the class enemy, drawing a parallel to Portugal today, where the absence of a revolutionary vanguard party leading the workers to seize power may lead to another counterrevolutionary bloodbath.

The YSA spokesman resurrected the mouldering corpse of the class-collaborationist antiwar movement as a model of "what students can do" to stop repression in Chile. Individual YSAers admitted in discussion that their organization opposed the SYL's call to "drive Friedman off campus through protest and exposure."

In concluding, Sandor John described recent harassment of the SYL and other supporters of the committee, reaffirming the committee's determination to carry the campaign forward. "We are here to say that the university will not be used as a staging ground for the crucifixion of the Chilean people."■

Philip Allen...

(continued from page 12)

and is trying to railroad him into the state prison, called for a campaign against police violence. Not surprisingly, the SCAR campaign which he spoke of will commence with a meeting in conjunction with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and various ministerial "representatives of the black community." Barrera tried hard to impress the crowd with this motley assemblage of liberals, and with SCAR's impotent non-strategy to fight racial oppression by holding church meetings to plead with the cops.

Following the successful Los Angeles City College demonstration to defend Philip Allen, the administration attempted to suspend the Spartacus Youth League campus charter for two weeks. Prompted by a recently-revived administration "law" that all monies collected on campus property must first be handed over to the administration (which will then write a check to the recipient), this attempted suspension can only be seen as part of a generalized attack against the left. A PDC-initiated Committee to Defend the SYL challenged this suspension, demanding "Hands Off the SYL," "Hands Off Student Money" and "Repeal the Suspension." Following two days of petitioning at LACC for these demands, the Interclub Council—the body which approves charters for student groups—condemned the administration for "its attempted illegal and unjust suspension of the SYL."

Don Cane, speaking for the SYL, counterposed to this reformist claptrap a real strategy to fight police violence and the racist courts. The Allen case proved, he said, that "there is no justice for working people in the capitalist courts." When favorable decisions are reached, he pointed out, it is, as in the Joanne Little victory, "not due to the good wishes of the bourgeois courts, but to the involvement of mass support from socialists, labor, and the black community."

Cane linked SCAR's program to moderate the viciousness of the cops through community control or pressure with SCAR/SWP's treacherous calls for federal troops to "protect" black school children in Boston. "What is needed," said Cane, "is independent working-class action." To fight the racist thugs in Boston a labor/black defense built on the unions and black organizations is required. For Philip Allen and other victims of the racist thugs in uniform this means placing no confidence in the courts, whose job is not to "blindly" dispense justice but to maintain the class rule of the exploiters.

Cane's remarks met with enthusiastic applause and the rally concluded with his appeal for support for a picket line the following morning at the Santa Monica Court House where Allen was to be sentenced.

On Thursday the small and orderly picket line and an overflow crowd at the courthouse were stunned by the news that Allen had received the maximum possible sentence—five years to life in the state prison! As *WV* goes to press we learn that Philip Allen has now been denied bail by a judge who gave among his reasons the fact that Allen is waging a campaign in his defense and speaking at rallies such as the one at LACC! These outrageous atrocities must be overturned! The Partisan Defense Committee urges *WV* readers to send much-needed donations to the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005.■

BERKELEY—On October 4 Ellery Allen, mother of Philip Allen, addressed a Berkeley audience in a forum sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC). Ms. Allen related the details and latest developments in her son's case, showing that his conviction in the shooting of a Los Angeles deputy is a racist frame-up by the police and courts. The conviction is now under appeal.

The Philip L. Allen Defense Committee is winning support in Los Angeles, Ms. Allen said. Though the committee has several substantial "benefactors," whose contributions were applauded at a recent meeting of the Allen Defense Committee, she said that "we had an even bigger clap for the dimes and quarters" (amounting to $152) that came from a defense rally organized by the Spartacus Youth League at Los Angeles City College where Philip Allen is a student. In particular, she singled out the efforts of the SYL and SYLer Don Cane in building the LACC demonstration.

Another guest speaker at the Berkeley forum was Bob Mandel, executive board member of Local 6, ILWU. Mandel emphasized the need for partisan non-sectarian defense of the working-class movement and drew the connections between Allen's case and those of such labor militants as Jane Margolis, recently fired San Francisco telephone worker whose case is also supported by the PDC (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 77, 19 September). The Berkeley forum raised nearly $100 for the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee.

The PDC, which stands in defense of the whole of the working people, in accordance with the views of the Spartacist League, has given wide publicity to the Allen case. In the Bay Area, the PDC sent press releases to local newspapers and radio stations, and also gave several radio interviews with Ms. Allen. In one of the interviews Ms. Allen spoke appreciatively of the PDC's help, pointing to the fact that the PDC came forward immediately after the case was made public not only with financial help but also with full political and moral support.

The Saturday forum, the first public forum of the PDC, was a historic step in the launching of a genuine partisan non-sectarian defense organization.

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

Philip Allen Gets Maximum Sentence

450 At Los Angeles Defense Rally

LOS ANGELES—A militant and spirited demonstration of 450 people, predominantly black, gathered at L.A. City College (LACC) October 1 to protest the frame-up conviction of Philip Allen on charges of voluntary manslaughter and to demand his freedom.

Allen, a young black LACC student, was accused of killing a Los Angeles County sheriff's deputy last New Year's Eve. As reported in *WV* No. 77, 19 September, Allen's trial was a racist mockery of even bourgeois "justice." The 5'3" Allen was "proven" to have overcome six to eight large cops, disarmed one and, without leaving any fingerprints on the gun, killed one cop while wounding two or three others. The facts—that Allen passed a police lie-detector test, that no one (besides the sheriff's deputies themselves) could testify as to how Allen accomplished the feat, and that no tests were done on the gun to see if Allen had fired it—were all disregarded in the state's frenzied rush to pin the blame for the deputy's death on the victim of the crime.

It is well known that victims of police beatings are invariably charged with assaulting an officer—Allen's case is simply an extremely grotesque example of a well-worn frame-up technique.

The rally at LACC, covered by the local ABC television news, reflected in its large turnout and broad sponsorship the full support which the campus community gives to Allen's defense. The rally was held under the auspices of a united front initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL—youth section of the Spartacist League) and including LACC instructors Jay Kelly, Bob Lotts, and Bob Kort; Larry Woodard, president of the Associated Men's Student Body; Justice for United Students; the Black Student Union; MECHA, a Chicano student group; Jerry Freedman-Habush of the Jewish Hillel House; the Catholic Newman Center; and the Partisan Defense Committee.

The first speakers, Della Andrews (vice-president of the Associated Student Body) and Michael Zinzun of the Pasadena Community Information Center (who is currently fighting a Pasadena cop frame-up), both appealed for solidarity with the victims of police repression.

Philip Allen spoke and was enthusiastically received by the crowd. Allen vividly exposed the nature of the frame-up and the grossly racist progress of his trial.

Grady Daugherty spoke next for the Partisan Defense Committee. He explained the nature of the PDC's support for Philip Allen, both financial and political. He outlined the PDC's strategy for defense against racist injustice—not narrow bourgeois-legalistic courtroom conservatism, like that which has unfortunately hampered Allen's defense thus far, but reliance on the power of the masses. Joanne Little, another recent intended victim of the bourgeoisie's lynch-law "justice," was freed from a possible death sentence by a combination of mass demonstrations, vigorous publicity, and a well-financed legal defense. Daugherty's appeal for money for the Allen defense met with a good response and $152.47 was collected and turned over to Allen's mother.

Philip Allen addresses rally at Los Angeles City College, October 1. WV Photo

The remaining three speakers showed sharp differences in approaching the question of how best to defend victims of police violence.

Jim Burling of the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee compared the viciously racist L.A. Sheriff's Department with supposedly humane cops and police review in Jacksonville, Florida.

Manuel "Tank" Barrera spoke for the Student Coalition Against Racism (SCAR). This former Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for head of the same Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department which beat up Philip Allen

continued on page 11

"Drive Friedman/Harberger Off Campus Through Protest and Exposure!"

SYL Leads Campaign Against Pinochet's Academic Lackeys

CHICAGO, October 3—A rally held today at the University of Chicago (UC) denounced the criminal collaboration of UC professors Milton Friedman and Arnold Harberger with the Chilean military junta. Two hundred students, teachers and campus workers demonstrated in front of the Administration Building in response to the call issued by a united-front committee initiated by the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and chaired by Richard Rubinstein, a political science professor at Roosevelt University.

The "Committee Against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta" was formed to protest the role of these prominent professors as economic braintrusters to the murderous Pinochet regime and to demand freedom for all victims of the junta's repression. Also participating in the committee were the Chicago Union of Radical Political Economists (URPE), Hyde Park/UC New American Movement (NAM), Indians for Political Freedom, the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA), along with a number of prominent individuals.

Far from merely being a disinterested academic purveyor of the ultra-reactionary Ayn Rand-F.A. Hayek brand of "free enterprise" ideology, according to the *New York Times* (21 September) Friedman is the "guiding light of the junta's economic policy." Following his visit to Santiago last March, sponsored by the Chilean Mortage Bank, the Pinochet government effected a "shock treatment" designed "to hit inflation by cutting demand." The Chilean newspaper *Mercurio* (27 March) reported that in a speech to a select audience of military officials Friedman

continued on page 11

WV Photo

Rally at University of Chicago, October 3, to protest collaboration with bloody Chile junta by U. of C. economics professors Friedman and Harberger.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 81 17 October 1975

Gov. Carey to Ford: "Troops or Funds!"

Labor Must Mobilize to Shut Down NYC!

OCTOBER 12 When New York City union leaders stomped out of Mayor Beame's office last Wednesday muttering about a general strike it did not mean a "left turn" by the labor bureaucracy. It was only a cheap drama to support the banks and local politicians in their campaign to deflect anger to Washington and crack opposition to federal aid to bail out the city. As the bourgeoisie suddenly grasps that NYC "default" could trigger a banking collapse that would send destructive shock waves through an already depressed economy, support grows in Congress for a federal aid bill. The play for the money is on.

Although the need for a powerful city-wide general strike to smash the capitalist austerity program is more urgent than ever, the bureaucrats' hollow bluster outside the Mayor's office raised immediate skepticism on all sides. The call for a general strike was literally unbelievable coming out of the mouths of men like Victor Gotbaum who not two months ago said *any* kind of strike was a "sign of weakness"; from Albert Shanker who agreed to the disastrous UFT settlement and later said that the strike was a "mistake"; or John DeLury whose mem-

continued on page 6

WV Photo

New York cops failed to prevent militant hospital workers from marching across Brooklyn Bridge in July.

Not Putschism—For Workers Revolution in Portugal

Defend Porto Barracks Revolt!

OCTOBER 14—Last week 600 soldiers of a Portuguese army unit in the northern city of Porto moved into installations of the local artillery brigade, ran up a red flag and declared their intention to remain until an order disbanding their unit is rescinded and its author, the regional commander, removed. This barracks revolt by the military transport center (CICA) and its supporters in the artillery brigade is now seven days old, making it the longest open defiance of the military command by rebellious leftist soldiers to date in Portugal. But it is by no means the only case. At this point the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) is deeply divided and the discipline-minded general staff is hard-pressed to find dependable units.

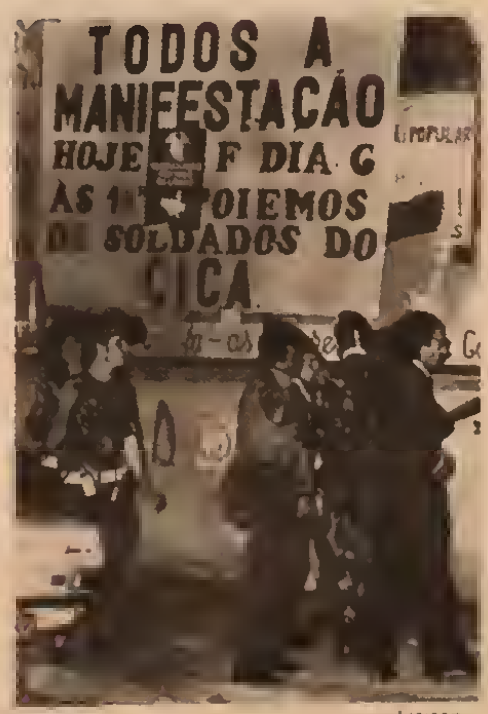
The intra-MFA struggle began in late July as a faction fight at the top, with one wing grouped around then-Premier Vasco Gonçalves and pro-Communist Party (CP) elements, a second around the supposedly "far left" General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, and a third composed of the "moderate" Group of Nine. The latter won out in the officer corps, forcing the retirement of Gonçalves and placing the present sixth provisional government in power. But since the beginning of September the splintering of the armed forces has rapidly accelerated. Soldiers committees of various political hues have arisen to challenge the command structure, and units in various parts of the country have refused to obey orders. So far, Premier Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo's program for a purge of the left has flopped.

Ranks Rebel

The first of the leftists soldiers' "mutinies" was a refusal by the Military Police Regiment to embark for Angola at the end of August. On September 1, some 200 MPs, led by the Maoist Movement to Reorganize the Proletarian Party (MRPP), marched in battle dress before the presidential palace to win support for their defiance of orders. They were joined by several thousand workers and students. President Francisco da Costa Gomes, who is simultaneously chief of staff of the armed forces, responded by dissolving the regiment, but the military police remain in control of their installations. Meanwhile an internal struggle has been going on within the regiment between the MRPP and the soft-Maoist Democratic Popular Union (UDP), with the latter gaining the upper hand in alliance with the unit commander, Major Tome.

The rank-and-file revolt in the military continued to spread throughout the country, leading to the creation of the clandestine "Soldiers United Will Win," (SUV) organization which led a demonstration in Porto against the Azevedo government on September 10. The SUV is generally linked with the "revolutionary (or popular) united front" (FUR) set up by eight leftist parties, including the CP, on August 25 to support the faltering Gonçalves "fifth government." While the SUV declared that soldiers had made a

continued on page 10



Liaison

Porto poster backs rebel soldiers.

Union Leaders Engineer a Rout

Berkeley Teachers Back to Work with No Contract

BERKELEY, October 6 –The longest teachers' strike in California history ended today in disaster for Berkeley teachers. Despite the sporadic militancy and length of the strike (over a month), union leaders cynically betrayed even their own expressed goal, restoration of the terms of an April 15 agreement with the school board. This initial agreement, unilaterally dumped when the city discovered a "fiscal crisis," was itself a setback: it traded off a total freeze on wage and fringe-benefit improvements for the school board's promise that there would be no layoffs. In order to engineer today's deal, the teachers' leaders actually concurred in wiping out an agreement negotiated during the strike to restore a 1.2 percent salary cut, one of the main issues which precipitated the walkout.

The two unions involved, the Berkeley Federation of Teachers (BFT) and the Berkeley Teachers Association (BTA), voted jointly to submit all issues to a special three-man "fact-finding" panel consisting of Superior Court Judge Spurgeon Avakian and two additional members chosen by the teachers and the school board respectively. The panel, an idea originally proposed by State Superintendent of Schools Wilson Riles, is empowered to investigate the issues and recommend a solution acceptable to all sides. Although the panel has no enforcement powers, the strike is effectively over.

Berkeley teachers picket, September 9. WV Photo

Teachers have returned to work pending the panel's decision, which is supposed to take anywhere from two to three weeks.

Without the strike weapon the teachers are in no position to bargain for anything, and the likelihood of their going out again after this demoralizing rout is extremely remote. This "truce" on the bosses' terms leaves the unions defenseless in the face of cutbacks in special education programs, elimination of class size restrictions, arbitrary transfers and other school board demands which forced the teachers to strike in the first place.

A significant "no" vote (about 25 percent) reflected deep disgust on the part of many teachers as well as a meek protest registered by leaders of the BTA, which is affiliated to the National Education Association. But the BTA protest was not aimed at the pay cut or the sellout April 15 agreement which it helped draft. Instead BTA leaders opposed the "Riles plan" because it had no "teeth" in it. What these phonies wanted was *binding arbitration*, giving some "neutral party" total control over the contract settlement!

Their proposed "solution" was the "Dellums plan" (named after its author, Congressman Ron Dellums) whose key components included "immediate resumption of regular classes under an interim agreement" and a third party to intervene with a decisive vote. The snag was that no one could agree on what the "interim agreement" would consist of. Consequently, the Dellums plan was scrapped in favor of a modified version of the Riles plan, which achieved the school board's aim of ending the strike, while keeping the exact terms of the new contract under wraps for the time being.

The school board added insult to injury with its condescending offer to allow individual teachers to borrow up to $600 to be repaid through payroll deductions over the next four months. The board did not even reveal whether teachers will have to pay interest while amortizing their strike losses.

The school board was as intransigent during this strike as the City Council was during the firemen's strike. Not to be outdone by its liberal union-busting friends in City Hall, the school board actively tried to break the strike by hiring scabs at $50 a day and spending thousands of dollars on vicious anti-union propaganda aimed at parents and students. Despite this campaign, the strike remained solid throughout. Nevertheless, because of the leadership's narrow strategy of reliance solely on community support, the teachers' strike was fatally isolated from the rest of the labor movement. The BFT and BTA bureaucrats, more concerned with their respectability and professional image, took not the slightest step toward joint action with striking Berkeley firemen or with other

continued on page 8

Letter

10 October 1975

To the editor

The article "Racism and Gun Control" in BT No. 80 (10 October) makes clear the racist and anti-working-class aims of the hypocritical bourgeois liberals' gun control campaign, as well as their inability to move definitively on this front given the widespread determination by the white middle class and many others to own guns. It is this real felt need on the part of millions that gives the right-wing National Rifle Association (NRA) and the gun manufacturers their enormous lobbying power, although both have their own motives: the strongly conservative NRA wants to suppress black militants and revolutionists (while safeguarding sports weapons), while the arms makers seek a bigger cut of the market by backing bans on cheap and imported "Saturday Night Specials."

In addition to obscuring the real social motivations behind demands for gun control, both pro- and anti-gun pressure groups make much of the Second Amendment. In fact, schoolchildren are taught, and most Americans believe, that "A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed" guarantees their personal right to arms. But this was neither the expressed intent of the slaveholders who founded the republic, nor of the jurists who interpret their views.

James Madison penned the Second Amendment as part of the concessions to states-rights advocates at the First Congress, assuring the right to state militias. The personal "right to bear arms" was only debated once. The old radical Samuel Adams felt the "right of revolution" withering fast and offered an amendment at the Massachusetts ratifying convention, that the "Constitution be never construed to authorize Congress to ... prevent the people of the United States, who are peaceable citizens from keeping their own arms." Under pressure of the Federalists he voted against his own amendment and it was *defeated*.

It is clear that the real question in the initially weak federal structure was locating control over the armed bodies of men that are the essence of state power. The real concerns involved were indicated in a review of early Constitutional history, which points out: "The overriding concern of the delegates to the federal convention was the need for a strong central government, with particular emphasis on the need to contain insurrection. Shay's rebellion and other disorders nurtured the fear of anarchy and the conviction that a strong militia under the supervision of the central government was necessary" (*Northwestern University Law Review*, March-April 1966).

Judicial review has been consistent with this extremely narrow interpretation of the "right to bear arms." In an early test of the allegedly anti-gangster National Firearms Act of 1934 (which requires taxation and hence registration of submachine guns, sawed-off shotguns, etc.), a Florida district court noted simply that "it [the second amendment] refers to the militia, a protective force of government; to a collective body and not individual rights." In upholding this view, the Supreme Court in *U.S. v. Miller* (the first and only time the Supreme Court has ruled on the constitutionality of a federal firearms regulation) ruled that since a sawed-off shotgun had no "reasonable relationship to the preservation or efficiency of a well-regulated militia," its ownership was not protected by the Second Amendment.

Thus the criterion of the Constitution's authors and their judicial inheritors has consistently been the preservation and protection of the armed state power, not the armed masses. If the particularity of American conditions, especially the racial polarization of the 1960's and 1970's, paralyzes the ability of the bourgeoisie to monopolize the use of firearms, it is not that they lack the intent or desire.

Comradely,
K.D.

Hungary 1956

IWP Supports Khrushchev's Tanks, But Not Very Well

At an October 4 Spartacist League forum in New York, entitled "The Politics of Crazy" and dealing with the recent rash of mock-leftist terrorism, a supporter of the International Workers Party (IWP) rose in the discussion period to denounce the SL for not defending the cultist Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) as part of the left. He further accused the SL of "cheerleading the misled workers of the actual counterrevolution" in Hungary in 1956. The following exchange ensued:

Burroughs (for the SL): "...Now you also mentioned Hungary. What you must explain about this 'counterrevolution' in Hungary are the soviets. That's all. That all over Hungary workers' soviets sprang up. The Cepel workers had a program, the first point of which was to keep factories in the hands of the workers. That's all you have to explain. *That* you don't support. The SLA has a program to get you in a room and blow your brains out, right? Kill school superintendents and enemies on a hit list that Del-reeze made in prison. *That* you support...."

IWP supporter: "...On this question of Hungary, yes there were soviets in Hungary. Workers were in soviets that were springing up. If you take the time to read Lenin's *Fourth International and the Renegade Kautsky* [sic], you'll see that he doesn't fetishize soviets as somehow inherently revolutionary. In fact, there was a Kronstadt soviet in 1921 which rose up against the Bolshevik party and which Lenin and Trotsky personally were prepared to smash, in blood. This is no kind of argument for saying that there was a revolutionary upsurge. What was happening in Russia was the workers were essentially being misled by the peasants. [In Hungary?] the Smallholders Party and one of the bourgeois parties and Cardinal Mindszenty were misleading them and actually using democratic demands for soviet democracy, the same way Kronstadt was used in '21 as a cover for bourgeois restoration...."

Burroughs: "I just want to answer one point. The slogan of the Kronstadt soviet was 'soviets without communists.' The program of the soviets in Hungary was 'soviets without Stalinists'."

IWPer from the floor: "Same thing!"

Burroughs: "Now for you it amounts to the same thing. That's the difference. That's the critical difference between your group out of Maoism and pro-Stalinist and our group. You see, we don't think of the Bolsheviks in 1921 as the same as the Stalinists [in Hungary, 1956]. That's the critical difference.... You know what they [Nagy] told the soviets in Hungary? They said, look, why don't you make soviets like they have in Yugoslavia. The workers answered, no, we want the kind of soviets we read about in our school books, the kind they had in Russia in 1917!" (Applause)

Stop the Scabs at *Washington Post*!

WASHINGTON, D.C. A bitter confrontation has been raging between the *Washington Post* and its craft employees since pressmen and stereotypers of Local 6 of the Newspaper and Graphic Communications Union walked out on strike October 1. Contract negotiations were suspended October 9 with a report of "no progress" and no date set to resume. Despite a reputation for political liberalism and enlightened labor relations, the *Post* is pursuing a vicious union-busting offensive.

Much of the sensationalist publicity surrounding the strike flows from what the *Post* calls a "riot" by pressmen as they walked off the job with the expiration of their contract. In the pre-dawn hours on October 1, a foreman was beaten up and extensive damage done to the *Post* pressroom. One press was set on fire, the electrical controls on others were destroyed and parts of all nine presses were jammed and destroyed. Following this a militant picket line was set up, which caused scabs to complain of being kicked, shoved, spat on and "verbally abused." The *Post* obtained an immediate Superior Court restraining order imposing strict controls on the pickets, including limiting the number of pickets to nine to cover three entrances.

Hypocrites' Outrage

The striking pressmen's alleged sabotage brought forth gales of self-righteous protest from the *Post* management and other papers such as the notoriously anti-labor *New York Times*. What these organs of capitalist opinion do not report is the war which they and their reactionary American Newspaper Publishers Association have been waging against the printing trades for years. One local Newspaper Guild official reported in a membership newsletter that the Publishers Association wanted the *Post* to lead a union-busting attack because of complaints against the *Post*'s allegedly too-high wages. But no doubt foremost in the pressmen's minds was the record of defeats printing crafts have suffered because of strikebreaking techniques such as live-in scabs, and the failure of union leaderships to counterattack with effective measures. Informed by sympathetic Guild members that management had scabs lined up on the upper floors ready to commence work the moment they walked out, the pressmen knew that such a defeat was being prepared for them.

Darling of the liberal establishment, the *Post* has been lauded in recent years for its revelations on Watergate and Vietnam, and its publisher, Kathryn Graham, sits on the board of several corporations. The true face of the *Post*'s liberalism has been increasingly revealed in its anti-union drive. The 3 October scab edition wallowed in its own demagogy: "No doubt it is possible to say that the immediate recourse to violence is the temper of our times. It is the same spirit as that of the hijacker in the airliners, or the sniper on a Belfast roof, or the assassin in the crowd that turns out to welcome a politician. But surely our times have by now taught us the wrongheadedness, and the immorality, of acquiescence to violence and threats.... People who oppose burning hooks will also oppose burning printing presses." Comparing its employees to assassins and hook-burners, the *Post* hails the federal grand jury which is currently calling pressmen to testify in an investigation of the violence.

The "Right to Publish"...and Break Unions

In fact, despite the "hook-burning" bogeyman, the *Post* has continued to publish a limited edition in part by flying the page duplicates by helicopter from the roof to six heavily-guarded press rooms of small, non-union papers in areas as much as 150 miles away. Graham's political pull was no doubt required to obtain clearance for the helicopter flights only three blocks from the White House, in a zone in which all flights are prohibited and in which the Civil Aeronautics Board had banned helicopter service. Now three of the damaged presses are back in operation, repaired by scab labor after the Machinists' Union refused to do the work.

For at least two years the *Post* has been carefully preparing a union-busting "contingency plan" for the present strike, training supervisory and other workers to substitute for pressmen, paper handlers, photoengravers and typesetters. Strikebreakers began their training at a fully-equipped mechanical plant in Oklahoma City, supported by the Publishers Association and several hundred newspapers specifically for the purpose of training scabs. According to the 12 October *New York Times* they received further "work experience" training at "various cooperating newspaper plants" starting in July as the unions' September 30 contract deadline approached. Some Guild and SEIU members have been trained to perform craft operations, and many crossing the picket lines now are doing craft work. When the Newspaper Guild recently demanded a list of its members who had been cross-trained the *Post* refused to supply it.

Post Operating Services Director John Tancill admitted in an interview with the Charlottesville *Daily Progress* October 5 that the newspaper began to purchase special offset equipment several months ago designed to be operated by "management, without assistance." This equipment was subsequently moved secretly to a management area in the *Post* building. Strikers told *WV* that management had openly boasted to them that it was prepared to operate the machinery during a strike.

Newspaper Labor War

During the past 20 years many of the large metropolitan dailies have gone bankrupt, and many of the remaining monopoly publishers have viciously assaulted the unions by introducing unlimited automation and hammering traditional craft union-enforced work rules. Over the past ten years, unions have been broken in lengthy strikes in Portland, Oregon, Shreveport, Louisiana, and at the Los Angeles *Herald-Examiner* and the *Miami Herald*. The *Post* strike marks a fever pitch in a determined series of union-busting attempts. Kansas City and Dallas pressmen are also currently under attack, locked out while scabs do their work.

The *Post*'s incredible bargaining demands, which are designed to drive up the wealthy paper's already high rate of profit, give the lie to its phony portrayal of the issue as one of free speech or the "right to publish." Management wants the right to reduce manning scales on the presses; to abolish the existing rules which enable the union to designate special press crews at overtime rates under certain conditions; to demote some regulars to the status of substitutes, ineligible for fringe benefits; and to permit management virtually unlimited power to alter work rules during the life of the contract. These attempts to roll back union gains, eliminate jobs and weaken union control of shop conditions amount to pure and simple union-busting.

Damaged presses at the Washington Post. Daily World

The *Post* pressmen's "violence" is an expression of their just anger at the company's vicious, utterly cynical union-busting assault and an elementary act of self-defense. Labor militants must defend all those accused of damaging company property and interfering with scabs, and demand that the grand jury "investigating" the *Post* strike be disbanded! But sabotage does not represent a strategy for success. Its effectiveness is limited by its temporary effect. It is also used by the employers to distort the issues and smear the strikers. Members of the *Post* unit of the Newspaper Guild, already carefully prepared by management to play a strikebreaking role, were able to swing three votes in favor of crossing the pressmen's picket lines using "destructive vandalism" as their excuse, despite a unanimous recommendation from the union's executive board to honor the lines. Use of mass picketing, spreading the strike to include other operations of the same employer and plant occupations are far more effective methods of dealing with strikebreaking. For example, strikers at the *Parisien Libéré*, a Paris daily, have occupied the plant as well as employed armed patrols to prevent scab editions of the paper from being shipped into France from Belgium.

The AFL-CIO bureaucrats who have given lip-service support to the *Post* strike while deploring the destruction of property have no intention of leading such a campaign. They offer only such tokenisms as a campaign to boycott the *Post* and its advertisers, in favor of subscribing to the *Washington Star*, and impotent appeals to the government to enforce the air corridor restrictions. The effective alternative to sabotage is to shut down the *Post* completely through mass picketing and to call out the entire D.C. labor movement. But the present union misleadership fears a militant showdown with the newspaper magnates and doesn't want to jeopardize its ties with the capitalist politicians who run city and federal government.

The failure to spread the strike to the *Washington Star*, whose contracts expired at the same time as the *Post*'s, is an especially egregious betrayal. Though the *Star* unions in the past have accepted worse conditions than *Post* workers, *Star* management is pressing for even more concessions, including a one-year moratorium on wage increases. *Now* is the time for coordinated strikes at both newspapers!

The despicable scabbing by members of the *Post* Guild unit is a testament to the weakness instilled by the historic proliferation of unions in the newspaper industry. By allowing "elite" bargaining units isolated from the more militant trade unionism of the traditional crafts, the union tops now find a Guild permeated with "professionalism" and an individualistic mentality that is alien to waging strikes. An essential ingredient for labor militancy is the amalgamation of the diverse newspaper unions along industrial-union lines.

The weakened bargaining position of the newspaper unions today flows from far-reaching cutbacks in personnel caused by automation which the union leaders have previously agreed to. Washington printing industry workers are covered by the same basic agreement that the New York International Typographical Union signed not long ago, allowing management an essentially unlimited right to eliminate jobs through attrition. Existing wages, fringe benefits and work rules cannot be defended let alone improved—without union commitment to a fight against automation-caused layoffs through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, to provide jobs for all newspaper workers. A serious struggle for such a program would challenge the right of capital to maintain a "reserve army of the unemployed," and thus demands a new leadership for the unions, opposed to the inevitably defeatist, pro-capitalist policies of the present labor skates.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions $5.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

An Exchange

Marxist Policy Toward the British Labour Party

Ontario
10 August 1975

Dear Comrades,

....The British Labour Party (BLP) developed as a reformist child of the trade-union movement. Its development in the 1920's was greatly influenced by the Russian Revolution. It was at its inception, and still is, an amalgam of many tendencies from the Webbs and the Fabians on the right to those claiming adherence to Marxism on the left. At all levels from branch upwards the trade-union movement has been closely affiliated to it. All branches are entitled to send delegates to the local management meetings of the party. All members of an affiliated (most are) union are, unless they specifically request otherwise, affiliated to the Labour Party by virtue of the general political levy.

During periods of economic and political crisis the rank-and-file local parties are often regenerated by a sudden increase in delegates from various union branches. This process is probably occurring at the present time, given the bankruptcy of the leadership and the severe crisis facing British capitalism. It is precisely at this time that the revolutionary movement should be looking to the Labour Party rank and file to answer the many questions being raised with a series of *transitional* demands and programme. This can only be effectively done by people who have consistently raised these demands over a period *within* the party. This brings me to the question of "entrism"....

From the beginning to the mid-1960's, [Gerry] Healy's organisation, later to become the SLL [Socialist Labour League], behaved in an opportunist manner with regard to the Labour Party, capturing positions by manoeuvres as opposed to ideas and programme. At one time they tried to capture control of *Tribune*, the "left" weekly paper of Michael Foot and others. We were treated to the spectacle of SLL members vigorously selling *Tribune*, a blatantly reformist paper. In the mid-sixties Healy finally decided to break from the Labour Party. His members did all they could to cause their expulsion which the BLP leadership organised obligingly. During this period the SLL did a lot of damage to the name of Trotskyism. The SLL had turned 180 degrees from opportunism to adventurism....

In Britain the deeply entrenched history of reformism presents an obstacle to revolutionaries. At the same time the existence of a politically oriented trade-union movement with its own political party dedicated (in principle anyhow) to the nationalisation of the basic means of production (Clause 4 of the party constitution) tends to undermine the reformist leadership in a period of economic and/or political crisis. During this present crisis the question of programme and leadership will constantly be raised. Centrist tendencies possibly forming around Wedgewood Benn and others will arise. These will be the tendencies to do battle with in the next period. They will disguise their reformism in Marxist phraseology. It will be essential for revolutionaries to be prepared for battle, many in the Labour Party itself. A well organised and disciplined group of revolutionaries within the BLP at this time putting forward transitional demands, raising the need for a programme, would have a fundamental role to play in challenging the centrist current and offering alternative leadership.

This activity within the Labour Party does not remove the need for an open Trotskyist tendency. It does mean that the members in the Labour Party have to avoid being formally associated with the open tendency in order to avoid expulsion. It does not mean hiding your ideas or developing a fetish about Labour Party work. It is a question of tactics and forces available.

Now to the points I feel need some comment contained in the article ["After Healy. What? WSL Adrift." *Workers Vanguard* No. 69, 23 May 1975].

Dealing with the question of the WRP [Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party, formerly SLL] fielding candidates in the last national elections, at the bottom of column 2 page 9 the statement: "The question of electoral policy represents in a concentrated form the central problem facing British revolutionaries, how to break the masses from the Labour Party...." How indeed? Given the situation at present, limited *revolutionary* forces, what is the purpose of running a candidate in opposition to an (albeit reactionary) Labour Party candidate? What is to be gained? The question of a Labour Party candidate's personal views is of interest in the main to those fighting such views within the Labour movement. To the mass of the working class it is a class question: the candidate represents the working-class party. To raise candidates in opposition means either you are in a position to challenge the leadership of the Labour Party or you have fallen into the petty-bourgeois trap of viewing events purely in terms of this or that candidate's backward views, without appreciating the question of class loyalties. The first possibility is doubtful, to put it mildly. The WRP is certainly not in a position, nor are objective conditions right, for a challenge to the Labour Party leadership at this time. One can only assume that the WRP has fallen into the last-mentioned trap something they condemned the peace movement candidates for doing when they opposed some Labour MPs who refused to vote for unilateral nuclear disarmament.

It does not of course follow that the revolutionary organisation should never run candidates. It is a question of forces available, the objective situation, and also remaining in close touch with the politically advanced workers in the Labour Party. With a force of revolutionaries inside the Labour Party preparing themselves for the inevitable split between the reformist leadership and large sections of the rank and file, it may be necessary for the open tendency to field candidates in an election, in conjunction with the cadres in the Labour Party challenging the centrists for leadership.

The first paragraph of column 3 page 8 raises the question of the attitude of the workers to the Labour Party. It is not a question of non-antagonism on the part of the revolutionary [organisation] to the Labour Party, but who is the WRP, an organisation unknown to the British working class, to offer a viable alternative to the Labour Party? Indeed, why did the WRP run Vanessa Redgrave if they weren't unknown? If the WRP were known in this working-class constituency and fielded a well-known local militant class fighter who adopted a critical but not blindly antagonistic attitude to the Labour Party there may have been some point. To field a candidate known for her undoubtedly theatrical ability only is yet another example of their "opportunist adventurism."

With the third paragraph of column 3 page 8 I take issue: "For a British revolutionary propagandist group it is essential to project itself as an *organizational* opponent...." Why is it essential? The writer does not tell us. In fact for a *propagandist* group it is essential to reach the most politically class-conscious workers, most of whom are active within the broad Labour movement. It would be far easier to reach them from *within*. It is as an agitational organization that the real need for an open alternative will arise. But this task would require organisation of tens if not hundreds of thousands....

Comradely greetings,
Colin P.

WV replies: Before discussing tactics toward the British Labour Party (BLP), it is necessary to describe the unusual two-tier structure of that party. The BLP is composed both of trade unions and of individual members organized in local (constituency) branches. It is the trade unions, not the local party branches, that are dominant. Thus at the national conference, the unions (each one casting a bloc vote proportional to its membership) constitute about 80 percent of the total vote.

Formally and in reality the BLP is controlled by the trade-union leadership. In the 1950's, for example, the local branches were solidly pro-Bevan, while the union bureaucracy imposed the right-winger Hugh Gaitskell as party leader. The BLP bureaucracy tends to treat the local branches and youth group as a sort of playground for leftists giving them the *illusion*, but not the substance, of influence in the mass party of the British proletariat.

The term "entrism" is generally used in the British "Trotskyist" milieu to refer to an organization whose main arena of activity is the BLP local branches, youth group, etc. In other words, an entrist tendency is one whose main form of political struggle is that of a faction within the BLP. Thus the press of the entrist Grant group, the *Militant*, describes itself as internal to the BLP.

We are certainly in favor of work in and struggle for the leadership of the trade unions. Under British conditions, trade-union work necessarily involves factional activity within the BLP. Thus, our comrades would certainly contest positions as union delegate to various BLP bodies. But this is not what is generally meant by "entrism."

At this time, we would reject the entrist tactic for a small, newly formed Trotskyist organization. Our central tactic would be one of regroupment, seeking to develop a solid cadre organization through effecting splits, and fusions within the "revolutionary left," concentrating on the ostensibly Trotskyist groups. One obvious and important difference between an entrist versus a regroupment perspective is that our press would be formally associated with an open Leninist organization even if this meant that the BLP apparatus proscribed it—i.e., that Labour Party members were prohibited from selling it.

In arguing for BLP entrism, Comrade Colin P. projects the development of centrist tendencies, mentioning Tony Benn as a likely leader. That centrist currents will emerge from the Labour Party is a legitimate *historic* projection. However, the art of tactics is very much in timing—specifically what to do when. The Grant group has predicated its entrism on the emergence of leftward-moving centrist forces in the BLP for the last twenty years! During these two decades, no serious left-social-democratic—much less centrist—factional opposition has emerged in the BLP. Tony Benn is not a centrist, but a left-of-center reformist, an outright supporter of American imperialism and NATO, and of British rule in Northern Ireland. In our opinion, the Tribunite/Benn wing of the BLP will not launch a serious factional offensive against the Wilson/Denis Healey leadership in the next period.

Comrade Colin P. implies that only an organization which has long been in the BLP can take advantage of a future leftward-moving centrist tendency. We flatly deny this. To effectively put forward its program as an alternative pole of attraction in the eyes of serious leftward-moving currents, even a small revolutionary organization, to complement and concretize its propaganda, certainly seeks to directly intersect important developments of the class struggle. But factional activity within the BLP is neither the only nor even the best means of developing authority among layers of the advanced workers. For example, the decision not to devote significant organizational resources to intra-BLP oppositional activity at this time is in no way counterposed to undertaking exemplary work within the

continued on page 8

SPARTACIST Canada

JUST OUT!

Issue No. 1—Special Double Issue
20c

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist/Canada Publishing Association
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Greetings to Weekly WORKERS VANGUARD

Sri Lanka
25 September 1975

Dear Comrades,

We congratulate you for the transformation of the [bi-weekly] "Workers Vanguard" into a weekly.

It was with great interest that we have followed the progress of "Workers Vanguard", which is playing an important role in the building of the revolutionary leadership in the United States, and also in bringing clarification on the burning questions of the Trotskyist movement, at a time when the forging of the World Party of the Fourth International is the unpostponable task for revolutionary Marxists the world over.

With comradely greetings,

Revolutionary Workers Party

Philip Allen...

(continued from page 12)

the Sheriff's Office in the course of its "investigation" framed Philip Allen in an attempt to cover up the unavoidable conclusion that the cops shot each other.

During the trial the prosecutor argued that the murder was premeditated. The motive? "The prosecutor said Allen had taken a black history course in school and had it in his mind to go get some white police," said his mother.

In closing, Ms. Allen described what happened when she and Bob Castille, co-chairman of the L.A. Philip Allen Defense Committee went down to pay Allen's bail and were told it had been revoked. Castille protested, and the court clerk told him to get out before she called the deputy sheriff. Next week at the bail hearing, the judge called Castille up to the bench and asked him what his interest was in the case:

"Justice," said Castille.

"Well, get out," said the judge. "You'll find it outside."

Speaking as staff counsel for the PDC, Valerie West pointed out the truth in the judge's statement that justice is not available in the courtroom. "The PDC will use any legal means that are available to gain freedom for Philip Allen," she said, "but we believe his freedom will only be achieved through massive publicity, activity, demonstrations and protest against both the frame-up and the violation of his constitutional rights."

The PDC, said West, is committed to a class defense of all working people and all the oppressed. Its anti-sectarian, class-struggle policies are in accordance with the views of the Spartacist League.

A PDC spokesman read statements of solidarity received from the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth League, and from two trade-union caucuses, the Committee for a Militant UAW (Local 1364) in Fremont, California, and the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906 of Mahwah, New Jersey. He quoted from the Militant Solidarity Caucus statement: "Once again an innocent victim is railroaded to prison while the real criminals, the giant corporations who daily exploit millions of working people, the mass murderers of Vietnamese peasants, the Nixons and the Rockefellers, go scot-free. This is the meaning of 'justice' in the context of capitalist law and order."■

British Columbia NDP Breaks Forest Workers' Strikes

VANCOUVER, October 12—Last week the provincial New Democratic Party (NDP) government of Premier Dave Barrett took decisive action to crush the most extensive continuing strike wave in North America since the onset of the current economic downturn. Recalled for a special emergency session on October 7, the British Columbia legislature overwhelmingly passed (with only three NDP backbenchers breaking party ranks to vote against) a bill ordering almost 60,000 workers involved in four major strikes across the province to return to work within 48 hours under the terms of their old contracts and without the right to strike for at least three months. Affected by Bill 146 (the Essential Services Continuation Act) are over 50,000 workers in the forest-pulp industry (the backbone of the B.C. economy), 5,000 supermarket workers in the Vancouver area, as well as Teamster truckers involved in propane gas delivery and trainmen in the United Transportation Union.

This act of mass strikebreaking is the most severe attack yet inflicted on the B.C. union movement by the ostensibly pro-labor government of the social-democratic NDP. Announcing the bill at a press conference Labor Minister Bill King decried the unions' "irresponsible" attitude, while Barrett stated that the government was "telling them both [labor and management] to grow up" (*Vancouver Sun*, 7 October). After some initial bluff and bluster about how they would recommend defiance of the bill and give "full support" to any affiliate refusing to return to work, the executive of the 300,000-member B.C. Federation of Labor (BCFL) submitted to their friends in the NDP, "reluctantly" urging their members to return to work.

With the union bureaucrats' capitulation to the new law and the strikers' return to work, Barrett has now convincingly demonstrated to a previously skeptical capitalist class that the NDP can provide the strong government necessary to deal with English-speaking North America's most volatile labor movement during economic hard times. Having successfully undercut the election strategy of the right-wing opposition Social Credit Party by taking a hard anti-union stand, the premier is now out on the hustings to drum up support for a snap election campaign on a populist platform of economic restraint and "responsible government."

The NDP was swept to provincial power for the first time in 1972 on the crest of a wave of strikes and protest action against the reactionary anti-labor policies of W.A.C. Bennett of the SocCred government which had ruled uninterrupted for over three decades. B.C. workers look to the NDP as "their party," and expected that the social democrats in power would act consistently in their interests against the bosses.

Trotskyist League Forum:

Problems of World Revolution

Speaker:
James Robertson
SL/U.S. Central Committee

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO
Sidney Smith Hall — Room 2102
Wednesday — October 15
7:00 p.m. — Donation: $1

Instead the NDP proved its loyalty to the capitalists by smashing strikes, instituting compulsory arbitration and passing anti-labor legislation rivalling and occasionally even surpassing that of the SocCreds. While more sweeping in its scope, Bill 146 falls into place with the Barrett government's earlier betrayals of its working-class base—all testaments to the consequences of class-collaborationist reformism.

Again this year industrial unrest has been running at a fever pitch throughout the province, with well over 600,000 man-days lost due to strikes and lockouts in the first seven months of the year alone—

Dave Barrett Globe and Mail [Toronto]

before the forest strikes were even fully under way. As a result of this militancy, wage settlements have been generally much higher than anywhere else on the continent, with contracts negotiated in the first quarter of 1975 averaging pay increases of 20 percent per year.

The forest dispute was seen as the most important test-case for pulling wages back to a level more commensurate with the employers' "reasonable profits" and competitive position on the North American market. Management took a hard line, claiming that the industry was broke and could afford to give the union no protection whatever against layoffs and *no* wage increase, only a modified cost-of-living escalator clause. After the strike had dragged on for over two-and-a-half months to the point where it was wreaking havoc on the provincial economy, the NDP government came under increasing pressure from industry spokesmen, the bourgeois media and opposition parties to impose a "solution."

Bill 146 proved satisfactory to all concerned capitalist interests: Thomas Rust, chairman of the Council of Forest Industries of B.C. praised Barrett for being "the first of our government leaders to lift his head out of the sand" (*Vancouver Sun*, 10 October), while both Vancouver dailies wrote editorials with fulsome praise for the legislation. Even W.A.C. Bennett's son Bill, the new SocCred leader, had to admit in the legislature that he was "proud" to vote for "one of the government's finest moves in showing leadership" (*Vancouver Sun*, 8 October)!

While the NDP was giving resolute pro-capitalist leadership that even Bill Bennett could respect, the leaders of the trade unions hit by the legislation could provide no alternative. At no time was a program put forward for successful defense of the union movement against government attack, through massive defiance of the law supported by a province-wide general strike against anti-labor legislation. In a statement issued just hours before the return-to-work deadline, the BCFL tops could only "deplore" the government's "dishonest political opportunism" and wistfully call for a "true NDP government which will be true to the honorable traditions of J.S. Woodsworth, Angus MacInnis and Tommy Douglas"!

The alternative to NDP strikebreaking is not, of course, to be found in the traditions of venerable old anti-communists like former social-democratic leaders Woodsworth, MacInnis and Douglas. Douglas himself, today a federal MP, attested to this in giving his personal endorsement to the legislation. He reminded BCFL secretary-treasurer Len Guy of certain past NDP betrayals like the party's support to legislation breaking the strikes of railway workers in 1966 and 1973, and those of B.C. longshoremen in 1968 and early 1975. The only real alternative to the treacherous Barretts and Douglases, and to the labor fakers who preach faith in them, is a revolutionary party rooted in the trade unions which will expropriate the capitalists and bring the working class to power.

In the absence of such a mass revolutionary party, communists may in certain circumstances critically support a social-democratic party running independently in elections, in order to expose in practice the falsity of its pretensions to stand for the independent interests of the working class. In this manner we seek to split and destroy a reformist roadblock to the proletarian revolution, winning over the party's working-class base to the communist program. A well-executed critical-support tactic toward the NDP in the 1972 B.C. election, for example, could have significantly increased the influence of a small revolutionary nucleus in intervening years.

However, the mere fact that revolutionaries lack the social weight to directly counterpose themselves electorally at a given time by no means obligates them to call for a vote to any and all mass reformist parties. Thus following September provincial elections the NDP in Ontario is presently in a corridor coalition with the Progressive Conservative minority government; during the 1974 federal elections the NDP declared its willingness to continue support of Trudeau's Liberals if the latter had failed to obtain a majority. Calling for votes to NDP candidates in these elections would have been giving backhanded support to class-collaborationist coalitionism.

In addition, in the coming B.C. elections support to the NDP, however "critical," would be generally interpreted as support to the strikebreaking, overtly anti-union program and record on which the party will be running. The passage of Bill 146 was not a single, isolated anti-labor act but, as the BCFL said at one point, a "complete betrayal of the working people who helped elect this government." To call on the tens of thousands of workers whose strikes were just broken by Barrett to nevertheless re-elect the NDP would be turning the tactic of critical support into mindless tailism.

continued on page 11

ILWU Local 10 Exec Motion

Strike for Jobs for All Longshoremen!

For a Sliding Scale of Hours, with No Loss in Pay

SAN FRANCISCO, October 14—In a move which points the way toward a militant coast-wide struggle against the maritime bosses, the executive board of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) Local 10 voted Thursday night to take strike action to win a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay to provide jobs for all longshoremen. The action, which is strongly opposed by International president Harry Bridges' forces in the union, now goes to the membership for ratification. Supporters of the motion, introduced by Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, expect a protracted battle. The shipping magnates' friends in the International will pull out all stops to prevent any strike action by Local 10 since it could precipitate a coast-wide rebellion.

The Local 10 action comes amidst a growing sense of crisis on the waterfront as the employers—the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA)—mount an open offensive against the union. As we reported two weeks ago, recent arbitration decisions allowed PMA to cut back drastically on the number of gangs and men employed on the night dock board. Emboldened by the lack of official union resistance to the cuts, the employers have now broadened the attack. They are demanding total elimination of the general dock board on both day and night shift, as well as the dock exemption board and car board.

The purpose of the wholesale elimination of job categories is to flood the remaining boards with workers, creating a clear oversupply of labor and giving PMA an excuse to begin deregistration and layoffs. Widely circulated rumors report that up to 1,000 A and B men will be eliminated coast-wide under the section of the contract which allows layoffs should "unusual circumstances" arise.

To this sweeping employer attack on jobs and the union hiring hall have been added drastic cuts in the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP), the weekly wage supplement. While at the time of our last report longshoremen were already taking a 31 percent cut, this week's PGP will reportedly be slashed by 40 percent! Adding insult to injury, the employers are seeking to eliminate all PGP benefits to any partially-disabled longshoreman. Shortfall payments, monies paid by PMA to longshoremen at the end of a 13-week period to reimburse them for any cuts made in weekly payments during the quarter, have themselves been cut by 66 percent. This despite a claim in the union newspaper, the *Dispatcher* (19 September), that there was more than enough money left in the fund to take up the slack.

The situation facing the Canadian ILWU is even more explosive. There the existing SUB fund (a token $400,000) has already been completely exhausted as work opportunities in the Vancouver area have dropped nearly 50 percent in six months. The *Dispatcher* reports that among 700 longshoremen on Vancouver Island scarcely a single day's work has been obtained since mid-July. Canadian ILWU officials predict the worst is yet to come since the depression in Canada is deepening, lagging behind the U.S. economy. The Canadian situation is particularly unstable because, without even a show of resistance, Bridges permitted the Canadian longshore strike last spring to be broken by the federal parliament in Ottawa. The ranks were defeated but not crushed, and with a spark from Local 10 in the U.S. they could again move into militant action.

It is in this context that Gow and Keylor, both executive board members, long-time militants and editors of the oppositional *Longshore Militant*, introduced their motion which reads:

> "ILWU Local 10 opposes all the cutbacks and revisions made by PMA and the arbitrator on boards, gangs, and PGP. We demand full PGP for all members including the dock exemption board and call-back rights for B men. We demand jobs for all longshoremen by a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay, whereby all available work is divided among all members. The local will take strike action to enforce these demands and calls on other ports to join us in solidarity."

The motion was made as an amendment to another motion by Rudy Garcia which stated flatly, "We turn down the PMA's demands on the boards, refuse to negotiate, and take the issue to the membership." Another amendment, also passed, read: "To open up miscellaneous categories and all steady categories to disabled longshoremen."

The motion was passed by a board which is generally conservative and follows the dictates of the Bridges camp. This act of rebellion can be ascribed to growing pressure from the ranks who are rapidly discovering that all Bridges' claims that this is a "depression-proof" contract are a package of lies.

Strike action by Local 10 would have immediate repercussions up and down the coast. Historically, the San Francisco local is the most militant on the mainland, dating from the S.F. general strike in 1934. This year, together with Los Angeles Local 13, Local 10 rejected the initial contract offer, marking the first time in the ILWU that a contract sponsored by Bridges was rejected. While L.A. has not been hurt as badly as Local 10, containerization is forcing more and more of its members onto the PGP.

A large obstacle to effective strike action is the internal warfare which has paralyzed the Local for the past two months. Bridges' supporters went after Local 10 president Larry Wing, who opposed the pro-raiding policy which Bridges has been pushing against other maritime unions in order to cover for his failure to defend ILWU jobs. Wing alienated much of his support when he sued the union to prevent his ouster instead of mobilizing the ranks to defeat the pro-raiding forces. As a result the ranks sat back, allowing him to be suspended and tried. In an outrageous travesty of union democracy he has since been convicted by a trial board both for failing to step down when he was originally charged and for refusing to carry out the Executive Board's decision to raid. His pro-raiding rival, Bridges' man Carl Smith, was acquitted on all counts.

WV Photo

Ship docked in S.F. harbor.

The same meeting which considers the call for strike action will review the trial results. The Bridges forces will undoubtedly seek to prevent any vote on the strike by tying up the entire meeting in a review of the trials, as a vote by the ranks to take strike action for a shorter workweek will amount to a repudiation of Bridges' policy of raiding as a means of obtaining jobs. The proposed raids were justified on the alleged grounds that the seamen's unions, particularly the Sailors' Union of the Pacific, are lily-white. A strike by Local 10 could demonstrate decisively that the road forward for black and white workers is not backstabbing competition but racial unity in a struggle for jobs for all.

The fight for jobs goes far beyond passing a resolution. Strike action by Bay Area longshoremen must be part of a coast-wide struggle for the shorter workweek, matching in scope the general strike for union recognition and the hiring hall of 1934. To carry such a struggle through to a successful conclusion requires a fight to break the grip of the reactionary pro-capitalist bureaucracy which dominates not only the ILWU but all of U.S. labor. The policies put forward by Gow and Keylor point the way to a new leadership in the unions dedicated to the defense of the workers through militant class struggle. ■

Labor Must Mobilize to Shut Down NYC!

(continued from page 1)

hership had to wildcat against him in the sanitation walkout last July.

Another Plan to "Save NYC" by Shafting Labor

At the meeting Beame had announced yet another plan to slash the budget by an additional $200 million beyond the cuts which have resulted in over 13,000 layoffs this year. The plan extends the wage freeze of city workers for another two years, freezes cost-of-living adjustments and suggests further layoffs. The day before, a new state-imposed Emergency Financial Control Board sent back the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) contract for renegotiation, demanding even further concessions in a contract already widely recognized as a grotesque defeat for the teachers.

By the time the general strike headlines had hit the street, the union leaders were backing away from their suggestion. While Barry Feinstein, President of Teamsters Local 237, who first called for the strike, still says he will put up this motion at the October 14 meeting of the Municipal Labor Council, it is virtually doomed, with Victor Gotbaum, head of the council, now publicly against it and other members reported "cool."

Having earlier made light of the prospect, the capitalists now look a New York default in the face, and they don't like it too much. The prospects of void paychecks for city workers and slashed welfare rolls have been titillating for the corporate magnates and bankers, but the reality of plummeting values of billions of dollars in outstanding bonds, foreclosures on properties, the exodus of businesses from the city—in short, the upset of the banking system in the finance capital of U.S. imperialism—is a different story.

Thus Congress is now tilting toward a federal aid bill. "I believe we are going to get help," said Edward Koch, Democratic Congressman from Manhattan. "It will not come because of justice, equity or even charity, but because it will finally be driven home to the members that, if New York sinks, they'll all go with us" (*New York Times*, 12 October).

Despite the capitalists' increasingly felt necessity to bail out New York, resistance is strong during an election year against policies which inhibit candidates from taking a hard line against "sin city," the haven of immigrants and minority populations. Thus while his own economic advisors announce that a New York default could plunge the economy into another sharp downturn, Ford continues his paternalistic, chauvinist comparisons of New York to a frivolous housewife who has to learn the hard way how to balance a budget. While politicians grumble about teaching New York a lesson, in fact the city would be solvent today were the same federal monies applied to it as to other cities. Unlike most other cities, New York has for years taken almost complete responsibility for welfare and other city services.

Labor's Contradiction

City labor leaders have been noticeably more reluctant than the bankers to raise the spectre of a city descending into anarchy unless it receives federal aid. While Governor Carey threatens the Senate Banking Committee that it had better send "federal money or federal troops" (*El Diario*, 12 October), Gotbaum and Shanker have rushed to abandon the call for a general strike. While told to put on a show of militancy, even at the meeting with the Mayor, they were nervous about putting their authority behind the demand, allowing it to be

raised by Feinstein, who until now has been a silent Gothaum flunkey. The bankers and the government feel confident they have taken the measure of New York labor, which has swallowed whole the onslaught of wage cuts, freezes and layoffs. But the trade-union leadership is less sure it can safely fling around the slogan of a general strike: a slogan expressing the left need of several hundred thousand city workers and which if undertaken could quickly go beyond the bureaucrats' control.

Their ability to contain even ordinary contract strikes is precarious. So deep was the resentment over the UFT settlement, with more than a third of the membership voting against it, that when the control board overruled the settlement in an unheard-of provocation, Shanker did not dare hint of a second strike. He has yet to schedule the final contract vote.

While the labor fakers' talk of a general strike is only bluster in order to milk dollars from Washington, a general strike built by mobilizing the union ranks is vital to smash the capitalists' union-busting austerity program. The Spartacist League has raised the demand for a city-wide strike action since the beginning of the fiscal showdown last December. The gun-point renegotiation of the teachers' contract is an opportunity to reverse the sellout, to demand the reopening of all city contracts to rescind all layoffs, wage cuts and freezes and to demand a full cost-of-living escalator and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to spread the available work among all who need jobs.

But a general strike will bring the unions into immediate confrontation with the state. The urgent need is for the construction of a class-struggle leadership in the unions, one which would raise a political program capable of mobilizing the working population and carrying the action forward to victory. Such a program would include:

Rescind all layoffs of city workers! End the wage freeze! Reopen the contracts! Make basic city services free! The bankers and city rulers reap millions in interest charges on bonds while they force through layoffs and wage freezes and rail against "excessive" welfare for the poor, some of whom are unable to find work because of already high unemployment. Basic services such as phones, public transportation, hospitals should be made free and available to all and expanded to make more jobs, not fewer.

Kick the Cops Out of the Unions! It is constantly demonstrated that the fundamental loyalty of the police—the hired guns of the capitalist class—lies in suppressing the struggles of workers and the oppressed. Two recent brutal confirmations of their role came with the indictment last week of three cops for murder and assault after their "investigation" of a Bronx robbery left Israel Rodriguez dead of internal bleeding and Luiz Santiago in need of three operations on his jaw from cop beatings. In late September, a Transit Authority cop shot to death a 43-year-old black man who had jumped a subway turnstile!

Smash Big MAC! Cancel the Debt—Nationalize the Banks Without Compensation! Forward to a Workers Government! Six months ago, Gotbaum called First National City Bank labor's main enemy, then dropped the issue as fast as he dropped the general strike. The Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party call for a debt moratorium is so tame even Treasury Secretary William Simon is now talking about such a measure (*New York Times*, 11 October)! The banks will continue to feed off the city's resources until they are nationalized without compensation and a workers government put in power committed to replacing the profit system with a planned economy. This will require ousting the bureaucracy which saddled New York labor with Mayor Beame and the building of a workers party based on the trade unions. This is a task not just for New York City labor but for the entire working class.■

Avakian's New Clothes

RCP: Jim Crow Maoism

In an act of self-inflated cynicism, the Maoist Revolutionary Union (RU) last month waved a wand and transformed itself into the "Revolutionary Communist Party of the USA" (RCP). Bob Avakian, the RU's little Napoleon, pompously announced in the October issue of *Revolution* that with the formation of the RCP the working class now "has its own general staff capable of leading it according to an understanding of the nature of the class war against the ruling class and in accordance with an overall battle plan." As usual, Avakian's

WV Photo

Bob Avakian

verbose boasting is a lot of hot air. The founding of the RCP was not even noticed, much less celebrated, by the American workers and with good reason. The RCP has neither the historically developed authority within the working class, the international democratic-centralist party nor the Marxist program needed to mobilize the working class to seize power.

The single sharpest refutation of Avakian's grandiose claims is his courtship of the racist anti-busing movement. What kind of "general staff" is it whose "overall battle plan" amounts to competing with the Ku Klux Klan for leadership of the lynch mobs that surge through the streets of Boston and Louisville? Certainly not the vanguard of the working class!

The RU/RCP's desire to win a niche as the "left" wing of the racist movement is crystal clear in its description (in *Revolution*, October 1975) of the KKK-led anti-busing riots in Kentucky: "When school opened in Louisville under a new court-imposed busing plan, the spontaneous fight back was tremendous—a powerful school boycott, street demonstrations, a first day protest strike at several area plants and determined resistance to police attack."

The RU/RCP hopes to provide a "winning strategy" to a movement that violently opposes every democratic principle that communists have ever fought for: "they [the bourgeoisie] promote the Ku Klux Klan and similar scum to try to direct the struggle, mainly white at present, down a dead end." "The Klan has modernized its act to appeal to some of the real concerns of the people for instance, in the aftermath of the fighting with the cops, they began holding rallies against 'police brutality'...." Like Victor Berger and the Jim Crow "socialists" who infested the U.S. Socialist Party in the early 1900's, this so-called vanguard party leads nothing but only tails after the most reactionary sectors of the petty bourgeoisie and backward workers.

The RU-led Committee for a Decent Education (CDE) in Boston claims to cut across the racial divisions within the working class. In fact, it comes down hard on the racist side of the busing question. "People Must Unite to Smash Boston Busing Plan" screamed the front-page headline of the October 1974 issue of *Revolution*. "Stop Phase 2 any way we can!" rang the chants at a CDE demonstration on the first day of school in Boston this year. Its signs called for "Strike—Stop Phase 2." The appetite to ingratiate itself with the racist workers and lumpen youth of South Boston and Louisville has led the RU into a reactionary line-up extending from the National Socialist White People's Party to Gerald Ford. The anti-busing movement is directly linked to the proto-fascist elements who burn school books in West Virginia.

The attempt to stop busing, whether by constitutional amendment, court action or mob attacks on school buses, is the opening salvo in a dangerous right-wing campaign to strip black people of modest gains made during the last two decades of struggle for democratic rights. The intense racial polarization in Boston, Louisville and elsewhere poses the question starkly: do the racists get their way or does the "white only" sign come off the schoolhouse door? Together with the offensive against busing come attacks on open admissions, black studies programs and other special educational programs, as well as on equal access to jobs.

The RU/RCP makes a great deal out of school closings under the Boston busing plan and claims that the plan itself is a "massive cutback" in education. While it does not require Mao-think to show that desegregation through busing will not by itself upgrade schools or improve teaching, the ruling class is not pushing a "busing plot" to undermine "quality education." Rather the philosophy of "benign neglect," articulated by Nixon advisor Daniel Moynihan, is used to justify cutbacks in social services to working people, especially the black and Latin populations trapped in decaying urban ghettos.

Avakian & Co. are willfully ignorant of the fact that the broad opposition to busing reflects a marked rightward shift in bourgeois opinion—a depression-conditioned hardening of the ruling class' resolve to ignore the plight of oppressed minorities and, if necessary, to drown ghetto protests in blood. Perhaps the RU/RCP can explain why, if the bourgeoisie advocates busing as a "divide and rule scheme," all major bourgeois politicians—from Ford to House Democratic leader "Tip" O'Neill to the governors of every major state affected by busing—oppose the court-ordered plans. Perhaps Avakian can tell us why busing programs in Detroit, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Indianapolis, etc., were shelved this fall if they are so useful to the bourgeoisie.

The exceptions, like Boston's busing plan, do not flow from a grand conspiracy but, at least in part, from ideological divisions which are often present in the bourgeoisie between advocates of the carrot and advocates of the stick. Moreover, it took ten years for a desegregation plan to be enacted in Boston (the Massachusetts Racial Imbalance Act was passed in 1965) because the question was tossed like a hot potato from the State Department of Education to the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare to the federal courts, while the

Young Spartacus

RU supporters call for strike against busing in Boston, September 8.

racist School Committee threw every conceivable legal and political obstacle in its path.

As in its opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment, the RU/RCP advances the idiot proposition that, since the bourgeoisie never consistently advances democratic rights and always attempts to take back with one hand what it gives with the other, the working class must therefore reject steps (like busing and ERA) which weaken legally-sanctioned forms of sexual or racial discrimination. Behind this capitulation to racism and chauvinism is not ignorance but a grossly opportunist appetite for a piece of the action at any price.

We live in a racist society. The working class cannot be united by simply ignoring the special oppression of black people. Desegregation through school busing must be defended by the working class because it aids the breaking down of sharp racial divisions among the workers. Moreover, putting black and white students in the same schools and classrooms will generate pressure to improve the present abysmal conditions in ghetto schools, as would extension of busing to the more privileged suburban schools. A real vanguard party of the proletariat must act as tribune of the people, defending every extension of democratic rights and fighting to root out every vestige of bourgeois-inspired racist, sexist and national-chauvinist filth from the consciousness of the working class.■

FORUM

Women, Culture and Class Society

Helen Cantor
SL Women's Commission
SL Central Committee

Saturday, October 18 at 8 p.m.
Indiana Memorial Union
Room M44
Indiana University/Bloomington
For more information: 332-3235

Anti-Racist Militants Framed in East Boston Police Court

BOSTON—Last week eight people were sentenced in East Boston District Court to draconian jail terms ranging from six months to a year for the "crime" of self-defense against racist attacks.

The one-day kangaroo-court trial on October 8 was part of a pattern of vicious repression unleashed by local authorities against black tenants in East Boston's Maverick and Sumner Street housing project. In recent months the tenants had organized an integrated defense force to prevent gangs of racist youths from driving them out of the project in this nearly lily-white section of the city. On several occasions the black residents, aided by a city-wide tenants' coalition and East Boston People Against Racism (a group supported by Youth Against War and Fascism), had faced down these hooligans and stopped their rock-throwing rampages.

On the night of August 25, however, the police (who had allowed the vigilante attacks to continue) moved in to arrest not the racists but their victims. One of the cops at the scene that night commented about the would-be lynch mob, "These are nice kids. We grew up with them here in East Boston."

The defendants were railroaded on the testimony of the racist cops in District Court Seven, notorious as a "police court" which convicts on whatever charges (fabricated or otherwise) the state dreams up. The main witness for the prosecution, Sgt. McNamara, testified that he had made the arrests because the defendants were "creating a disturbance" by their presence, allegedly used "loud and abusive" language and refused to disperse when ordered. Of course, the only instance of such language that he specifically recalled was when the defendants "loudly and abusively" demanded that he "arrest the people causing trouble," i.e., the mob of racist rock throwers. Under cross-examination, McNamara stated that he was unaware of any "racial problems" in the project.

Defense witnesses gave a vivid picture of the racist terror and police attacks which oppressed minorities have experienced here. Mrs. Lucille Roberts, a long-time East Boston resident and wife of one of the defendants, testified that the tenant guard was mobilized when a mob of white youths wearing hoods and waving bats, iron pipes and knives started to stone the homes of black project residents. When the police arrived, they accosted several members of the defense guard who were clustered in a hallway after one had been struck in the head by a rock.

The other defendants were arrested when cops broke into the home of Mrs. Anna Mae Lewis, a member of the East Boston bi-racial council set up under the court-ordered busing plan. Even the prosecutor admitted that the police didn't have a warrant. Following the conviction, the prosecutor (satisfied that he had legitimized this cop atrocity) urged presiding Judge James Mellen to go easy. Instead, Mellen cut the prosecutor off and threw the book at the defendants.

Since August 25, the racist attacks in the project have continued and one family's home has been firebombed twice. These frame-up convictions and the pattern of repression against black people in East Boston are not isolated incidents. In another case, 74 supporters of the Committee Against Racism (CAR), led by the Progressive Labor Party (PL), were arrested on September 8 on charges of "disturbing the peace" for attempting to demonstrate in favor of busing in South Boston on the opening day of school. Eighteen of the defendants were acquitted on October 2 after the prosecution failed to deny that the site of the PL/CAR demonstration was suggested by a police official, and that the police never forbade CAR to demonstrate there! In contrast, a "mothers' march" held by racists the next day in Charlestown tried to break through police lines to get at the buses, yet not one arrest was made.

These incidents should underscore the racist and thoroughly treacherous character of the capitalist police and courts, to whom liberals and reformists (such as the NAACP and SWP) appeal for protection of black people. The outrageous convictions of the eight East Boston anti-racist militants must be answered with vigorous protests from the left, black organizations and the labor movement.■

Berkeley Teachers...

(continued from page 2)

teachers' unions, which negotiated contracts throughout the Bay Area during September.

But the bureaucrats were not alone in engineering this defeat. At every step they were cheered on by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and its supporters in the union. In an article in the October 3 issue of the SWP's *Militant*, Dave Warren, a Berkeley teacher, had no criticism of the unions' leadership and raised no demands beyond the call to return to the conditions of the April 15 agreement. In a pitiful endorsement of the bureaucrats' no-win strategy, the SWP-dominated National Student Coalition Against Racism issued a leaflet stating:

> "TEACHERS ARE NOT STRIKING FOR MORE MONEY.... they are on strike to stop these cuts and maintain a zero percent wage increase agreed to last April 15th.... We call on the board to return to the April 15 Agreement."

According to these so-called socialists, unions should be proud when their leaders knuckle under to wage freezes in a period of skyrocketing inflation!

What was lacking in the Berkeley teachers strike—as in New York, Boston, Chicago, etc.—was a resolute leadership committed to a class-struggle program. A winning strike strategy would be prepared to face the government's strike-breaking efforts with a broad mobilization of the labor movement in militant strike actions. The pathetic defeats suffered by teachers across the country in the past month reflect a serious weakening of the unions in the face of massive cutbacks in education, health and other social services and a continuing high level of unemployment. Reliance on bourgeois politicians, such as the bureaucrats' support to the Dellums and Riles plans, paves the way for such defeats.■

British Labour Party...

(continued from page 4)

trade unions.

The ability to influence any leftward-moving centrist current will depend, not on the date of BLP membership cards, but rather on the capacity, breadth and cohesiveness of an organization's cadre and the credibility of its politics within the left. When the Spanish Socialist Party moved sharply to the left in 1934-35, significant sections of that party (e.g., the official youth leadership) *openly invited* Andres Nin and the Trotskyists to join the SP and take on leading roles within it.

Likewise, a genuine leftward-moving centrist current in the BLP would be open to and attracted by what it viewed as the "revolutionary left." Ted Grant's *Militant* group, despite its many years of toil in the local branches, will have no monopoly at all on the attention of forces breaking to the left from British social democracy. We maintain that a necessary *precondition* for a small Trotskyist organization to take advantage of serious left factionalism in the BLP is the growth and development of its cadre through struggle within the "revolutionary left."

Are the most advanced workers in Britain today supporters of the Labour Party left? On a numerical scale relevant to a small Trotskyist group, the answer is no. If one includes the International Socialists (which claims to stand in the Trotskyist tradition), there are in Britain more than 4,000 ostensible Trotskyists in about a dozen organizations. It is obvious that only in this political milieu could a small, newly-formed Trotskyist organization achieve significant growth.

There are perhaps 1,000 Maoists in Britain. The official, pro-Soviet CP has about 20,000 members, substantially proletarian and with many, many trade-union officials. There is a large, heavily proletarian Irish population in Britain. Among this population are many sympathizers of left Irish nationalism (e.g., the IRA Officials, Irish Republican Socialists). In general, a left Irish nationalist will be more open to communist politics than a typical supporter of the BLP *Tribune* group.

There is also a large population of foreign workers, mainly from South Asia and the Mediterranean area, in Britain. Thousands of these workers consider themselves revolutionary socialists and have no loyalty at all to Harold Wilson's party. Thus in Britain today there are several thousand workers, students and other political activists standing outside and to the left of the BLP. It is from among this political population that a small Trotskyist propaganda group can grow and develop to a point where it can make serious gains among the left-Labourite masses.

Having rejected the entrist tactic, we defend the position of standing parliamentary candidates against the BLP. We should clarify two points. We support electoral opposition to the Labour Party *as such*, not limited to right-wing BLP candidates. It is obviously tactically wiser to run against a right-wing rather than a left-wing Labour candidate, but that is not a matter of principle by any means.

In the article which our correspondent criticizes, we noted that for a very small, weak propaganda group to contest a parliamentary election may be a gross misuse of resources. However, it would seem that Comrade Colin P. is, in general, opposed to a revolutionary propaganda group contesting parliamentary seats against the BLP.

What is the purpose of the Leninist tactic of critical electoral support to a mass reformist party? It is designed to destroy the masses' illusions in such a party by actually placing it in power. In a more immediate sense, critical support allows a communist propaganda group to get a more sympathetic hearing for its views among the majority of workers. Critical support is designed to aid supporters of a reformist party in gaining a clear appreciation of that party in the context of presenting a revolutionary program. Critical electoral support is not a self-sufficient tactic. It is, in a sense, only half a tactic.

The question arises of what to do with those who are already disillusioned with left Labourism and drawn to a revolutionary program. It is here that electoral opposition to the reformist party is a necessary complement to critical support. Electoral oppostion to the BLP is a means by which those moving left from British social democracy can be encouraged to make a decisive commitment to a revolutionary program and place themselves under the organizational influence of the communist vanguard.

To support Labour electorally, raise certain left criticisms of the BLP, but never stand independent candidates against Labour is to act as a left pressure group upon British social democracy. In effect, one is telling someone who agrees with one's criticisms to fight for a revolutionary program through the Labour Party, to transform the Labour Party into a revolutionary instrument. Such a policy is equivalent to acting as an external, but loyal, faction of the BLP.

Because of the inclusive nature of the BLP and because British social democracy has never been seriously challenged by a Leninist or Stalinist party, the attitude of the Labour leadership to the "far left" is quite different than in most other countries. In the U.S., West Germany and France, the leaderships of the mass workers organizations are violently hostile to the "revolutionary left," often using state repressive measures against them. In contrast, the British Labourite bureaucracy tries to co-opt and neutralize the "far left" through friendly social intercourse, through an attitude of chumminess ("I completely agree with what you want—I was a red once myself—but your tactics are unrealistic").

A Michael Foot or a Hugh Scanlon is quite willing to treat Ted Grant, Reg Birch (Maoist union official) or even Tariq Ali as "one of the boys." This posture of chumminess is one of the methods by which social democracy retains its dominance, despite the catastrophic worsening of the conditions of life for the British working people. The family-of-Labourism attitude, the left's desire for respectability in BLP circles and the pervasively friendly social intercourse between the counterrevolutionary social-democratic bureaucracy and the "revolutionary left" are major obstacles to the construction of a genuine communist vanguard in Britain today.■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Socialist Party Wins Majority in Austrian Elections

VIENNA Contrary to predictions, the Socialist Party of Austria (SPÖ) led by Chancellor Bruno Kreisky has emerged from the elections held on October 5 again holding an absolute parliamentary majority (93 out of 183 seats in the *Nationalrat*, the same as after the 1971 elections). The conservative Austrian People's Party (ÖVP) won 78 seats, a loss of two, and the extreme rightist Freedom Party of Austria (FPÖ) obtained 11 seats, for a gain of one. The Communist Party of Austria (KPÖ), with only 1.2 percent of the vote, remains as before unrepresented in Parliament.

The elections came at an opportune time for the SPÖ government: though unemployment, at an official 1.3 percent, remains low and inflation has hovered at a "tolerable" (!) 9 percent, there are ominous signs auguring a spread to insular Austria of the international capitalist recession and price spiral: foreign workers are being discharged from all branches of industry in large numbers, while short workweeks and compulsory "vacations" are becoming the

Bruno Kreisky

rule rather than the exception. Already bourgeois economists are cheerily predicting 100,000 out of work by winter (triple the present number). This prompted the president of the Austrian National Bank, who is also a high SPÖ leader and official of the labor federation, to declare that even 3 percent joblessness would be "full employment" and that recent rates have meant "overheating the economy."

Impending Social Crisis

The bourgeoisie read the handwriting on the wall and, worried about the social democrats' reliability, had assiduously promoted expectations of a Socialist defeat. Despite the largest profits since World War II under the incumbent SPÖ administration, ruling-class strategists saw that a sharp attack on the living standards of the working class would shortly be necessary. For this the bourgeoisie considered a "government of national salvation," including, along with the social democrats, the two Austrian bourgeois parties, to be the best guarantor of tranquility and continued stable bourgeois rule. The People's Party wooed the Socialists with the slogan of a "concentration government." But while the SPÖ was not averse to a popular front (it had been in one with the ÖVP from 1947 to 1966) should it fail to win a parliamentary majority, federal Chancellor Kreisky indicated a preference for coalition with the ultra-right Freedom Party (whose leader is a former SS officer). The latter solution was less agreeable to the bourgeoisie, since the minuscule FPÖ in their view lacked the social weight to guarantee class peace and restrain "wild-eyed" Socialists.

For its part, the SPÖ did everything possible to convince the bourgeoisie of its reliability in instituting and policing an austerity program: the just-submitted 1976 draft budget foresees a massive increase in overall taxes, a radical cutback in social expenditures, an increase in postage costs and transit fares, a wage freeze for civil servants all this coupled with new tax handouts to employers. De facto collaboration between the ÖVP and the SPÖ already exists: during the campaign the ÖVP pointed to the fact that in the last Parliament some 75 percent of the laws represent a joint effort by the two major parties. The People's Party also claimed (truthfully!) that it could fully accept the electoral platform of the SPÖ.

Moribund Social Democracy

Although adopting a left social-democratic posture ("Austro-Marxism") in the inter-war years, the SPÖ since World War II has become one of the most right-wing parties in the Second International. The SPÖ party program drawn up in 1958 meekly advocates "a system of living conditions and inter-human relations which is aimed at the free development of the individual personality": "class distinctions" should be "removed" instead of classes being abolished, and the "rewards of labor" should be "justly distributed" rather than the bourgeoisie expropriated.

But despite its readiness to carry out the dictates of the bourgeoisie, despite its history of throttling strikes in collaboration with the trade-union bureaucracy (to which it is closely linked), the SPÖ remains what Lenin termed a bourgeois workers party, organically part of the working-class movement. In the absence of a credible revolutionary counterpole that could unmask the SPÖ's socialist posturing, the working class still regards the SPÖ as "its" party.

Faced with a large reformist party, revolutionary propaganda groups under certain circumstances can employ the tactic of critical electoral support as a means of exposing the pro-capitalist leadership and splitting the base from the top. However, in the recent elections the SPÖ's explicitly proclaimed readiness to form a popular-front government, preferably with the FPÖ, and the setting up of local "test coalitions" meant that it was not possible to draw even a minimal class line by urging Austrian workers to vote for candidates of the SPÖ. Because "critical support" would have in fact constituted support for explicitly planned class collaboration, the Österreichische Bolschewiki-Leninisten (ÖBL—Austrian Bolshevik-Leninists), sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, came out against a vote for the SPÖ.

Other "Alternatives"

What, then, should be the attitude of revolutionaries to the Austrian Communist Party? Like the DKP in West Germany, the KPÖ lacks any significant mass base and is really only a largish propaganda group. To call for a vote for the KPÖ would only build illusions among the working masses in what is a reformist party of the second mobilization. While the KPÖ rejects the policy of "social partnership" propounded by the SPÖ and talks of extra-parliamentary action, these tinges of verbal radicalism are attributable only to the former's minute size. Were the SPÖ to be totally discredited, the KPÖ would instantly leap into the breach to stem any proletarian upsurge and tie the workers once more to the bourgeoisie. No votes for the KPÖ!

The only other socialist tendency to run in the parliamentary elections was the Gruppe Revolutionäre Marxisten (GRM), Austrian section of the United Secretariat (USec). Only in one electoral district, in Vienna, was the GRM able to obtain the required number of signatures to appear on the ballot. The ÖBL signed the GRM's petitions, just as we would support the right of any organization in the workers movement to appear on the ballot. However, the centrist GRM carried out its electoral campaign on a classically reformist basis.

The GRM's main campaign brochure asserted that "In an election every party presents its overall perspective." But the GRM's "overall perspective" consisted of the time-honored social-democratic division of its platform into a minimum program for workdays (including democratic demands such as equal rights for foreign workers, freedom of abortion, full equality for national minorities, etc.) and a vague maximum program "For Council Democracy and Socialism" to be used in Sunday speechifying at the University.

While rejecting "socialism à la ČSSR [Czechoslovakia]," the GRM "neglected" to mention the Trotskyist demand for political revolution in the deformed workers states, or the indispensable call for unconditional defense of these states against imperialism. The GRM carefully limited its "Trotskyism" to economistically foreshortening the Transitional Program's call for a sliding scale of wages and hours. All references to expropriation of the capitalists and socialist economic planning were left out. And in those electoral districts where the GRM was unable to run, it called for a vote for the KPÖ on the specious grounds that a vote for the KPÖ was a vote against "social partnership," i.e., against class collaboration. This is a typical example of Pablo-ist illusions regarding the Stalinists.

For these reasons the ÖBL refused to give critical support to the GRM. Since voting is compulsory in four provinces of Austria and more than 90 percent of the electorate regularly votes, the ÖBL, in the absence of a supportable alternative, called for casting invalid ballots.

Forward with the ÖBL to the construction of a Trotskyist party in Austria, as a section of the reborn Fourth International!■

Bulletin der Bolschewiki-Leninisten

herausgegeben von den Österreichischen Bolschewiki-Leninisten

5 NUMMERN — 4,--DM 30,-- öS

zu beziehen über:
ÖBL, Postfach 39
1033 Wien, Österreich

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 926-9944
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO . (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- Milton Friedman and "Chicago Boys" Implicated in Chilean Repression: Protest Barbaric Junta's Collaborators!
- Pat Swinton Acquitted: Abolish All Conspiracy Laws!
- SWP/YSA Pushes "New Civil Rights Movement": Ex-Trotskyists Tail Uncle Toms
- Banker Barons Slam New York City!
- Portuguese Workers Must Take Power!

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
$2/11 issues

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____
81

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

Gerry Healy's Legalistic Underbelly

The British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) of Gerry Healy has always eagerly sacrificed its every ostensible principle to the single-minded worship of its one real god: publicity. Eschewing the laborious task of building an organization of revolutionary cadres and of patiently working to establish and deepen its authority among advanced workers, the WRP is characterized by overweening fondness for a high organizational profile and for publicity stunts which it thinks will dupe the working people into crediting the WRP with mass influence. Hence the WRP's strident crisis-mongering, its unreadable and unread daily newspaper, its concentration on the volatile youth who do not long remain with the organization but turn up for suitably impressive demonstrations, its penchant for celebrities.

But the WRP's cynical flamboyance sometimes backfires and lately it has found itself on the receiving end of some much less welcome attentions, as a consequence of sensationalist and anti-communist coverage in the bourgeois media. On September 27 the British cops staged a raid on a WRP center in Derbyshire: they claim to have discovered, among other things, "nine .22-cal. bullets in a stairway cupboard (but no guns)" (*Time*, 13 October 1975).

The English press had splashed the "red menace" of the WRP across a goodly number of pages, assisted by the "true confessions" of an embittered former WRP supporter (English left and ex-left circles crawl with unregenerate cynics and other graduates of Healy's school of political banditry and Stalinist organizational methods, who have taken refuge in "softer" groups, apolitical demoralization, or worse). Actress Irene Gorst's tale of her alleged grilling by WRPers who accused her of working for Special Branch (Britain's counterpart to the FBI) got front-page coverage in the 28 September 1975 London *Observer*.

The Healyites' well-deserved reputation for browbeating their members—as well as their apocalyptic and increasingly paranoid political style—facilitated the media's scandal-mongering campaign. But what really made the "Red House" affair front-page material was the prominence of its participants. The WRP was hoping to become a household word by capturing a clique of entertainment personalities, the best known being Vanessa Redgrave. It was the defection of one of these hoped-for shortcuts to fame and fortune which catapulted the WRP into the headlines.

Squirming Toward Respectability

In response to the threat of repression, the WRP has crawled for cover. A recent issue of the American Healyite press (*Bulletin*, 7 October) has printed a declaration by the WRP baldly promising the bourgeoisie that "If anyone in the WRP was found to have a firearm, they would be expelled at once." We certainly defend the WRP against this recent police raid on its premises. But a Marxist defense against red-baiting and witch-hunts has nothing in common with the dive the WRP is taking.

Marxists do not engage in mock-terrorist sabre-rattling. There would be nothing objectionable about putting forward a critique of petty-bourgeois adventurism, in the context of explaining the strategy of preparing the mass of the toilers to resist the onslaughts of brutal reaction which the capitalists will unleash when their stranglehold on society is challenged by the revolutionary action of the class-conscious workers. But for self-styled Trotskyists to issue gratuitous guarantees of toothlessness is disgraceful.

Marxists are not terrorists. But so often, "anti-adventurism" is found to dovetail with anti-Marxist reformist legalism. When the U.S. Socialist Party expelled Big Bill Haywood in connection with its 1912 "anti-sabotage referendum," what was really involved was a ruthless political purge of the left wing. Marxists are not gun nuts but neither do we run around disarming worker militants.

The Healyites may believe, as reformists explicitly posit, that the British legal structure ("bobbies" without guns, for instance) is god-given and eternal, or that the armed fist of the class enemy is reserved for faraway places like Palestine or India (or, most distant of all for the Healyites, Ireland). But we would remind the WRP of Lenin's adamant view that the proletarian who does not know the use of arms is a self-willed slave.

For Marxists, the idea of a pacifistic bourgeois state is a criminally dangerous illusion which virtually invites the capitalist class—to say nothing of ultra-rightist extremists—to attack the workers movement with impunity. The WRP rips up the core of Lenin's teaching in *State and Revolution* with the same touching faith in a high-minded, benevolent bourgeois state that the Socialist Workers Party manifests when it calls for the American armed forces to protect blacks.

The English left milieu makes much of the third-period sectarianism and obtrusive organizational beastliness of the Healyites as a convenient horrible example justifying its own pervasive squishy-soft chumminess. But the WRP's cringing rush for respectability is not a new or isolated phenomenon. The surface super-leftism of the Healy group has never been much more than skin deep.

In 1966, the Healyites found themselves widely scandalized on the left for the exercise of their usual practice of physically intimidating political opponents, in this case Ernie Tate of the English United Secretariat group. To silence Tate's protests, the Healy organization ran to the bourgeois courts to sue Tate under Britain's harsh anti-libel laws, then explicitly justified and generalized this criminal crossing of the class line. Healy's *International Correspondence* (6 February 1967) defended the use of the courts against opponents within the labor and left movements, putting forward the bourgeois state machinery as the proper arbiter to defend revolutionaries against expulsion-minded union bureaucrats or "slanderous" criticism by fellow leftists.

The WRP's sanctimonious pacifism in the attempt to deflect provocation today is not different in kind from the panicky piety of the SWP in 1963, when Farrell Dobbs dashed off a telegram of condolences to the widow Kennedy following the assassination of America's chief imperialist executive. Healy has always relished the SWP's embarrassment over this revealing display of reformist cowardice.

The current gutless "defense" by the notoriously ultra-"hard" WRP against the threat of repression may come as a surprise to impressionists, but Marxists have always recognized the grovelling opportunism which lurks at the core of Healyism. This incident reveals the legalistic underbelly beneath the brittle ultra-left veneer of the WRP.■

Defend Porto Barracks Revolt!

(continued from page 1)

grave error by subordinating their struggle to the MFA, the FUR called for strengthening the "MFA-People Alliance"! These counterposed positions on a key question of the revolution—what policy toward the bourgeois officer corps represented by the MFA—are characteristic of the confusion reigning in the "far left" line-up.

Shortly after the formation of the FUR, the CP departed from this class-collaborationist alliance in order to secure a cabinet seat in the popular-front sixth government headed by Admiral Azévedo. It also appeared to lack influence in the SUV. However, the pro-Moscow Stalinists are currently playing a game of semi-opposition, and have kept ties with the "far left" groups through the intermediary of the Popular Democratic Movement (MDP), a CP electoral front group which continues in the FUR. And in early October the Communist Party moved to create its own SUV, this one supporting the MFA, in the south.

Vida Mundial

Admiral Antonio Rosa Coutinho

Informations Ouvrieres

Major Dinis de Almeida

Barracks Revolts Spread

A leftist anti-government demonstration in early October drew several hundred soldiers from throughout the southern region. The regional commander promptly moved to transfer 49 airmen from a base in Beja for participating in the protest. The ranks thereupon took over the base. While the chief of staff sent in five planeloads of parachutists to restore order, the presence of 1,000 civilians and armed troops from other units surrounding the barracks convinced the regional commander to withdraw his transfer order (*Le Monde*, 5-6 October).

The CICA revolt had similar origins. Early this month the northern regional commander, General Antonio Pires Veloso, ordered the transfer of two officers and five enlisted men suspected of being active in the SUV. When the CICA unit delegate assembly voted to oppose the purge, Pires Veloso sent paratroopers to take over the buildings and expel the soldiers. Two days later (October 7) the dislodged troops joined with the artillery regiment in open rebellion. Immediately the regimental grounds were surrounded by civilian leftist supporters.

Led by the bourgeois Popular Democratic Party (PPD), a mob of several thousand rightists moved on the unit but were dispersed by gunfire and tear gas. Pires Veloso then tried his hand with five armored cars, which were countered by two armored personnel carriers. The regiment continues to be surrounded by makeshift civilian-manned barricades, and the government has backed off from a direct assault. But the stand-off will not last forever. As virtually everyone in Portugal realizes, the country is on the brink of civil war.

The left-wing officers have not been aloof from this turmoil, and some have begun to denounce the government. UPI reported on 6 October that Admiral Antonio Rosa Coutinho, the second-ranking officer of the Navy, told a Lisbon workers conference that "You should suspect paternalistic attitudes of those who want to first impose discipline and order before they make revolution." Another leading officer, Major Dinis de Almeida, commander of the Lisbon Light Artillery Regiment (RALIS), stopped a rightist commander from removing several thousand automatic rifles from the main arsenal in Beirolas, in spite of a written requisition by General Carvalho authorizing the transfer. (Almeida and the rightist commander are both part of Carvalho's COPCON security force.) Almeida reportedly said the arms would be distributed to civilian leftists in the event of a fascist attack.

Not Putschism But Workers Revolution

The right wing of the MFA is now worried about its ability to emerge on top in a battle with leftists. There are reports of up to 30,000 weapons disappearing from government arms dumps during the last year, allegedly distributed to civilian leftists or in the hands of "insecure" units. A new Military Intervention Group was created last month to replace the unreliable COPCON, but has had great difficulty finding units which will join it. And at a marathon meeting of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the leading body of the MFA, the military chiefs discussed the possibility of a leftist coup, making plans to withdraw the government from the capital in the event of a "Lisbon Commune" (*Expresso*, 4 October).

But while the "far left" military units seem to have a preponderance of firepow-

CHICAGO

TWO-PART FORUM

Speaker: Joseph Seymour
SL Central Committee

Revolution in Portugal

Tuesday, October 21
at 7:30 p.m.
Roosevelt University
HCC 306

Civil War in Angola

Wednesday, October 22
at 12:30 p.m.
Roosevelt University
RU 628

Sponsored by Roosevelt University Spartacus Youth League
For more information (312) 427-0003

Diario de Noticias

Leaders of Portuguese Armed Forces Movement.

Poder Popular

Demonstration by "Revolutionary United Front" in Lisbon.

er in the key Lisbon and Porto districts, a left-wing putsch would not bring about the workers republic fervently desired by tens of thousands of Portuguese socialist militants, nor could it even guarantee the military suppression of counterrevolution. Only the tremendous power of a united proletariat, mobilized in organs of soviet power and around a revolutionary program, can transform resistance to the "moderate" generals' attempts to reimpose military discipline into an insurrectionary assault on capitalism.

Unfortunately, the "far left" groups of the FUR have never put forward a Marxist program of working-class independence which could bring this potential power into play. Instead they have cheered allegedly "progressive" or "revolutionary" sectors of the *bourgeois* MFA. Nor have they proved capable of assembling the multitude of workers commissions, neighborhood commissions, popular vigilance committees, soldiers committees, etc., into a unitary organ which could serve as the base for a dual power to challenge the capitalist state apparatus. The most left-wing officers continue to cling to the MFA in part because they see no alternative.

In the course of the last year and a half, thousands of left-wing soldiers—and, no doubt, even some officers who are sincere in their professions of socialism—have come to profoundly distrust their demagogic superiors' willingness to fight against a restoration of the bestial conditions of the Salazarist "New Order." But their political education to date has consisted of a series of coups and attempted coups (last year's April 25 overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship, the defeated "silent majority" power-grab by General Spinola six months later, the frustrated rightist putsch of March 11). Thus it would not be surprising if the most audacious among them should think in terms of yet another coup, albeit with "support" from civilian leftists.

Yet this would still place power in the hands of the bourgeois armed forces. A more-left-than-ever MFA *cannot* carry out a socialist revolution! As Trotsky wrote of Spain in the 1930's:

> "...at the approach of the proletarian revolution the officers' corps becomes the executioner of the proletariat. To eliminate four or five hundred reactionary agitators from the army means to leave everything basically as it was before. The officers' corps, in which is concentrated the centuries-old tradition of enslaving the people, must be dissolved, broken, crushed in its entirety, root and branch."
>
> —"The Lesson of Spain," July 1936

Audacity and Timing

There is another ominous danger in the prospect of a left-wing coup, namely isolation of the most advanced elements. The process of radicalization has been extremely uneven in Portugal, and there is no doubt that soldiers of certain military units, the industrial red belt around Lisbon, and agricultural workers in the south are well in advance of the rest of the country. It is necessary to deepen and broaden the working-class mobilization, and to give it unity.

However, the right wing of the MFA is attempting *now* to crack down on "indiscipline." It is necessary to resist the sallies launched against the left by the government, but evasion and maneuver must be employed when the terrain is unfavorable. The workers movement must show that it has teeth without being provoked into premature actions. At present the top generals are seeking to avoid massive casualties, but any incident can be seized upon to launch a bloodbath. Thus tactics like the stationing of a defenseless "human barricade" in front of the Porto artillery barracks are criminally dangerous. The enemy is not a bleeding-heart liberal—this is an invitation to him to turn ill-prepared confrontations into demoralizing defeats for the workers.

But when the showdown comes it is essential to strike with audacity and ruthlessness. Hopefully this will come when the revolutionary forces are ready. Yet there is no revolutionary party in Portugal today which has prepared such favorable conditions. It is still necessary to resist, even under adverse circumstances. The proletariat which goes down without a fight will not rise again for a long time. The experience of Hitler's unopposed march to power—and the utter destruction of the workers movement which followed—should be a lesson in this regard.

In the Moscow uprising of December 1905, for instance, conditions were not favorable to the revolutionaries: the strike movement in Petersburg was losing momentum; the army had not yet been decisively won over, despite a number of barracks revolts; the Bolsheviks were a minority in the soviets. But when the artillery units opened fire on the barricades and crowds of strikers, the Moscow Bolsheviks nevertheless threw themselves into the struggle. In the aftermath of the defeat Lenin analyzed the struggle, pointing to weaknesses and errors. But he never concluded, as did the Menshevik Plekhanov, that "they should not have taken to arms"! "On the contrary," wrote Lenin, "we should have taken to arms more resolutely, energetically and aggressively" ("Lessons of the Moscow Uprising," August 1906).

Today the latter-day Mensheviks are already preparing to condemn the Portuguese masses for their heroic will to resist. The ex-Trotskyist and now cringingly reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has gone to new lengths in its endless cowardly blubberings against what it sees as tens of thousands of Portuguese "ultra-leftists." Having acted as shameless apologist for the Socialist Party (SP) as the latter was fronting for a vicious anti-communist mobilization of rightist terror in late July and early August, the SWP was understandably embarrassed by revelations last month that the CIA has been sending $2 to $10 million per month to finance Mario Soares' operation.

Ever resourceful in the cause of licking the boots of the bourgeoisie and its Portuguese lackeys, the SWP has found a way out: the European social democrats are to blame!

> "No one has claimed that the CIA simply gave the SP a check each month. The money, it is said, was channelled to the SP through the European Social Democratic parties and unnamed European unions.
>
> "Thus, unless one wishes to argue that the Portuguese SP has no right to accept funds from Social Democratic parties and unions in Europe, responsibility for giving the CIA an entry belongs in the first place with the conduits that agreed to 'launder' Washington's money."
>
> *Militant*, 17 October

Mario Soares' press agents are not fazed by anything.

The SWP's reformist dedication to bourgeois law and order is so profound that, after describing the diversion of 1,000 automatic rifles from the military arsenals to a "far-left" group and the freeing of two soldier members of the SUV from a military prison by a crowd of several tens of thousands, it mutters disapprovingly about "direct action" which "isolated the left still more" (*Intercontinental Press*, 6 October). Instead of surrounding the fort and demanding the liberation of their comrades, the SWP thinks the demonstrators should have mounted a "broad campaign"! The trouble, you see, is that the Lisbon workers haven't got an NPAC.

No—the problem is that the Lisbon workers do not have a revolutionary party! In the July Days during 1917, the Bolsheviks counseled caution to the angry masses, but they did not abandon them or stand on the sidelines clucking their tongues in disapproval. If there has been any oscillation in the SWP's despicable counterrevolutionary policies in Portugal it has been between the posture of Plekhanov, who wanted to hide in the face of danger in 1905, and that of Kerensky in July 1917 as he lined up with the darkest forces of reaction in seeking to drown the revolution in blood.■

Vient de paraître

SPARTACIST

édition française No. 10
octobre 1975

3,00 F. $.75 US/Canada

pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

Build the Weekly

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

81

Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)

☐ $5/48 issues ☐ $2/16 issues (Introductory)

Women and Revolution
☐ $1/4 issues

Young Spartacus
☐ $2/11 issues

Make payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Subscribe Now!

SUB DRIVE SPECIAL

☐ $6 for 48 issues of WORKERS VANGUARD, and 11 issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS

NDP...

(continued from page 5)

This is not the methodology of communism.

It *is*, however, the methodology of the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA), "official" Canadian representative of the ostensibly Trotskyist United Secretariat, a group with many years of practice in the art of *building*, not destroying, illusions in the social-democratic misleaders. Thus just three days after the NDP government had seen Bill 146 through the legislature, the LSA proudly announced at a public forum its intention to call for the re-election of the same government in the coming election campaign!

The social-democratic cretinism of the NDP and their hootlicking fellow-travelers in the LSA cannot show the way forward for the Canadian working masses. Only the program of intransigent class struggle and exposure of the working-class misleadership, fought for in Canada by the Trotskyist League, sympathizing section of the international Spartacist tendency, can mobilize the proletariat for socialist revolution.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

FREE PHILIP ALLEN NOW!

PDC Press Conference

Bail Revoked, Allen's Life in Danger

OCTOBER 13 Ellery Allen, mother of Philip Allen, spoke at a press conference held by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) today at New York's Diplomat Hotel. Attending were reporters from CORE, *Liberation News Service*, the International Workers Party, *Workers Vanguard* and others. Philip Allen, a 20-year-old black college student, is the victim of a vicious racist frame-up by Los Angeles-area courts and cops. He recently received the maximum sentence of five-years-to-life for assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. The state alleges that on New Year's eve, the 5'3", 135-pound Allen overpowered four burly, fully-armed L.A. county deputy sheriffs and disarmed one of them, killing one deputy and wounding two others. All this is alleged to have occurred while Allen was lying on the ground, receiving a

Philip Allen WV Photo

beating so savage that he had to be hospitalized following the arrest.

"There is blatant racism in the system," Ms. Allen said. "Daily, policemen beat up blacks, Puerto Ricans, Mexicans, hippie-looking types.... A simple arrest is almost never effected.... They have to get their punishment and aggression out before taking the chance that the court will do justice sometimes and let the people go."

Ms. Allen explained that bail was revoked for her son after he spoke in his own defense at a rally on the Los Angeles City College campus October 1. The American Civil Liberties Union has entered the case in his defense against this blatant violation of his constitutional rights to free speech.

On October 2 Allen had been granted a continuation of bail. But when his lawyers arrived the next morning, they were told that bail was revoked. The reason: the prosecutor had informed the judge that Allen had spoken in his own defense at LACC and planned to appear at an October 4 rally for the San Quentin Six. At the October 7 bail hearing Allen was labelled an "agitator" and poor bail risk—for the supposed crime of continuing to proclaim his innocence!

Now in Chino state penitentiary, Allen's life is in constant danger. He is accused of killing a cop and is being subjected to the naked brutality of the racist prison system in which savage beatings are part of the daily routine.

Ms. Allen thanked the PDC for help in publicizing "these grave injustices perpetrated on myself and my son." In a moving account she described her outrage about this grotesque frame-up:

"Philip Allen professes his innocence. I will always say openly and whenever I get a platform that he did not touch that gun: he could not have touched that gun; it was not proven that he touched the gun; and I am of the belief by past experience of reading the papers that had he touched the gun they would have killed him."

"We have weekly accounts that the L.A. law enforcement people murder suspects, people who they go to apprehend sometimes for minor offenses and then the report comes out...'he *seemed* to have a gun,' or 'he moved his hand and his bracelet *looked* like a gun,' or 'he had a cigarette'—and right away they kill this person."

No fingerprints were found on the gun, no paraffin or other tests were ever done to determine who shot the gun, and no one, she pointed out, could testify to seeing Allen take the gun from Deputy Sheriff Grimes, including Grimes himself. Ms. Allen recalled the deputy as saying in court, "'I lost my gun.' 'And how did you know you had lost the gun?' came the question from the defense attorney. Grimes said, 'By instinct'."

"He would have had to somehow take the gun," she continued, "turn around for the fellow who was holding him from behind was the guy who was shot—he flat on the ground, do the shooting...and nobody saw him take the gun!"

Ms. Allen reported that the shootout "investigation" had been carried out by the L.A. Sheriff's Office. It is clear that

continued on page 5

WV Photo

Ellery Allen addresses NSCAR conference.

NSCAR Conference Backs Philip Allen

BOSTON, October 12—The National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR), dominated by the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), held its second national conference this weekend at Northeastern University. One of the few positive steps taken by the conference was to support the defense of Philip Allen, the young black student framed by Los Angeles county cops.

The conference was boycotted by the Communist Party, the Maoists and most black nationalist groups, and the attendance was considerably smaller than at last year's founding conference. The SWP maintained its organizational hammerlock and, for the first time, put its creation on record for the use of federal troops to "protect" black school children. One leading NSCAR spokesman, Rasheed Ali, even called for use of tactical air strikes and A-bombs to pacify South Boston!

The only political opposition at this otherwise sterile gathering came from the Spartacus Youth League (SYL), which presented major resolutions counterposed to the SWP's reformist reliance on "educational campaigns" and liberal marches to pressure the bourgeois state into defending black people and their democratic rights. SYL spokesmen referred to the testimony of black students from Boston high schools who vividly described to the conference the racist treatment they had received at the hands of the cops who are supposed to defend them.

While the SWP rammed all its motions through with little difficulty, a significant division occurred on an SYL amendment which delineated the difference between the SWP's manipulative, sectarian practices in defense work and the united-front defense activities of the SYL and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), an anti-sectarian legal defense organization which stands for working-class defense policies in accordance with the political views of the Spartacist League.

The SYL and PDC supported all the numerous resolutions introduced for defense of class-war prisoners and victims of racist frame-ups with one important exception. That exception was a motion calling on NSCAR to "*take the lead* in working with the San Quentin Six Defense Committee." This obvious statement of political confidence in NSCAR was protested by the SYL, which offered an amendment to change the wording to "NSCAR must work with" the committee. So persuasive was the argument that such a defense motion must not hinge on support to any particular political group that the first vote split the body evenly. On a second vote the SWP leadership appeared to succeed in imposing discipline on their wavering ranks and in a typical display of sectarianism voted down the amendment, forcing the SYL to abstain on the original motion.

The conference did unanimously pass two PDC motions, one condemning the frame-up of Philip Allen and another supporting the SYL's struggle against a political purge at Los Angeles City College. Ellery Allen, Philip Allen's mother, addressed the conference this morning, describing the legal atrocity committed against her son. She referred to the PDC who "were instrumental in getting me here. These people have taken up the defense of Philip Allen as a major campaign. They are committed to see that justice is done." She was loudly applauded, and the PDC representatives succeeded in collecting $79.91 for the Philip Allen Defense Committee.■

Partisan Defense Committee Motions Passed at NSCAR Conference

This conference condemns the vicious, racist frame-up of Philip Allen and also condemns the subsequent gagging through imprisonment of Philip Allen's constitutional right to speak and campaign in his own defense, and this conference demands freedom for Philip Allen.

This conference supports the Committee to Defend the SYL in its struggle against the witch-hunting Los Angeles City College administration's threatened suspension.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 82 — 24 October 1975

Avante!

Workers and soldiers march on Beja air base in southern Portugal protesting attempts to purge left-wing soldiers earlier this month.

Soviets and the Struggle for Workers Power in Portugal ...6

Crush Fascists in Portugal!

OCTOBER 20—Political turmoil and economic collapse, a breakdown of bourgeois authority and the absence of a revolutionary vanguard leading the workers forward to the seizure of power: this is the state of Portugal today. These are also the conditions which will drive tens of thousands of despairing petty bourgeois into the arms of Salazarist bishops, pro-NATO generals and ultra-rightist politicians backed by big business.

The world has already had a glimpse of what a victory by these forces would mean from the wave of burnings of Communist Party (CP) offices across northern Portugal in July and August. Unless the Portuguese working class can put a stop to the mounting chaos by energetic measures to crush bourgeois reaction, this terrorist onslaught will be a minor skirmish in comparison with the bloodbath which is even now being prepared. The drive to smash the soldiers committees, popular vigilance committees, workers and neighborhood commissions has as its end, not capitalist democracy, but naked reactionary dictatorship.

The Salazarist dictatorship in Portugal which lasted from 1926 to 1974 is often falsely referred to as fascist. But like the Franco dictatorship in Spain—and unlike Mussolini's Italy or Hitler's Germany—Salazar never had active mass support. The "New State" which put an end to the 1910 republic was a reactionary bonapartist regime whose social base of support was limited to the secret police and paramilitary forces, the Catholic church hierarchy, the army officer corps and a handful of powerful monopolists. However, today for the first time the beginnings of a genuine fascist movement are being seen in Portugal. The next March on Lisbon could look more like Mussolini's 1922 March on Rome.

The last week in Portugal continued to be dominated by fallout from the revolt of a military transport unit (CICAP), triggered by an attempt of the army's northern regional commander, António Pires Veloso, to transfer (i.e., purge) several leftist soldiers and officers. At the high point, members of 18 different units in the northern region had gathered at the Porto artillery unit's barracks occupied by CICAP under the discipline of an elected "struggle committee." On October 14 the army chief of staff, General Carlos Fabião, negotiated with the rebels and offered a "compromise" which more than satisfied the unit, earlier dissolved by Pires Veloso. CICAP would be renamed the "April 25 Regiment," headed by a "revolutionary officer" and heavily armed.

Until now, Fabião had been considered one of the "moderate" Group of Nine leaders of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA) which has led the campaign for enforcing discipline in the barracks. But his deal with CICAP caused a storm in the Supreme Revolutionary Council, the leading body of the MFA, including calls for his resignation. Pires Veloso simply ignored his superior's negotiated settlement, authorizing unit commanders to hand out indefinite furloughs to anyone who had participated in the revolt.

The high command continues to worry about its strength relative to well-armed leftist units. Although the constitution of a Military Intervention Group (AMI) was decided upon in mid-September, only a single commando unit has joined it and it was forced to move its headquarters off the Montijo air base because of opposition from the troops. A 16 October UPI dispatch reported:

> "Indicative of the decline in morale have been persistent leaks that if the crisis of authority becomes worse, the government might abandon Lisbon to the revolutionary left and let it be turned into a 'Lisbon Commune.'... 'Things move faster nowadays' [than at the time of the 1871 Paris Commune], a

continued on page 10

$150 Million Pension Fund Giveaway

Shanker Bankrolls Big MAC Boondoggle

OCTOBER 19—Early last Friday the United Federation of Teachers (UFT) coughed up $150 million from union pension funds to prevent New York from defaulting on its debt payments to the financial leeches who have bled the city dry. By his own admission, UFT president Albert Shanker caved in to "extortion" by the Emergency Financial Control Board (EFCB), the economic junta that now calls the shots on the city's budget. While major banks, private investors and the administrator of the state employees' pension fund, controller Arthur Levitt, wouldn't touch the latest long-term, "moral obligation" bonds issued by the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC), Shanker poured his members' retirement money down the MAC rat hole.

Shanker's meek protests are nothing but the bleating of a Judas goat after the slaughter. He scuttled a solid teachers strike and accepted the worst contract in UFT history only to have it vetoed by the EFCB as too expensive. Governor Hugh Carey, linchpin of the union-busting board, then salted the raw wound by arrogantly demanding that the union buy MAC bonds to bail out the city's "cash flow crisis." Shanker blustered a bit (UFT representatives on the pension fund's board twice voted against the purchase) and then responded with characteristic spinelessness.

While the city staggers under its financial burdens, President Gerald Ford and his spokesmen maintain their contemptuous hard-line austerity pitch designed to appeal to a puritanical "Middle America." Presidential press secretary Ron Nessen compared the city to "a wayward daughter hooked on heroin." Equally symptomatic was the refusal of Ford's aides to wake him to take a personal phone call from a frantic Mayor Beame pleading for assistance on the eve of an expected default.

But the country's top bankers, less concerned with Ford's pre-election image, are seriously pressing demands for either direct federal aid to NYC or at least federal backing for MAC's financially unappetizing bond issues. The heads of Chase Manhattan, First National City and the Morgan Guaranty Trust Company testified

continued on page 11

Isabel Perón's Last Hurrah

Isabel Perón

Stern/Black Star

OCTOBER 18—Isabel Perón sneaked back to Buenos Aires Thursday night and in a hastily called ceremony reassumed the Argentine presidency. After a 33-day forced "vacation," the hapless former dancer found that virtually no one wanted to see her back in office. It was finally agreed that she could return long enough to preside over yesterday's "Loyalty Day" celebration, commemorating the 30th anniversary of the massive demonstrations and strikes which brought the release of then-imprisoned Colonel Juan Domingo Perón and propelled him to the presidency, which he held from 1946 to 1955 and again in 1973-74. But today even the leadership of the Peronist Justicialista movement is determined to see the *caudillo's* widow quickly bundled off to Spain, where her Rasputin, the hated butcher José Lopez Rega, is now living.

In fact, the only reason Isabel was even permitted to set foot in the Argentine capital again was the evident failure of her replacement, the Peronist former senator Italo Luder, to carry out his appointed tasks of "defending the institutional process" and "smashing the guerrillas." During August and September the audacity of leftist guerrillas reached the point where many military officers were talking of a coup simply for self-protection. On August 28 the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP) pulled off a dramatic operation by successfully blowing up a C130 Hercules transport plane (loaded with elite anti-guerrilla troops) during takeoff.

Despite Luder's talk of "national reconciliation," he was unable to do any better. In fact, his term in office was highlighted by the left-Peronist Montoneros' first attack on the army. In a flashy assault on the northern town of Formosa two weeks ago, the guerrillas failed to release their imprisoned comrades but nevertheless pulled off a well-coordinated getaway featuring the hijacking of several planes, including a Boeing 737. The military responded by forcing the government to create an internal security council in order to rubber-stamp whatever measures the high command deems necessary. A good idea of the mood in the upper echelons of the armed forces was given by a speech of General Jorge Olivera Rovere at a wake for an officer killed by leftist guerrillas in August:

> "We shall be unable to face the verdict of history until ideological instigators, perjurers, traitors and assassins and their accomplices disappear forever.... A lot of blood may have to be spilled, but it will be the blood of the enemy and not a fruitless holocaust for our soldiers."
>
> *New York Times*, 21 August

Last week General Luciano Menendez, known as a hard-liner, made clear that an army crackdown will not be directed solely at the guerrillas. "In order to be effective," he said, "repression must be carried out in all places where there is subversive action.... Measures will have to be taken in the trade unions, universities, etc." (*New York Times*, 13 October). And, in fact, it is among the organized workers that the greatest potential resistance to a military takeover lies. With inflation now exceeding a 300 percent annual rate and the sharp increase of unemployment during the last two months, labor is in a restive mood. The 100 percent wage increases exacted by the militant general strike in July have already been wiped out by skyrocketing prices. An indication of the mood in the unions was the remark that "I would rather have my throat cut by the guerrillas than by members of the Textile Workers Union" by that union's president, Casildo Herreras.

But despite the increasing number of "Pinochetista" opinions being voiced among army officers, the Argentine military is by no means unanimous in desiring to take power. Having held power for 18 crisis-ridden years following their overthrow of Perón in 1955, the generals found they could not crush the massive popular resistance, restive working class and elusive guerrillas and finally turned the presidency over to the Peronist Hector Cámpora following the March 1973 elections. They are not eager to repeat this experience. Moreover, even the troops have begun to be "infected" with leftist ideas in the 90-percent draftee army. A 13 October DPA dispatch reports that "The refusal of the military authorities to use [conscript] soldiers in urban and rural search missions is well known."

The Failure of Peronism Without Perón

After the July 1974 death of Juan Domingo Perón, the bulk of the Argentine working class continued to view Peronism as its banner and hope. The myth of this "benefactor" of the *descamisados* (shirtless) derived from his sponsorship of mass unionization of the Argentine working class, the largest in Latin America, and the rise of workers' real wages during the late 1940's. That the unions were effectively controlled by the government's Labor Department and were set up to forestall the advance of socialist-led independent unions was at first not noticed by many workers. While Perón had already begun to crush important strikes during the early 1950's as the country's economic position worsened, he was replaced by the generals' even more repressive rule before the bankruptcy of his regime had become clear to the masses.

Bonapartist regimes, such as that of Perón, seek to act as arbiters balancing between antagonistic social classes while maintaining the domination of the ruling class. For this difficult task both a "heroic" figure and ample doses of demagogic rhetoric are needed, often combined with various populist schemes. Napoleon Bonaparte represented the consolidation of anti-Jacobin reaction in post-revolutionary France. He financed his international exploits by the imposition of burdensome salt and wine taxes on the impoverished masses. Nevertheless, in the hundred days' period after his escape from imprisonment on Saint Helena in 1815, the "left" Bonaparte sought to forge an army by rallying around him the plebeian and peasant masses with promises to relieve them of the oppressive taxes.

When Perón returned to Argentina in 1973 we warned that "...the current Peronist regime will be a government of reaction—an instrument to carry out the job the military has been unable to do, namely to put an end to the workers' militancy which has been raging through the country since 1969" (*WV* No. 24, 6 July 1973). And so it was, as his regime and that of his widow adopted viciously anti-labor policies. But this was not immediately clear to Argentine workers for, like Napoleon Bonaparte in 1815, Perón had made liberal use of leftist rhetoric during the last years of his exile, at one point even stating that he would be a guerrilla today if he were younger. Again like Bonaparte, he died before the Peronist myth had been shattered.

Although they cannot displace the fundamental class forces which determine the course of history, myths are not without importance at certain junctures. Thus after being freed of the oppressive and incompetent "constitutional monarchy" in 1848—and after the brutal crushing of the Paris proletariat in the June Days—the French population voted overwhelmingly for Bonaparte's questionable newphew, Louis Napoleon, in a reaction against the bourgeois terror. Just as Louis was merely a farce of his uncle, so Isabel is only a caricature of the *caudillo*. Despite her constant calls on the workers to be true to her late husband, the strikes became more frequent, more general and more militant. Peronism without Perón—bonapartism without the Bonaparte—has been a failure for the bourgeoisie.

The Struggle for Working-Class Independence

Though the Peronist myth is by now badly tarnished, it has not been shattered. For this it is necessary not only to expose the bankruptcy of a particular individual but to carry on a tenacious struggle to break the Argentine working class from all sectors of the bourgeoisie, including that sector represented by Peronist populism. And it is this task which the reformist, social-democratic Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores (PST—Socialist Workers Party, Argentine sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat) has consistently failed to undertake.

Already in the 1950's Nahuel Moreno (today one of the main PST leaders) began his decades-long capitulation to Peronism. For years he published *Palabra Obrera*, which described itself as being "under the direction of General Perón." In late 1972 the PST offered to vote Justicialista—i.e., for what even it termed a bourgeois party!—provided 80 percent of the candidates on the Peronist slate were workers. And after Cámpora took office in May 1973, PST leader Juan Carlos Coral offered the new president "our proletarian solidarity." Last year these fake Trotskyists pledged to Perón their support for "the institutional process" (i.e., bourgeois law-and-order), and then promised his widow to "fight for the continuity" of her government!

But now Isabel is not so popular with the workers, so PST calls for "the resignation of Madame President with the objective that Parliament put into functioning the established legal mechanisms, convoking a Constituent Assembly, which... had been repeatedly promised by General Perón himself" (*Avanzada Socialista*, 8 August). What of the working class, the union bureaucrats, political independence of labor? The PST says only that "within this dramatic institutional process the workers movement should exercize a protagonist's role." It adds that the "CGT [labor federation] should impose its plan and... put it into practice by taking power in its hands." Yet nowhere does the PST call on the unions to break from Peronism. As for the CGT plan, even *Avanzada Socialista* calls it a "plan of class collaboration" which does not call for "expropriating the oligarchy and imperialism." Thus once again, rather than seeking to break the Peronists' stranglehold on the working class, instead of putting forward a perspective of workers power, the reformist PST proposes merely to *pressure* the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy to implement its own class-collaborationist policies. ■

CORRECTIONS

WV No. 77 stated that Cook County Sheriff Richard Elrod "achieved notoriety for taking a flying leap at a demonstrator outside the 1968 Democratic Party Convention." In fact, the incident occurred 11 October 1969, when Elrod tackled Brian Flanagan during the Weatherman "Days of Rage" demonstration.

The subscription drive report published in *WV* No. 80 inadvertently reversed the figures for the San Francisco and East Bay branches.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: $5.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

"White Power" March Stopped

Chicago Rally Against Nazi Provocation

WV Photo

CHICAGO—An important united-front rally of black and socialist organizations was held here Sunday, October 12, to counter attempts by the National Socialist White People's Party to spread its race-hate poison with a provocative "White Power" march into the black community bordering Marquette Park on Chicago's southwest side.

The anti-fascist rally at 71st and Damen, directly in the line of march, drew over 100 people and kept up militant picketing and chanting for over three hours, not disbanding until it was clear that the Nazi scum would *not* enter the black neighborhood. Organizations participating in the united front included the Concerned Black Fathers of America (whose national president, Rev. Edward Sparks, chaired the rally) as well as the Communist Labor Party, the Committee to Stop the Klan, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the International Socialists and the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL).

The fascists had started off with a rally at Marquette Park, which reportedly drew about 1,000 persons. (In last April's city elections the Nazis put up four candidates for alderman in this area, winning 16 percent of the vote in one ward.) Following appeals to "save the white race" a small number of uniformed adult Nazis began the march accompanied by a crowd of undisciplined youths, many wearing "White Power" T-shirts. However, police headed off the march to prevent a possible violent confrontation between the two demonstrations before the fascists could enter the black community. Nazi leader Frank Collin and some 30 of his supporters were arrested.

The anti-Nazi rally, despite its small numbers, was nevertheless an important step in developing a strong and united labor/black defense against the terrorist fascist bands. A Spartacist speaker emphasized that the fascists can be stopped only by mobilizing the working class. He linked the struggle in Chicago to the need for labor/black defense of busing against racist attacks like those in Boston and Louisville, and pointed to the successful campaign initiated by the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 near Chicago, which prevented a black worker's home from being destroyed by racists.

In an almost incredible display of sectarianism, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) held a *separate* rally across the street from the main rally. Their chants of "Workers Unite!" had a hollow ring given this despicable separatism. The main rally replied, "Smash the Nazis, Smash the Klan—PL Join Us, Take a Stand!" and "Don't be splitters, Don't be fools—Division is the bosses' tool!" The October League also reportedly held a small rally at 63rd and Ashland, safely away from the main action. Finally, two hesitant reporters of the SWP's *Militant* appeared briefly to peer at the rally from across the street. Since the Socialist Workers Party believes in the right of "free speech for fascists," it is not surprising that they failed to participate.

The SL's insistence that cops and courts cannot be relied upon to stop fascism was amply borne out by the fact that the American Civil Liberties Union obtained a parade permit for the Nazis, allowing them to enter the black neighborhood. Presumably the SWP supports this action, since it opposes "anti-democratic" demonstrations to prevent the fascists from spewing out their murderous filth.

Our insistence that the Nazis don't just have "bad ideas" but are *racist terrorists* was dramatically proven by the fascists' violence at their rallying point, where they stoned black people on the street and the home of a black family on the borderline between the white and black neighborhoods. Frank Haley, a black resident who was attacked, fired a gun into the air to chase away the racist hooligans, whereupon he was promptly arrested by the police and charged with failure to register a weapon!

Willie Curtis, executive director of the West Englewood Community Organization, a small black nationalist group, also showed up to actively oppose the anti-fascist rally, claiming that "any group of people have the right to demonstrate peacefully" and asking "why react to these filthy scums?" This is the worst kind of Martin Luther King style, pacifist, "If-there's-any-blood-spilled-let-it-be-*our*-blood" defeatism. The Nazis are vicious and armed thugs who will burn, beat and lynch black people any time they get the chance. Decaying capitalism provides a fertile breeding ground for fascist terror, which must be rooted out and destroyed before it can take hold! Only the strongest possible militant self-defense organization of workers and blacks can be relied on to stop these attacks!

Although clearly much stronger defense efforts will be necessary in the future to counter the fascist provocations, Sunday's rally marked an important step for the Chicago left. It was probably the first time that the various organizations participating had been in a genuine united front with each other, and was a vindication of the Spartacist League's long-standing position on the necessity of such united-front action against racist and anti-working-class terrorism. This promising first step must be followed by further attempts to organize united defense against the fascists, and to teach these cowardly bullies some well-deserved lessons about the power of a militant working class. ■

WV Photo

Militant anti-Nazi demonstrators protest "White Power" march in Chicago, October 12.

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

I.S. "Impressive Demos" Fizzle

OCTOBER 18—A series of dispirited demonstrations today, centering on the slogan "Portugal Must Not Become Another Chile," marked the end of the first month of the International Socialists' "worker membership campaign." The demonstrations were part of a futile attempt by the IS to capitalize on publicity recently afforded its favored group in Portugal, the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), which last week received write-ups in both the *New York Times* and *Time* magazine. The PRP is most notable for its political flirtation with the wing of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) led by the strikebreaking General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, head of the COPCON strike force.

In the demonstrations, the IS gave top billing to the slogan "Support the United Revolutionary Front" (FUR). This popular-frontist coalition originated with an August 25 communiqué supporting the now-deposed Gonçalves government, and endorsing the COPCON document (which IS national chairman Joel Geier claims was written by Carvalho's PRP brain-trusters) calling for "strengthening discipline" in the military and "the genuine achievement of the MFA-People Alliance." In a leaflet distributed at the New York rally, the Spartacist League scored the IS' oblivious disdain for communist principles:

> "Never mind that the New Left-syndicalist PRP explicitly rejects the basic Leninist conception of the need for a vanguard party—the PRP calls for 'unity of the proletariat, independent of political groups and parties' (*Revolução*, 8 June 1974). Never mind that the PRP openly discards the experience of the Russian Bolsheviks: PRP leader Isabel do Carmo: 'There are no models. For the first time in the world we are working out a real socialist revolution. The Soviets couldn't do it...' (*New York Times*, 14 October 1975). And never mind that the PRP plunged itself head first into the class-collaborationist United Revolutionary Front (FUR)...."

With a deeply ingrained tailist appetite, the IS endorses a program which opens the door to a Chilean solution to the Portuguese crisis.

But opportunism doesn't pay—in this case, not even in the short run. The New York demonstration drew not quite 30 listless participants, including components of the "Portugal Solidarity Committee," a motley propaganda bloc whose slogans, directed largely against CIA NATO intervention in Portugal and Angola, simply avoid the crucial questions before the Portuguese masses. Disgruntlement prefiguring a short and sorry career for this minuscule conglomeration was evident when the Revolutionary Socialist League declined to mobilize for the event allegedly on account of rain (!), abandoning its partners of the International Workers Party and Trotskyist Organizing Committee.

In the Bay Area, about 125 demonstrators marched while the IS chanted slogans supporting the FUR, having explained in a planning meeting that the FUR wasn't really class-collaborationist because the Communist Party had departed from it! These Stalinophobes breathe a sigh of relief at distance from the reformist CP, while not flinching at endorsement of the capitalist MFA, the officer corps of the bourgeois army!

But going from bad to worse, in Detroit, its national headquarters, IS failed to even draw its own membership. IS supporters took *no* part in their own demonstration and its tiny contingent was seen leaving the area at the time stated for the demonstration to begin. Perhaps the rain dampened their enthusiasm. After all—when General Carvalho can be relied on to make the revolution, why bother to get wet?

Sakharov Gets Imperialist "Peace" Prize

OCTOBER 20—The award of the Nobel "Peace" Prize, established by the inventor of dynamite, to Andrei Sakharov, "father of the Soviet H bomb," is not inappropriate. Both Sakharov and Alfred Nobel repented their contributions to the technology of warfare and began to preach bourgeois liberal sentimentality about world peace. Such hypocrites dream wistfully of a harmonious order in which the imperialist predators can "peacefully" feed on their spoils. Sakharov joins a less than admirable coterie of imperialist "statesmen" including the likes of Henry Kissinger, awarded the prize in 1973 for his efforts to impose a robbers' peace on the workers and peasants of Vietnam.

Although a small fry in such company, Sakharov deserves a certain tawdry fame as Henry Jackson's ideological fifth columnist in the USSR. Opposing unconditional détente on the grounds that "Western reconciliation with Moscow on Soviet terms posed a serious threat to the world," he supported Jackson's Congressional amendment which demanded free emigration from the Soviet Union as a precondition for improved trade relations.

Sakharov also admires American capitalism as a "much healthier" system superior to the "militarized and chaotically managed" planned economy created by the Russian Revolution. He advocates a technological boycott of Russia by the imperialist countries, arguing that "...large amounts of Western technological aid... would help the Russians get rid of economic problems they cannot solve on their own and would enable them to concentrate on accumulating strength. As a result...the world would become helpless before this uncontrollable bureaucratic machine." He piously advises U.S. imperialism, just emerging from a bloody imperialist war, that "no one should ever be expected to live next to such a neighbor [the USSR], especially one who is armed to the teeth" (*New York Times*, 22 August 1973).

The Gunpowder Peace Prize went to Sakharov precisely because he champions "human rights" by appealing to the blood-stained imperialist warmongers to isolate and pressure the Soviet Union. Other "Soviet dissidents" like historian Roy Medvedev and General Pyotr Grigorenko, who still consider themselves Marxist-Leninists and defend the heritage of the October Revolution, are far less appealing to the Nobel committee.

In 1973 Sakharov was reportedly considered for the award but passed over in favor of Dr. "Strangelove" Kissinger. Among his backers at the time was Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who today advocates tsarism, Russian Orthodox religious obscurantism and the launching of World War III, while banking his royalties in Switzerland.

Formerly a distinguished Soviet scientist decorated for wartime bravery, Sakharov's now openly pro-imperialist views have evolved over several decades. In the late 1950's he personally interceded with Khrushchev in favor of a unilateral Russian ban on nuclear testing. He became known in the West when his "Thoughts on Progress, Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom" was published abroad in 1968. At that time he was promoting détente and the theory of "convergence" between capitalism and socialism. Today he believes that the USSR is a state-capitalist society, distinguished from the U.S. primarily by its "totalitarian" structure. On that basis he sentimentalizes over the "democracy" of Gerald Ford and Henry Jackson.

Time

Andrei Sakharov

Even in his muddleheaded defense of abstract democracy, Sakharov is less than consistent. In September 1973 he co-authored a letter to the Chilean junta pleading for the life of Pablo Neruda because "The loss of this great man would becloud for a long time the epoch of rebirth and consolidation proclaimed by your Government." In a telephone interview with a Western reporter, this "champion" of human rights "declined to take a stand for or against the junta on the ground that 'Chile is too far away'." Later he explained that he didn't want to join the Russian "chorus" of denunciations of the butcher Pinochet (*New York Times*, 26 September 1973).

Sakharov's anti-communism is not the product of mental illness or Yankee gold, as the Stalinist rulers of the USSR would have Russian workers believe. His petty-bourgeois utopian views are a reaction to the stifling intellectual and political repression wielded by the Soviet bureaucracy to protect its power. In certain respects his reliance on pressure by the imperialist powers is little more than a logical extension of the bureaucracy's own "peaceful coexistence" policies. By seeking to stave off both revolution and counterrevolution through compromise with imperialism, it is the Stalinist usurpers, far more than socially impotent critics like the Westernizer Sakharov or the Slavophile Solzhenitsyn, who pose the real internal danger to the preservation of the social and economic conquests of the 1917 revolution.

When the Soviet proletariat frees itself from the shackles of bureaucratic rule and reconquers political power through political revolution, Sakharov may ironically receive favorable mention in their history books. He will be noted not for his Nobel Peace Prize, nor for toadying to Henry Jackson but for his distinguished role in developing a hydrogen bomb for the USSR. Constituting one of the main deterrents to John Foster Dulles' dreams of "rolling back" Russian power in Eastern Europe, this achievement was a far greater contribution to world peace than those of all the recipients of the Nobel Peace Prize combined.■

German Centrists Call for Stopping Revolution in Portugal

At its Fifth National Conference held late last summer, the German centrist Spartacusbund (SpB) appeared to be making a significant left turn. At least, it might have been significant if only one could take the SpB's proclamations seriously as reflecting real policies. But the printers' ink of the fine phrases of its major conference resolution was hardly dry on the paper when the SpB ran afoul of the harsh reality of the class struggle as posed in Portugal. In a matter of weeks, the SpB vacated its leftist posture to demonstrate again that its incessant zigzags to the left and right are little more than cynical attempts to find a programmatic facade aimed either at papering over the internecine power squabbles of the SpB's inveterately warring internal cliques, or at forming some rotten bloc with tired centrists which it can pass off as proof of its "internationalism."

The conference resolution (published in *Spartacus* No. 19, August 1975) abounded with specific and far-reaching left criticisms of the SpB's past political line and explicitly generalized them as "characterizing the centrist line of our organization." The resolution also conceded that the split of the rightist "Bolshevik Tendency" in May 1975 had raised the general question: how to explain why all the tendencies which had split from the Spartacusbund and its predecessors—with the exception of those which fused with the German section of the international Spartacist tendency—were "right splits which broke fundamentally with the program of Trotskyism."

For an organization to label its past thrust as centrist should signal a real internal struggle for rectification. Yet within weeks of the appearance of the resolution in the SpB press, the Spartacusbund central committee adopted a document, "The Portuguese Revolution in Danger" (23 August 1975), published in a pamphlet of the same name along with a long tendency document on Portugal by three SpB leaders on which the resolution was based. Formally at least, these materials appeared to mark a sharp *rightward* shift from the SpB's previous line!

The SpB abandoned (at least temporarily) a somewhat left version of the United Secretariat (USec) majority line (uncritically supporting the workers commissions as presently constituted and orienting mainly to the Communist Party) in favor of a position whose logical conclusion points to the position of the USec minority led by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party (SWP). The SpB August resolution credited the Portuguese Socialist Party with incorporating the desire of the broad masses of workers for socialism, and the tendency document states "the central tactical task is to 'normalize' the revolution; the tactical levers are the Constituent Assembly and, at a later point in time, the slogan of a workers government." The term "normalization" has a special significance, since it has traditionally been applied within the Trotskyist movement to describe the Stalinist apparatus' suppression of strikes and uprisings in Eastern Europe.

The SpB central committee wants to keep the advanced workers "from plunging thoughtlessly forward"! The pamphlet constitutes nothing less than a call to *stop the revolution* in Portugal and return to the "most radical democratic demands," which are to be posed to the Constituent Assembly.

To justify this retreat, the SpB takes cover behind the observation that the Portuguese working class is deeply divided and lacks a revolutionary organization which "can directly pose the task of the immediate seizure of power." One cannot but recall the Marcy faction of the SWP, which justified its support to the suppression of the 1956 Hungarian revolution by the ingenious explanation that without a Trotskyist vanguard party, the Hungarian workers' uprising could not succeed in overturning the bureaucracy and thus only opened the door to CIA manipulation and capitalist restoration. The Marcyites drew the "logical" conclusion of supporting the brutal suppression of the Hungarian workers by Russian tanks as the only practical way to restore order. The SpB's impulse is the same: under cover of a defeatist analysis, it lines up behind the Socialist Party and "democratic demands."

This latest oscillation of leftist zig and rightist zag failed in its attempt to impose an uneasy truce upon the cliques which make up the unstable SpB, since *Spartacus* No. 20, which appeared a few weeks after the new position, and at about the same time that the pamphlet was published, carried a line on Portugal *counterposed* to the central committee resolution. As practitioners of Menshevik "freedom of criticism," the SpB sees nothing amiss in opening the flood gates of bitter debate in the pages of its public press, with the two main wings accusing one another of crypto-Stalinism and of Menshevism. A note appended to the lead article in *Spartacus* No. 21 (September 1975) states that "at its September meeting the Central Committee will come to a decision on a position on Portugal binding for the whole organization which will also put the Spartacusbund in a position of being able, firm and united, to advance its revolutionary perspective....".

But most likely the Portugal debate is but the prelude to another right split as the SpB lurches from pillar to post in a futile effort to achieve internal peace. One SpB leader's declaration (in the Portugal pamphlet) that "politics is not made at the level of principles" sums up the only unity this centrist swamp can ever achieve and testifies to the fundamental political bankruptcy of the Spartacusbund.■

Teach-in On Chile:

sponsored by the Committee against Friedman-Harberger Collaboration with the Chilean Junta

Sunday, October 26, 2:30-6:00 p.m.
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
Quantrell Auditorium
Cobb Hall, 5811 South Ellis

To be followed by a panel discussion and slide show on Chile.

Larry Wing Ousted

Bridges Strongarms ILWU Local 10

SAN FRANCISCO, October 17—The increasingly frantic attacks of the Pacific Maritime Association (PMA) on West Coast longshoremen's jobs and incomes are reaching a fever pitch. The employers have drastically cut the weekly wage supplement of the Pay Guarantee Plan (PGP) and launched a wholesale attack on jobs, cutting the gangs and men on the night dock board and demanding the elimination of the day and night shift general dock board, the dock exemption board and car board. The purpose of the elimination of these classifications (by which longshoremen are assigned work through the union hiring hall) is to flood the remaining boards with an oversupply of workers, paving the way for their deregistration and layoff. Rumors abound that up to 1,000 men may soon be sacked.

The employers' offensive has been fueled by the do-nothing policies of International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) president Harry Bridges. Prepared to watch over the progressive destruction of the union, Bridges has focused his attention on purging dissident San Francisco longshore Local 10 president Larry Wing and, at all costs, preventing strikes. Thus the October 16 membership meeting saw Bridges supporters railroad Wing out of office and prevent a crucial Local 10 executive board motion mandating strike action from reaching the floor for membership ratification.

The executive board motion passed October 9 in response to the stepped-up attacks on PGP and the boards stated:

> "1. Turn down the PMA's demands on the board. Refuse to negotiate and take the issue to the membership.
>
> "2. ILWU Local 10 opposes all the cutbacks and divisions made by PMA and the arbitrator on boards, gangs and the PGP. We demand full PGP for all members including the dock exemption board and callback rights for B-men. We demand jobs for all longshoremen by a sliding scale of hours with no loss in pay whereby all available work is divided among all members. The local will take strike action to enforce these demands and calls on other ports to join us in solidarity.
>
> "3. To open up miscellaneous categories and all steady categories to disabled longshoremen."

The initiators of the crucial second part of the motion were executive board members Stan Gow and Howard Keylor, well-known Local 10 militants and editors of the oppositional *Longshore Militant*. Seven longshoremen, including Gow and Keylor, signed and distributed an October 13 leaflet promoting the motion and emphasizing the need for united action against PMA.

Bureaucratic Manipulation

But, as we predicted in the last issue of *WV*, the Bridges forces tried (unfortunately successfully) to take up the entire October 16 membership meeting with the continuing intrabureaucratic war between Bridges and Wing backers, to the exclusion of considering united strike action vital to secure all longshoremen's jobs. Repeated attempts by the supporters of the strike motion to put it on the floor at the beginning of the meeting were ruled out of order by a highhanded chair, although about a quarter of the longshoremen present voted to overrule this decision.

The struggle between Wing and Bridges which has paralyzed the Local for several months appears to be coming to a close as Wing suffers defeat after defeat. The latest episode in this strife began when Wing refused to raid the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP) in the face of a pro-raiding motion by the Local 10 executive board, backed by the Bridges camp. The local secretary-treasurer Carl Smith, longtime Bridges hack, circulated a petition to suspend Wing on the vague grounds of "misfeasance and malfeasance." Wing replied with a court suit and a petition to suspend Smith.

At the October Local meeting the reports of both trial committees were heard and put up for the constitutionally required ratification of the membership. The membership upheld the trial committee's verdict of innocent for Smith. The Wing trial committee had reported a guilty verdict by a 5-to-3 vote. This clearly unjust decision in effect supported raiding and strikebreaking, whereas Wing should have been vindicated.

Wing, however, had dissipated much of the support he originally had by seeking a court injunction to block Smith's charges against him. Though his case was quickly thrown out (the capitalist judiciary having no interest in holstering workers solidarity), longshoremen, who know from painful experience that bringing the bosses' courts into union affairs attacks the independence of the ILWU, recoiled from Wing's defense.

Longshoremen at Thursday's membership meeting told a *WV* reporter that the vote on accepting the trial committee's decision to remove Wing from office was extremely close. The chairman announced the verdict sustained, which caused a tremendous uproar from the floor. Demands for a division of the house were heard on all sides, and many believed Wing could have won such a division by a few votes.

But eager to prevent a revote *and* to curtail the agenda before consideration of the strike-for-jobs motion, Bridges supporters apparently provoked a fight, which spread quickly through the hall. The chairman announced that Wing was constitutionally entitled to demand a referendum and quickly declared the meeting adjourned.

The history of the explosive San Francisco longshore local, which Bridges has long been trying to get under control, indicates that referendum ballots are if anything more subject to International tampering than union meetings. In any event, the Local 10 constitution prevents anyone from serving as a full-time paid union official for more than two years. Wing, who was a full-time business agent for a year prior to being elected president, will be ineligible to run again in the upcoming local elections.

The Rise and Demise of Larry Wing

Larry Wing's fate is part and parcel of the International's drive to eliminate all opposition to the maritime magnates' profit-boosting campaign, which Bridges heartily upholds. But to ILWU militants, Wing's career should also serve as damning testimony to the narrow limits and futility of simple trade unionism. Wing's "good intentions" and a certain gut-level liking for a fight simply could not shape up a real alternative to the vile and vindictive Bridges regime.

Wing was suddenly catapulted from a business agent to the office of Local president by his courage in physically resisting a goon-squad attack by Bridges supporters upon the officers of Local 10 at a time when the International was trying to engineer the sale of the union hall. As Local president one of his first acts was to call a work stoppage in solidarity with the action of the Stockton longshore local in an attempt to preserve its jurisdiction on Pacific Far East Lines' LASH barge work. But mired in a reformism incapable of mobilizing the ranks for a confrontation with the government, Wing called off the Local 10 refusal to handle barges loaded by non-ILWU labor under pressure of heavy court fines. Angry longshoremen shouted at Wing that he had just given away their jobs.

Incapable of formulating a comprehensive programmatic opposition to Bridges at the last International convention, Wing fought only on the correct but minor democratic point that Bridges and ILWU International vice president Bill Chester had no right to be automatically seated as voting delegates from Local 10. Wing lost. Following the convention, he ran for International Executive Board member, and lost again.

In the bitter and unsuccessful fight by longshoremen to reject Bridges' 1975 contract proposal—which paved the way for the current PMA attacks—Wing never once called for strike action, and could only complain that the contract's three-year duration was too long. By stating that he would vote for the same offer if it were only for two years, Wing bears responsibility for today's results.

Wing's refusal to have any part of the ILWU raiding on the SUP showed that there were trade-union principles that he was not prepared to abandon. But lacking opposition to the capitalist class and its union-busting courts, Wing then proceeded to defend what had been a decent impulse by an act of class treason: dragging the ILWU's internal affairs into the capitalist courts for resolution.

Such is the record of a militant, but reformist, oppositionist.

In refusing to support Wing in the last election, the *Longshore Militant* pointed out that without a program of irreconcilable class struggle, even militant opponents of Bridges could only fail the union. A real opposition to Bridges can be built and made effective only on a program such as has been put forth over the last year by the *Longshore Militant* and its supporters. Without consistent opposition to the employers, their government and their agents in the workers movement (the union bureaucracy), and a positive perspective for a workers government to wrench loose capitalism's stranglehold, oppositionists in the ILWU can only end up discredited and politically impotent. This lesson for labor has been clearly proven by the experience of Larry Wing.■

Joseph J. Rosenthal

SUP picketers halting scabs at Pacific Far East Lines last July.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- Milton Friedman and "Chicago Boys" Implicated in Chilean Repression: Protest Barbaric Junta's Collaborators!
- Pat Swinton Acquitted: Abolish All Conspiracy Laws!
- SWP/YSA Pushes "New Civil Rights Movement": Ex-Trotskyists Tail Uncle Toms
- Banker Barons Slam New York City
- Portuguese Workers Must Take Power!

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
$2/11 issues

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____
82

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

Soviets and the Struggle for Workers Power in Portugal

Informations Ouvrières

Workers strike at Lisnave shipyards.

In the course of every revolutionary struggle there arises an urgent objective need to unite the forces of the proletariat (along with its allies among other exploited, impoverished and specially oppressed sectors of the population) to wage effective battle against the class enemy. This requires not only combining the forces of existing organizations of the workers movement—which even in their totality seldom encompass a majority of the class—but also forging new organs capable of rousing to struggle the more backward elements of the masses. In the Russian Revolution of 1917 this need was

Part 1 of 2

fulfilled above all by the *soviets*, or councils, of workers, soldiers and peasants. Under the leadership of the Bolshevik party, these councils were transformed from a *dual power*, counterposed to the bourgeois state apparatus, into the organizational framework of a revolutionary *workers and peasants government*.

The need for what Leon Trotsky called "*the highest form of the united front* under the conditions in which the proletariat enters the epoch of fighting for power" ("What Next?" January 1932) is urgently felt in Portugal today as the country teeters on the brink of civil war. While the popular-front government moves to restore discipline in the ranks of the armed forces by purging leftists and forming a new counterrevolutionary strike force—and as ultra-rightist and openly fascist forces are gearing up for a new wave of anti-working-class terror far greater in scope than that of last summer—the workers movement has no organ for united counterattack against the rightist offensive.

The sharp divisions in the Portuguese workers movement are present at every level. In the unions the Communist Party (CP) has a strong base among metal workers and agricultural workers, while an alliance between the Socialist Party (SP) and Maoist currents dominates the white-collar unions (bank workers, office workers). Among the numerous workers commissions, neighborhood commissions, popular vigilance committees, etc., the fragmentation is even more extreme. This can be shown by looking at several conferences and demonstrations over the last two months:

On September 27-28 the "First National Congress of Workers Commissions" was held in the textile town of Covilhã. Despite weeks of preparation only 43 enterprises sent mandated delegates. Most of the left parties boycotted the meeting, alleging that it was dominated by the hard-Maoist Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletarian Party (MRPP). The "National Secretariat of Workers Commissions" elected at the congress includes representatives of TAP airlines, the Timex watch factory, TLP (Lisbon telephones), Efacec and OGMA (air force supplies depot).

Ten days earlier a "rigidly non-party" demonstration was called by a coordinating committee of workers commissions of the greater Lisbon industrial belt, drawing approximately 50,000 participants. With its demand for ousting the bourgeois Popular Democrats (PPD) from the government and judging from the list of 40 endorsing workers commissions, observers concluded that the real organizer of the demonstration was the Communist Party. Among the sponsors were commissions of COPAM, Carris bus company, EPAL (Lisbon water works), a coordinating committee of workers commissions of the former CUF trust, and the Alfeite arsenal.

On August 2-3 another national congress was held, of the "Revolutionary Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Councils" (CRTSM), attended by delegates from approximately 50 enterprises—among them Sacor, Lisnave and Setenave shipyards, the Siderurgia Nacional steel plant, Standard Eléctrica and Rádio Renasçenca—and almost 20 military units. In spite of the imposing name, however, the CRTSM actually amount to front groups for the New Left-syndicalist Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), and range in size from a handful of members to several hundred. This conference, also, was boycotted by virtually all other left organizations.

Thus there are at least three competing coalitions of what purport to be "organs of people's power," each representing more than 40 enterprises and each with its own access to arms. *None* is sufficiently broad to serve as the organizing center for proletarian revolution. The need for a unitary national soviet could not be clearer.

> "In order to enter the broad road, the proletariat needs even now an organization rising over all the present political, national, provincial, and trade union divisions in their ranks and corresponding to the sweep of the present revolutionary struggle. Such an organization, democratically elected by the workers of the factories, mills, mines, commercial enterprises, railway and marine transport, by the proletarians of the city and village, can only be the soviet. The epigones have done immeasurable damage to the revolutionary movement of the whole world, fixing in many minds the prejudice that soviets can only be created by the needs of an armed insurrection and only on the brink of this insurrection. In reality, the soviets are created when the revolutionary movement of the working masses, even though still far from an armed insurrection, creates the need for a broad, authoritative organization, capable of leading the economic and political struggle, embracing simultaneously the different enterprises and the different trades."
>
> —L. D. Trotsky, "The Revolution in Spain," January 1931

Why Soviets?

Yet in Portugal today virtually no one is calling for soviets! Instead there is much talk of "organs of people's power" and "popular assemblies." The terminology is clearly Stalinist, corresponding to the reformist concept of a "two-stage" revolution in which the first stage is not proletarian revolution but some variety of multi-class "people's revolution." The concepts themselves gained currency in Lisbon after the assembly of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) adopted a "guide document" entitled the "MFA-People Alliance" last July 8. The document states: "The defense and energizing of the Revolution...requires...: a) encourage the revolutionary participation of the masses by creating and developing unified groups, in order to create true organs of popular power...."

The "guide document" was immediately hailed by virtually all of the non-Maoist "far left." The Internationalist Communist League (LCI, Portuguese sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat), which claims to be Trotskyist, issued a leaflet stating that pressure from the workers had "obliged the MFA to recognize these structures as the organized expressions of the workers" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 4 August). Its mentors in Paris agreed: the 18 July *Rouge*, newspaper of the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR), concluded: "The 'guide document' incorporates and thereby encourages the development of the self-organization of the workers." Almost as an afterthought, *Rouge* adds, "But it also seeks to structure it."

Not "structuring" but *control* is what the MFA plan aimed at. It hoped to create an illusion of "transferring power to the working class" while keeping these organs firmly subordinated to the bourgeois state, establishing a corporatist structure which can serve as a transmission belt for MFA policies. The local popular assemblies are to be formed by workers commissions, tenants commissions and other rank-and-file organizations which "after study" the MFA "will

continued on page 9

Capitalist Restorationists, Bureaucratic Reformers and Revolutionaries

Roy Medvedev on Soviet Dissidents

by D. Chembar

The most important development in Soviet political life during the first half of the 1970's was the resolution into its contradictory components of the so-called "dissident movement," a conglomeration of disparate elements held together by mutual awareness of their vulnerability to brutal suppression at the hands of the Soviet bureaucratic ruling elite. The death of this basically petty-bourgeois "movement" was perhaps best

REVIEW: *On Socialist Democracy* by Roy Medvedev

symbolized by Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn's appearance in Washington as the fanatically anti-communist prophet of World War III.

Not unlike the American New Leftists of the 1960's, the dominant section of the Soviet dissidents expressed petty-bourgeois opposition to "the system," devoid of a class analysis based on Marxist principles. But unlike the youthful radicals of SDS, the mainstream Soviet dissidents of the late 1960's and early 1970's were mostly mature men with positions in and around the established intelligentsia. Their class and ideological ties with their Western counterparts led Sakharov, Litvinov, Chalidze and others to openly join the pro-imperialist camp. This lesson must not be lost on the next generation of Soviet oppositionists.

An important attempt to comment on the dissident movement and point a path for future struggle is Russian historian Roy Medvedev's book, recently released in English translation, *On Socialist Democracy* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1975). One of the virtues of this book is that it does not artificially lump all "Soviet dissidents" together, instead analyzing and polemicizing with various currents.

Medvedev is in a favorable position to comment on Soviet politics. He seems to be untainted by any suspicion of collaboration with imperialism (he has not written any appeals to imperialist agencies) or with the repressive organs of the Soviet bureaucracy. Medvedev consistently defended persecuted Soviet dissidents, including those he disagrees with; he defended Solzhenitsyn's right to publish in the USSR and protested his expulsion from the country. In fact, Medvedev's reputation as an honorable man is so good that when Solzhenitsyn, after his deportation, launched a vicious attack on the historian, even many members of the conservative American academic community were shocked.

Medvedev joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) after 1956 and attempted to struggle for liberal reforms from within the party. He was allowed access to government and party archives and from these and unofficial sources he was able to write his major work, *Let History Judge*, which was the cause of his expulsion from the party in 1969.

Let History Judge was a passionate indictment of Stalinism which attempted to explain its rise from a Marxist point of view. It was an impressive achievement because, despite a number of factual errors reflecting Medvedev's flawed sources, the book presented an essentially accurate picture of the history of the Stalin era. *Let History Judge* was a subjectively honest reconstruction of the Stalin period, without the falsifications of Solzhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago*. Medvedev saw the rise of bureaucracy while Solzhenitsyn equated Lenin and Stalin and saw the whole of the post-October experience as a pogrom against the Russian Orthodox Church.

But *Let History Judge* was flawed by eclecticism and its adherence to the "personality cult" approach: everything that was bad, blame on Stalin or Beria; everything that was good, attribute to the party and the people. It should be remembered that Medvedev originally wrote his book for publication and so may have downplayed certain historical events, such as the role of the Left Opposition in the struggle for Soviet democracy. He is also evidently unaware of Trotsky's post-1928 writings, including numerous analyses of the degeneration of the Soviet state under the parasitic rule of the Stalinist bureaucratic caste.

With his access to "underground" sources and to certain sympathetic spirits in the party, Medvedev has gained an authoritative voice among the various anti-Stalinist socialist tendencies. In the West he has been used by such slimy opportunists as the Socialist Workers Party as an antidote to Solzhenitsyn.

On Socialist Democracy laments that "among the masses there is a growing mood of conscious political indifference, side by side with a heightened interest on the part of some people in religion and Western propaganda." To counteract these tendencies, Medvedev presents a program of gradual but far-reaching democratic reforms.

It is difficult to assign Medvedev a precise political slot. His insistence that democratization must have the support of a section of the ruling bureaucracy would make him a liberal Stalinist. But he advocates what in the USSR is an incredible heresy: a multi-party system. No section of the Brezhnev bureaucracy can support such a program. In Hungary in 1956, as the Russian army moved in to cut short a dual-power situation, the Imre Nagy régime sought to survive by forming a coalition government, ending one-party rule, condemning the Warsaw Pact and

New York Times

Roy Medvedev

even crossing the class line to appeal to the imperialist United Nations. Under the gun, a section of the bureaucracy can become very "liberal" indeed but not without destroying itself.

Medvedev's views are characterized by a tension between what roughly approximates pre-1917 Menshevik/socialist and humanist sensibilities and a commitment to defend the conquests of the October Revolution. His methodology is borrowed from Kautskyan social democracy, yet Kautsky sided with the imperialists against the Soviet regime while Medvedev defends collectivized property. He combines a program for self-reform of the bureaucracy and a yearning for socialist freedoms. In this he is not different from other "liberal" bureaucratic reformers such as Dubček or Nagy. It takes a "Prague Spring" or a Hungarian Revolution to see where they stand.

Medvedev explicitly identifies with those rightward-moving CP's which are no longer loyal to the Kremlin, such as the Italian and Australian. His naive confidence in these parliamentarist parties is not simply a personal quirk; even the most militant among the Soviet underground have appealed to various CP's, even, pathetically, to the CPUSA. Medvedev almost certainly realizes that these parties have no intention of taking power in their own countries; they are viewed rather as allies in the democratization of the CPSU. It is this limitation of Medvedev's outlook which defines him fundamentally as a liberal Stalinist; he believes in the possibility of a liberalized "socialism ('with a human face') in one country."

On Socialist Democracy opposes the "leftism" of the neo-Stalinists (a category into which Medvedev lumps a whole range of people, from the Maoists to the stone-faced "Old Guard" of the KGB) and the "leftism" of such moderate socialist reformers as Grigorenko. While some of the positions Medvedev attributes to the Grigorenko circle notably direct worker ownership operating through a market system—are indeed anarchist rather than Marxist, it is clear that Medvedev opposes Grigorenko mainly because of the latter's intransigent hostility to the Brezhnev bureaucracy.

How does Medvedev regard the bureaucracy? First, he admits its existence: "While I do not believe that the bureaucracy can be described as some kind of new class, I am forced to agree that those in charge of Soviet society now constitute a definite stratum sharing certain customs and rules of conduct." He debunks notions that reform will automatically come from economic progress:

> "...life is becoming more and more complex and bureaucrats are constantly pursued by failure. This is the reason why scientists and specialists are being drawn into the *apparat*: committees and commissions of experts are being created, but at the same time undemocratic methods of administration remain intact. In other words, the bureaucrats are being replaced by knowledgeable and more efficient technocrats.... But technocracy, as a distinctive form of 'socialist managerialism,' cannot resolve the basic problems of Soviet society. There is only one way to deal with them, only one acceptable alternative to bureaucracy, and that is genuine democratization."

While admitting the existence of a bureaucracy, Medvedev opposes any attempt to overthrow it. In his attitude there is something of the 19th-century intellectuals' dread of the "dark, silent masses" of Russia; to unleash those masses would result in anarchy, terror, perhaps even capitalist restoration. Medvedev's attitude is typical of the Russian intelligentsia, captured best by the great poet Aleksandr Pushkin, a radical in his time, who wrote of the Pugachev peasant uprising:

> "God forbid that we should ever see a Russian rebellion—mindless and pitiless. Those in our country who are dreaming up impossible revolutions are either young and do not know our people, or are themselves cruel-hearted...."
>
> "The Captain's Daughter"

Wally McNamee/Newsweek

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

Medvedev hopes for democratization from the top down, passively supported by the workers: "It is wrong to exclude the possibility of an alliance between the best of the intelligentsia supported by the people and the most forward-looking individuals in the governing *apparat*." Ignoring the irrational component of bureaucracy, Medvedev seems to be trying to convince the *apparatchiki*, who hold to their positions with all the stubbornness of a privileged caste, that democratization is in their own rational interests. In his essay, "Problems of Democratization and Detente" (*New Left Review*, January-February 1974), he stressed that democratization was "the most important precondition for an acceleration of the economic, social and

continued on page 11

Left Oppositionists at exile colony in Siberia demonstrate on anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution. Center banner, with pictures of Lenin and Trotsky, says: "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

Down with the McCarran-Walter Act!

Bay Area Demo Demands Visa For Blanco

WV Photo

Bay Area demonstrators protest U.S. exclusion of Hugo Blanco and against anti-communist McCarran-Walter Act, October 16.

Hugo Blanco — Militant

SAN FRANCISCO, October 16—The S.F. Federal Building was the site of a spirited protest today by 55 labor and left militants against the U.S. State Department's denial of an entry visa to Peruvian socialist Hugo Blanco. The demonstration, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) under the slogans "Let Hugo Blanco into the U.S." and "Smash the McCarran-Walter Act," was actively supported by the Spartacist League, Spartacus Youth League, Committee for Working Class Studies, Socialist League (DC), International Workers Party, the Militant Caucus of the ILWU and a number of independent militants. Conspicuous by their absence were the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the SWP-led U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The SWP and USLA not only abstained from this important effort to build mass support for Blanco's freedom of entry into the U.S., but actively attempted to sabotage the effort! The initial proposal to the SWP for united action was met with open hostility, and a few days later a leading SWP supporter inquired as to the time and date of the planning meeting for the rally—stating that he wanted to come to urge those organizations backing the effort to withdraw their endorsement.

When a meeting of the October Coalition at the University of California/Berkeley was approached to support the demonstration, SWP supporters present argued against the proposal. They stated that other demonstrations were already planned (which weren't), that Blanco wanted only telegrams to Kissinger (no demonstrations, please!), that no one should participate in activities in support of Blanco's case except those initiated by USLA, etc. This sectarianism only weakens the fight to gain admission for Blanco and criminally undermines an excellent opportunity for a struggle to strike down the anti-red McCarran-Walter Act.

Despite the attempted sabotage by the SWP and USLA, a militant picket line assembled at noon and took up the demands of the demonstration, as well as enthusiastically chanting such slogans as "Freedom of Entry for Hugo Blanco—Hanoi Trial for Henry Kissinger." The picketing was followed by a rally with a speech by union militant Bob Mandel, executive board member of ILWU Local 6 and a member of the Militant Caucus of that union. Mandel outlined briefly the pernicious history of such anti-communist exclusionism and underscored the danger this legislation continues to pose to the international labor movement. He pointed out that the McCarran-Walter Act is not only being used to keep militants like Blanco out of the country, but also to close U.S. borders to refugee Chilean militants facing prison, torture and the firing squads of the murderous junta.

With today's demonstration, the PDC—an anti-sectarian legal defense organization whose class-struggle policies are in accordance with the views of the Spartacist League—has shown the way forward for defense against capitalist victimization and persecution of the international labor movement. It stands in sharp contrast to the practices of the reformist SWP, which seeks not genuine and militant defense of the oppressed but to cultivate a "respectable" image among bourgeois liberals.

Build Philip Allen Defense!

LOS ANGELES, October 20—Philip Allen, the black college student wrongly convicted of killing a cop, remains behind bars in a prison system where racist savagery is the daily routine. Every day in jail increases the danger to his life. No effort can be spared to free this victim of the frame-up system which the ruling class attempts to pass off as "equal justice before the law."

Shortly after the conviction the prosecution demagogically charged that the defendant was an "agitator" because he spoke at a Los Angeles City College (LACC) rally protesting that he is innocent. The judge revoked bail. This blatant denial of even the most minimal democratic rights has brought the American Civil Liberties Union into the case.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL) and other supporters of Philip Allen have worked hard on his behalf, gathering 1,400 signatures in a single week circulating a defense petition at LACC. The SYL had been suspended for its active support of Allen on the campus where he was a student. Last Thursday at a rally called by the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC), 35 students set up a spirited picket line and handed the petition to the LACC administration. It read in part:

> "Now the administration has attacked the SYL, singling out the SYL as builders of the Philip Allen defense rally.... We the undersigned therefore demand: Free Philip Allen! Hands off the SYL—Rescind the suspension!"

That evening Ellery Allen, Philip's mother, spoke to an audience of 75 at LACC's Newman Center. She movingly described the blatant racist injustice perpetrated against her son. After her presentation, badly needed defense funds were collected.

The SYL, now reinstated at LACC, has called for a unified defense committee on campus. It points out that a broad-based campaign of the sort that saved Joan Little is needed to free Philip Allen.

The News Blackout

Philip Allen's supporters recognize the importance of bringing the truth about this case to the public. But they face one of the most effective news blackouts in recent L.A. history. The influential *Los Angeles Times* has not covered the case since January 2 when it ran a small story about the arrest on New Year's Eve. During the entire seven-week trial, the paper's readers were never informed that a 5'3", 135-pound youth was being prosecuted for allegedly overpowering a detachment of burly sheriff's deputies, supposedly killing one and wounding two more. They never read about the issues in the case or the racist slurs made against the defendant by the prosecutor. Allen's conviction and even the outrageous bail revocation have met with total, criminal silence by the bourgeois news media in Los Angeles.

The reason for the news blackout is obvious. Even the barest statement of the facts destroys the web of lies created by the Sheriff's Office and raises dangerous questions. For instance, if a single black youth, lying on the ground while being badly beaten, did not disarm and shoot the cops with a police revolver, then what did happen that night? To ask the question is to answer it. Philip Allen has been made the scapegoat for brutal racist bunglers in uniform. The *Los Angeles Times* and the rest of the media, anxious to protect the reputation and conceal the criminality of their "peace officers," have kept the lid on this case. But Philip Allen's defenders continue the struggle, and this vicious racist frame-up will not remain hidden for long.

The Partisan Defense Committee urges *WV* readers to send messages of support and contributions to: Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005. ■

Statement of Support to Philip Allen Defense Committee

October 11, 1975

The Committee for a Militant UAW pledges its full support to the defense of Philip Allen.

We are outraged at this blatantly racist attack on an innocent black student. We intend to raise this issue in our local union and expose this despicable frame-up attempt. The labor movement must be mobilized in defense of Philip Allen. Philip Allen *must not* become a martyr—he must be freed.

There is no justice for working people in the bourgeois courts!

FREE PHILIP ALLEN!!

In Solidarity,

Darlene Fujino
Secretary/Treasurer
Committee for a Militant UAW
Local 1364
Fremont, California

cc Partisan Defense Committee

Soviets....

(continued from page 6)

proceed to recognize." The unit delegate assemblies (ADU's) will participate in the local popular assemblies as watchdogs, and the assemblies may undertake "self-defense" (i.e., form militias) only on the MFA's initiative and under its control. Significantly, the national popular assembly is put off indefinitely as the "last and distant stage in this structure." In the "transition period" all "organs of people's power" will be subordinate to the MFA's Supreme Revolutionary Council!

The institutionalization of the "MFA-People Alliance" set out in the "guide document," and reaffirmed in the "COPCON document" which was endorsed by the organizations forming the "Revolutionary United Front" on August 25, is the most blatant class collaboration—tying the workers to the bourgeois officer corps. If implemented it would prevent the workers commissions from becoming organs of dual power. The "MFA-People Alliance" is just as much a roadblock to revolution as the CP's participation in popular-front governments—in fact, even more of a danger because of the support to it from the centrists and left-reformists. The *Rouge* article puts its finger on the key issue, commenting: "The essential thing, however, is that...the 'guide document' appears to the workers as a general expression of their aspirations...." The Pabloists of the LCR and LCI capitulate to these illusions; an authentic Trotskyist party would *fight* them, calling for independence of the workers commissions and popular assemblies from the MFA, and for the formation of soldiers committees in order to split the army and shatter the officer corps.

It is precisely independence from the bourgeois state that makes a soviet more than a committee—the potential structure for the creation of a proletarian state. Those who today support the "MFA-People Alliance" are playing the same role as the social democratic USPD in 1918 when it sought to *combine* the German soviets with the bourgeois parliament. This inevitably meant the destruction of the soviets and the strangling of the revolution.

The soviets must not only be independent of the capitalist state, but must possess an organizational structure capable of drawing in the most backward masses. Its flexibility (delegates recallable at any time), directness (election in mass assemblies) and link to the source of working-class power (representation by workplace) give the soviet form the ability to reduce bureaucracy to a minimum, rapidly reflect shifts in the masses' opinion, formulate a revolutionary program through open debate and translate decisions into effective action.

Trotsky repeatedly asserted that "the soviet form does not contain any mystic power." In the abstract, he was prepared to admit that the revolutionary vanguard party or even a trade union (under revolutionary leadership) could fulfill the same functions. He pointed to Lenin's view after the 1917 July Days (when the leaders of the soviets were arresting the Bolsheviks) that the factory committees could become the organizational vehicles for the struggle for power. But as a practical proposition the likelihood is nil of a Leninist party emcompassing the whole of the proletariat before the revolution, or of a trade union transforming itself from an instrument of "guerrilla war against the effects of the existing system" into an organ of insurrectionary assault on capitalism.

A concrete example of what the consequences of renouncing soviets can mean in a revolutionary situation was given by Andrés Nin during the Spanish Civil War. Having abandoned the Trotskyist movement to become a leader of the POUM (Workers Party of Marxist Unification), Nin soon began denouncing "mechanical applications" of the experience of the Russian Revolution.

> "In Russia there was no democratic tradition. No tradition or organization and struggle in the proletariat.... One can understand, therefore, the importance which the soviets assumed: the proletariat did not have its own organizations.... Our proletariat already had its trade unions, its parties, its own organizations: that is why soviets did not arise with us.... The existence of a workers movement under anarchist influence poses new problems, requires different tactics. The CNT is a potentially revolutionary organization, despite its prejudices and wrong positions...."
>
> —*La Batalla*, 26 April 1937

This is false to the core. In the first place soviet-type organs of dual power *did* arise in Spain, the most notable being the "Central Council of Anti-Fascist Militias of Catalonia." The reason it never became a workers government is that the Generalitat—Companys' bourgeois Catalan government, of which the POUM was a part—dissolved it! But while this "explanation" was only an excuse for following the Anarchists into the Generalitat, the "theory" necessarily meant capitulation to the CNT bureaucracy, just as the USec majority capitulates to the Portuguese MFA.

Embryos of Dual Power in Portugal?

Clearly there is no national soviet in Portugal today; certainly the MFA not only will not, but *cannot* set up an organ of workers power. Yet there are numerous *comissões* of various types that are neither part of the Intersindical union federation nor controlled by the armed forces. What is the character of these bodies? Are they perhaps "embryos" of workers power, comparable to factory committees, which the "Transitional Program" describes as "dual power inside the factory"?

It is first necessary to determine what distinguishes a factory committee from a trade union. Where a closed shop has already been instituted, Trotsky wrote, the formal membership may coincide. "The prime significance of the committee, however, lies in the fact that it becomes the militant staff for such working-class layers as the trade union is usually incapable of moving to action." By this criterion there are very few factory committees in Portugal, perhaps no more than a handful.

The best known would be the Lisnave shipyards workers commission. On several occasions it has mobilized virtually the entire personnel for mass anti-government demonstrations. When Lisnave workers carried out an illegal demonstration on 12 September 1974 against the government's anti-strike law—a demonstration in which they faced down a squadron of paratroopers as they left the plant gates—the decision was taken by a general assembly. Out of 6,000 present, only 25 voted against despite the CP's opposition (*Revolução*, 21 September 1974). Moreover, the statutes of the workers commission provide that delegates can be recalled at any time (see the OCI brochure, "Problèmes de la révolution portugaise," 1974).

But the majority of workers commissions are not factory committees in this sense. A typical example is the Timex workers commission. There are 11 unions at Timex, the largest being the watchmakers' union (controlled by the MRPP). Consequently, the main organ for negotiating with the boss is the workers commission (also controlled by the MRPP).

In other enterprises a different dynamic has developed, deriving from the tactics of the CP under the Salazar dictatorship. During the late 1960's and early 1970's the Stalinists sought to take control of the fascist unions. Since the latter were in fact state-controlled, the real organs of trade-union struggle were the clandestine workers commissions. This pattern changed only slightly after April 25, for the CP promptly took over most of the Salazarist unions (giving rise to the Intersindical federation) and followed a bitter-end strikebreaking policy. Thus a not uncommon pattern is that of *two* unions per enterprise: one that leads strikes (the workers commission) and one that breaks strikes (the Intersindical union)!

What is true of the workers commissions is also true of the neighborhood commissions. In explaining why it believed a popular assembly could not be formed at the moment in Vila Nova de Gaia (next to Porto), the left-social-democratic MES argued that "most of the neighborhood commissions, at this time, are either oriented toward economic demands or are organs in which parties attempt to impose themselves..." (*Poder Popular*, 25 September). In the industrial town of Setubal, south of Lisbon, there is a municipal popular assembly, but two of the neighborhood commissions dominated by Maoists refuse to cooperate because of Communist Party preponderance in the assembly (*Politique Hebdo*, 18-24 September). The popular vigilance committees, "committees to defend the revolution" and similar bodies are largely CP-controlled.

The popular assemblies, in contrast to the workers and neighborhood commissions, are few in number and several were set up by the local military units. (At the beginning of August there were reportedly five in the Lisbon area, two of which had been set up prior to the MFA "guide document.") However, because of the dissension in the MFA, the officers have apparently not had time to "normalize" the popular assemblies, particularly given the trouble they have had with their own unit delegate assemblies. The only active military participation appears to be from "far-left" regiments, such as the RALIS artillery unit (Marvila popular assembly). At the other extreme is the popular assembly of Amadora, an industrial town across the river from Lisbon, in which the local military unit (the commandos) does not participate because its right-wing commander dissolved the ADU.

In addition there is a "municipal council of Porto." Under the previous left-wing governor of the Porto military region, the city's military administrative committee worked closely with and subsidized the neighborhood commissions which, together with the workers commissions and ADU's, were grouped together in a "municipal council." However, the present SP civil governor has refused to recognize the council since it is not in the (Caetanist) administrative code. The municipal council is continuing its attempts to gain recognition as a component of the local bourgeois government apparatus.

In the military there is even more diversity and, in some places, the struggle for independence from the bourgeoisie is even farther advanced than among the workers commissions, due to the heated conflict between MFA commanders and various types of soldiers committees. The most widespread form of democratic representation in the barracks is the unit delegate assembly, apparently the norm throughout the country. While it is only advisory and some commanders seek to bypass it (such as by keeping troops on useless maneuvers for days to prevent them from meeting), it is certainly disruptive to bourgeois military discipline.

However, the ADU's are not necessarily counterposed to the officer corps. In contrast, the clandestine "Soldiers United Will Win" (SUV) started out as a leftist political organization within the barracks calling for the formation of elected soldiers committees and the destruction of the capitalist army. While they remain politically defined—rather than inclusive—and include a number of leftist officers, in some units the SUV's appear to have acted as a focus for generalized discontent among the enlisted men. In addition, during the CICAP barracks revolt in Porto earlier this month a special "struggle committee" was elected from the units present in the artillery regiment barracks; and there are now the first reports of elected soldiers' committees in the Lisbon area. The recent comment by General Carlos Fabião, the army chief of staff, about these groups is characteristic of the attitude of the military hierarchy: "I have reservations because it is a horizontal organisation and in the army we have a vertical organisation" (*Economist*, 18 October). True enough.

In short, there are a wide variety of "organs of people's power" in Portugal today. What attitude should revolutionaries take toward them? On the one hand it would be a serious overestimation of the level of class consciousness to view the workers commissions as factory committees, and the local popular assemblies as district soviets. On the other hand it would be disastrous to dismiss the popular assemblies as simply transmission belts for the MFA and the workers commissions as ersatz trade unions.

In reality, the nature of these organs is not clearly defined, not even that of the Porto "municipal council" which is seeking to become part of the bourgeois state apparatus. While the workers commissions are not yet factory committees, neither are they saddled with the cumbersome bureaucracy of the trade unions which would make them a hindrance as organs of revolutionary struggle. Like the British shop stewards councils in the 1926 general strike and the German strike committees in 1918, the Portuguese *comissões operárias* can be transformed into factory committees and united into soviets. The task of Trotskyists in Portugal is not to invent imaginary soviets but to struggle within the existing mass organizations of the working class to build and unite workers councils nationwide, drawing in the workers commissions, popular vigilance committees, soldiers committees, neighborhood and agricultural workers commissions for the struggle for power!

TO BE CONTINUED

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
(Indiana)

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 921-7253
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Fascists in Portugal...

(continued from page 1)

government official said at a luncheon with reporters. 'We wouldn't expect to be out of the capital for more than a week or a month at the most'."

However, the generals are not sitting on their hands. Last week word leaked out that 400 former commandos with experience in the African colonial wars are being recalled to turn the AMI into an operational strike force. In addition, General Francisco da Costa Gomes (president and armed forces chief of staff) ordered civilian armed militias to turn in their arms within eight days.

Fascists and Rightist Ultras Emerge

Freitas do Amaral, leader of the conservative Social Democratic Center (CDS) party, recently remarked that "There is no authority, no law and order, no discipline, no police and no army.... It is nonsense to talk about government when there is no state." The present vacuum of authority must soon be filled. While the MFA "moderates," together with their Popular Democratic Party (PPD) and Socialist Party (SP) allies, are seeking to do so by cracking down on leftist dissidents in the armed forces and strengthening the present government, the extreme right has been mobilizing for more "decisive" action. For weeks the CP has been claiming that the wave of anti-communist terror in the north was well organized by the bourgeois parties (both PPD and CDS), with the participation of former PIDE (Salazarist political police) agents. This was recently borne out by an American journalist who interviewed "one of Rio Maior's most prosperous businessmen." (Rio Maior is where the first CP office was burned down.)

> "He, too, indicated he was a private CDS supporter, and he was very emphatic in his assertion that the burnings of Communist party headquarters hadn't been spontaneous—as the U.S. press indicated—but the work of an organized network."
>
> *Village Voice*, 6 October

The *Voice* reporter also quoted the remark by SP leader António Reis (commenting on the Rio Maior events) that "a new kind of popular, mass-based fascism is growing in Portugal."

Several of the ultra-rightist leaders are presently in exile. Chief among them is former General António de Spinola, who was once governor-general of the colony of Guinea-Bissau, later armed forces chief of staff under Salazar's successor Marcelo Caetano, and then head of the military junta which took power after toppling Caetano. Having failed to crush the left with a mobilization of the "silent majority" in September 1974 and a bungled coup last March 11, Spinola fled to Brazil via Spain. He now heads up the "Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal" (MDLP) whose declared aim is to "establish a liberal and pluralist democracy by driving communism from the country" (*Le Monde*, 10 October).

The MDLP is reportedly financed in part by the former Companhia União Fabril (CUF) trust, whose owners are also in exile, and Spinola's Madrid envoy Alpoïm Calvão is said to be closely tied to the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) which has trained mercenary commando units just over the border in Spain. The ELP was first discovered during the March 11 coup attempt and two CIA officers advising the "army" were photographed at a meeting in Spain. Although the U.S. press exhibited some skepticism as to the existence of the ELP last spring, there was considerably less doubt after it bombed the palace in which the current premier, Admiral José Pinheiro de Azevedo, was staying in September.

Secret armies are not likely to play a key role in Portugal, for even the disintegrating Portuguese armed forces could easily repel a Bay of Pigs-type invasion. These groups place their hopes not on commando operations but on their fifth columnists within the country. As MDLP leader Calvão remarked in an interview, "There will be no classic invasion of Portugal because we are there already" (*Le Monde*, 22 September). And there *are* plenty of ultra-rightists there already, including in the MFA. A prime example is Major Pires Veloso in northern Portugal, who would certainly be a main support for any reactionary coup. It is the preservation of an officer corps which includes such future Pinochets that is the meaning of the slogan of an "MFA-People Alliance" which the reformists have endlessly chanted. Only by destroying the bourgeois officer corps can the fascists' fifth column be smashed!

Once More on the SP and the Fascists

During recent months a particularly treacherous role has been played by the Portuguese Socialist Party of Mario Soares. Leaving the coalition government in mid-July to protest plans for "Communist dictatorship," the SP mounted a campaign of demonstrations demanding the ouster of Premier Gonçalves. Its program called for disarming the workers militias and crushing all embryonic forms of dual power. And behind its lead, openly counterrevolutionary forces mounted a campaign of rightist terror.

Mario Soares' press agents abroad, including the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in the U.S., assert that, on the contrary, the SP demonstrations represented a *leftist* response to CP bureaucratism. In recent forums SWP leaders—after lamely defending the Portuguese SP against now-proven charges of CIA financing running into millions of dollars a month—have accused the Spartacist League of ignoring the difference between the SP demonstrations and the rightist terror.

There is now additional confirmation of the role the SP has been playing in fronting for reaction. In a perceptive series on his recent Portugal trip, *Village Voice* reporter Paul Cowan (who arrived in Lisbon sympathetic to the Socialists) concluded: "...the Portuguese Socialist party was being used as a Trojan horse for Portugal's right wing—providing a respectable anti-Communist cover for people who oppose programs, like land reform, decolonization, workers' control of industry, that Socialists are pledged to support." He also reported that General Galvão de Melo confirmed to him that the CDS had urged many supporters to vote SP in the April 25 elections: "It was better for people to vote for the Socialists than for the CDS because we didn't want the military to realize how much power we had" (*Village Voice*, 6 October).

Even more significant was a recent interview by Mario Soares published in *Le Monde* (3 October). Far from sharply distinguishing SP demonstrations from the rightist terror, Soares referred approvingly to "the popular uprising against the CP in the country, especially north of the Tagus [River]" as the main factor in stopping an alleged CP power grab. "There have been attempts to present this uprising as an anti-communist pogrom," he went on. "But it was a reaction of self-defense by the

Sub Drive Success!

WV Photo

As the fall *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive comes to a successful end, the final tally reflects a significant numerical and geographic expansion of the subscription base for the weekly *Workers Vanguard* and *Young Spartacus*, monthly newspaper of the Spartacus Youth League. While almost half of the total subs were full-year *WV* subscriptions, well over 400 *YSp* subs and over 150 *Women and Revolution* subs were also sold. The tally below does not reflect the dozens of subs sold by our Canadian comrades of the Trotskyist League nor the many letters of support we have received from friends and subscribers worldwide. *Workers Vanguard* thanks those whose energy and persistence ensured the success of the sub-drive campaign.

19 September-16 October 1975

Final Report

Area	total to date	quota	percent fulfilled
Bloomington	36	35	103%
Boston	177	135	131%
Chicago	243	200	122%
Cleveland	151	140	108%
Detroit	147	130	113%
East Bay	230	200	115%
Houston	109	70	156%
Ithaca	49	40	122%
Los Angeles	309	200	154%
Madison	68	60	113%
New York City	502	400	126%
Philadelphia	182	120	152%
San Francisco	123	110	112%
At Large	57	50	114%
TOTAL	2383	1890	126%

Build the Weekly

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____

Zip _____ Phone _____

82

Workers Vanguard (includes Spartacist)

☐ $5/48 issues ☐ $2/16 issues (Introductory)

Women and Revolution

☐ $1/4 issues

Young Spartacus

☐ $2/11 issues

Make payable/mail to: **Spartacist Publishing Co.**
Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10001

Subscribe Now!

Last Chance!
SUB-DRIVE SPECIAL

☐ **$6 for 48 issues of WORKERS VANGUARD, and 11 issues of YOUNG SPARTACUS**

populace.... The right exploited it; it profitted from it. But the movement was spontaneous." While Soares may not have liked the lynch-mob atmosphere, this endorsement of the reactionary mobilization is unambiguous.

Despite the counterrevolutionary policies of its leaders, the reformist, social-democratic SP is the largest workers party in Portugal. It has influence in a number of unions (recently winning a series of elections in white-collar unions in conjunction with the Maoist MRPP). Like the reformist CP, the Socialist Party is simultaneously bourgeois in its policies and working-class in its composition and organic ties to the labor movement. Should the reactionary forces it has fronted for take over, the SP would be destroyed. Moreover, while the SP is currently to the right of the CP, allowing the latter to defend rebellious soldiers against the government, only nine months ago the SP was demagogically defending jailed Maoist unionists while Cunhal was the most uncompromising defender of law-and-order.

In struggling to build a revolutionary Trotskyist party in Portugal the strategy cannot consist of falling into line behind either the SP (as does the SWP) or the CP (the choice of the United Secretariat's European majority and of the Portuguese LCI). Constantly fighting for a revolutionary program leading to the establishing of workers rule, a Trotskyist propaganda group in Portugal would also put forward united-front proposals to the other workers parties in an attempt to mobilize the class for common action against the bourgeoisie and to break the proletarian base of the reformist and centrist parties from their misleaders.

During late 1974 and early 1975 the most important occasions for such united-front appeals were the defense of the workers movement against various anti-democratic decrees by the MFA (banning strikes, imposing censorship, arresting Maoists). During the rightist terror wave in July-August united defense of the offices of leftist organizations was an urgent task. And over the last 18 months the most pressing need—particularly acute today in the face of the rightist crackdown—has been for uniting the various workers, neighborhood and soldiers committees into a national soviet. But at all times the indispensable condition for a Leninist united front is the political independence of the Marxists and an unflinching struggle to build an independent Trotskyist party. ■

Big MAC ...

(continued from page 1)

before a Senate committee Friday that the city's bankruptcy would produce "a markedly adverse psychological reaction in the consumer and business sectors of the economy" exerting "an enormous downpull on general economic activity."

While all sectors of the bourgeoisie do not have the same estimate of the long-range effects of tipping New York over the brink, they share a common determination to force the municipal unions to the wall with layoffs, speed-up and the wage freeze. The Board of Education is being urged by anti-labor outfits like the United Parents Association and the City Club to resurrect demands that it failed to ram down the UFT's throat on the first round—cutting the number of paid sick days in half, extending teachers' workweeks, eliminating sabbatical leaves and the time allowed chapter chairmen to transact union business.

These vicious attacks, designed to reverse the gains won by public workers over a decade of unionization and struggle, are encouraged by the gutless capitulation of the city's labor bureaucrats, who continue to crawl from one bourgeois politician to another pleading for a fair shake. New York labor can defend itself only by a militant city-wide general strike against the bankers' austerity program. ■

Canadian Labor...

(continued from page 12)

action by the 22,000-member Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), now in contract negotiations. When wage controls were announced last week, CUPW members were in the midst of voting a mandate for strike action to back up contract demands far exceeding the guidelines: the official demands are for a 71 percent pay increase in a one-year contract, with a 30-hour workweek and full cost-of-living escalator. Union negotiators had earlier rejected a conciliation report prepared by Judge Jean Moisan which sought to restrict CUPW members to 38 percent over 30 months (i.e., 15 percent annually), an amount identical to the sellout agreement between the Post Office and the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) earlier this year. The government was prepared for a showdown, with postmaster general Bryce Mackasey vowing to keep the post office shut down "for two or three months" if necessary to force the union to knuckle under.

CUPW members (inside postal workers) presently have an absurdly low $4.58 per hour base rate and face massive dislocation and increased surveillance under a new automation scheme. CUPW has been without a contract for over a year, ever since its bureaucrat-engineered disaffiliation from a joint bargaining unit with the LCUC (representing outside workers). Although union tops are now turning a militant face toward the government with "radical" contract demands and a defiant posture, CUPW national president Joe Davidson and his cronies have guaranteed a sellout in advance by their refusal to defend militant posties victimized in an earlier bout of government union-busting moves. This May, when management fired 47 militants and suspended 900 others for protesting the use of scab "casual" labor in Montreal, Davidson did not lift a finger to help the embattled unionists.

The new wage control package has given Davidson the handle he needs to force an inadequate settlement on the CUPW ranks. When the new finance minister Donald Macdonald introduced the legislation in Parliament he announced an escape clause enabling CUPW to legally settle for more than the 10 percent maximum: "There may also be other grounds for exception," said Macdonald, "such as increases needed to maintain long-established historical relationships between wages in closely related groups and other special cases of equity." Postmaster general Mackasey explained that inside workers would be entitled to wage increases corresponding to those of LCUC drivers and carriers—exactly what was provided for in the conciliation report. Davidson promptly fell into line behind his friends in Ottawa, ignoring a strong pro-strike vote nationwide, and resumed sham negotiations while greasing the skids for a sellout.

If the government can force CUPW to heel it will have won the first major battle for implementation of the new controls. The only road forward for Canadian labor in the face of this severe attack is the road of intransigent class struggle. While with one hand the government moves to crush strikes and limit wages, with the other it uses its agents within the workers movement—the pro-capitalist bureaucracy—to ensure "labor peace" by integrating them into government boards like the federal Labor Relations Council.

Militant workers must demand: Smash Trudeau's austerity program! For massive labor demonstrations and strike action to smash Trudeau's wage controls! No to the Moisan Report—For a joint postal strike to break the wage guidelines! Labor off government boards! End unemployment—Jobs for all through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay!

Militants must build class-struggle caucuses in the unions on a full anti-capitalist political program in order to throw out the sellout bureaucrats and break the NDP's reformist stranglehold. The only possible way to stop inflation is through rational economic planning and the expropriation of the capitalists under a workers government. The construction of a revolutionary Trotskyist party is the key to laying the basis for finishing, once and for all, with the anti-labor programs of the Trudeaus, Mackaseys and their social-democratic sidekicks. ■

CUPW Strikes Canada P.O.

OCTOBER 21—As we go to press Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) officials have announced a national postal strike following the breakdown of negotiations. CUPW head Davidson claims the union will stay out "as long as it takes Mr. Mackasey to realise we are in earnest." Post Office officials continue their hard-line stance; Mackasey has announced that he will not budge from the offer of a $1.75 increase, even if postal workers were to strike for "three years." In Montreal, the CUPW is permitting the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC, the outside postal workers) to cross picket lines to deliver mail! A united and militant postal strike could well spearhead a major national counter-offensive against Trudeau's anti-labor wage-control program. Not sellout bureaucratic scabbing agreements, but a national strike of all postal workers!

Soviet Dissidents...

(continued from page 7)

cultural development of our country."

Because Medvedev believes in the ultimate triumph of socialism in one country, his position is the curious one of a Stalinist rejecting Stalinism as anachronistic. This partial reconciliation to the bureaucracy is indeed a step back from *Let History Judge*, which analyzed with care the social, economic and cultural conditions which allowed Stalinism to arise. A fundamental factor in this process was national isolation; he who denies the world revolution objectively supports the rule of the bureaucracy or of imperialism. By upholding the policy of "peaceful coexistence," Medvedev objectively supports the continued existence of capitalism—and thus of the Stalinist bureaucracy, the institutionalized reflection of imperialist pressure within the deformed workers states.

Medvedev supports détente and disarmament (though recognizing short-term disadvantages such as increased repression at home to counteract "Westernizing" pressures). He writes:

> "Right-wing circles in the West, on the contrary, exploit any shortcomings in the USSR and any acts of oppression by the Soviet state for their own demagogic ends; their aim is not to assist the victory of 'socialism with a human face' but to discredit both socialism and communism.... However, in a more distant future—although this may not be a very comforting prognosis—detente will undoubtedly contribute to the extension of democratic rights and liberties in our country."
>
> —"Problems of Democratization and Detente"

Medvedev bases his rejection of the idea of a violent overturn of the bureaucracy on one quote from Lenin, that there is no way to "lance the bureaucratic boil, to wipe bureaucracy from the face of the earth." "'Surgery in this case,' wrote Lenin, 'is absurd, it cannot work. There can only be a slow healing process—other alternatives are fraudulent or naive'."

Certainly Lenin would have been overhasty had he called for political revolution in the early 1920's. But since Lenin's early attempts to check the rise of the bureaucracy, much water has passed under the bridge: the defeat of the Left Opposition, the ruinous collectivization, the Comintern's refusal to fight the rise of fascism in Germany, the betrayal of the Spanish revolution, the purges, and so on. Although brittle and lacking both a new and characteristic class relationship to the means of production and a self-justifying ideology, the parasitic bureaucracy of the deformed workers states still possesses an awesome coercive power and will cling desperately to its privileges. What is necessary is not mere reform—or even "lancing the bureaucratic boil"—but radical surgery, through a proletarian political revolution, to excise this cancerous growth!

Medvedev is explicitly legalistic: "as for the ways and means of political struggle, they must be absolutely legal and constitutional." Unlike the legalist fetishism of the Yakir-Krasin group and the early Sakharov, for example, Medvedev's impulse seems to stem from a desire not to enrage the bureaucracy and push it into further repression. Lacking faith in the Russian proletariat or the international revolution, Medvedev can pose only a gradual process of democratization at a snail's pace.

Medvedev dismisses the Trotskyists' struggle against the bureaucracy, although grudgingly admitting that "some of their criticisms contained a considerable measure of truth." He lumps Trotskyism together with Maoism as ultra-left radicals who "come out into the streets of Paris and Rome bearing portraits of Stalin, Trotsky and Mao-Tse-tung." This amalgam is absurd. But since Medvedev falsely regards Stalin and Mao as left dogmatists committed to a hard anti-imperialist stance, there is a certain internal logic to this identification. And we Trotskyists are closer to the young militants who demonstrate with portraits of Stalin and Mao than to the Italian CP's Enrico Berlinguer.

The pro-imperialist Sakharov and the bureaucratic reformer Medvedev do not exhaust the currents of the diverse Soviet dissidents. A recent appeal "To the Communists of Europe and the USA" (*Inprecor*, 3 July 1975) refers to a number of clandestine groups that undoubtedly would be dismissed as "leftist" by Medvedev: All Power to the Soviets, Union of Communards, Young Worker, Communard, Urals Worker, Leninist Ideas in Practice.

But while we may feel more kinship with wild-eyed primitivist revolutionaries than with the sane and sober Medvedev, sanity and sobriety are valuable. So are thoughtful attempts at Marxist analysis of Stalinism and the Soviet dissident movement. Just as all serious Trotskyists should read Isaac Deutscher and learn from his knowledge and his mistakes, so should the current generation of Soviet oppositionists study Medvedev in order to formulate their own, revolutionary program: the program of authentic Trotskyism. ■

Vient de paraître

SPARTACIST

édition française No. 10
octobre 1975

3,00 F. $.75 US/Canada

pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001. USA

WORKERS VANGUARD

Strike Against Wage Controls!

Trudeau Slaps Wage Strait Jacket on Canadian Labor

TORONTO. October 18—Two weeks ago British Columbia provincial premier Dave Barrett and his New Democratic Party (NDP) government set the tone for hard-line anti-labor policies in Canada by ordering 50,000 striking forest workers back to work. Less than a week later, on the eve of a threatened national postal strike, federal Liberal Party prime minister Pierre Trudeau followed suit by introducing a new economic program amounting to a frontal attack on the living standards and purchasing power of the working class.

On October 13 Trudeau sat down to Thanksgiving dinner with Barrett, the other provincial premiers and federal opposition leaders to unveil a long-expected, sweeping program of wage and price controls. Receiving broad support from most of the assembled dignitaries (including, albeit with "reservations," from the three NDP provincial premiers), Trudeau went on television that evening to publicly present what he called a "program of restraint [which] is the heaviest imposed on Canadians since the Second World War." Even the bourgeois press was quick to admit that the so-called "price controls" were basically ineffectual, and that the new government policy is directed primarily against the wage demands of organized labor.

The mandatory guidelines establish maximum allowable wage increases of 10 percent for the next year, with 8 percent and 6 percent respectively for the subsequent two years. Included are all government workers and workers in companies with more than 500 employees, plus all construction workers in bargaining units of more than 20. However, workers in other categories are "expected" to comply with the legislation, which may be expanded by cabinet order to apply to "groups deemed to be of 'strategic importance' to Canada." Violators of the wage-control "guidelines" are to be investigated by an Anti-Inflation Board headed by former cabinet minister Jean-Luc Petin (Liberal) and armed with a staff of 200. Those refusing to comply are subject to jail sentences of up to five years and fines of up to $10,000 or more.

Controversy Over Wage Controls

For the last year and a half—ever since the effects of the international capitalist economic crisis began to be seriously felt in Canada—various wings of the bourgeoisie have been arguing over the best means to restore the country's diminishing competitive power on the world market and place the burden of recession effects on the back of the working class. At the time of the June 1974 federal elections, the dominant capitalist interests preferred to ride out the recession, fearing the political consequences of unpopular wage controls. Trudeau's Liberal Party was re-elected with a solid majority on a program against wage and price controls, while Robert Stanfield's Progressive Conservatives were rebuffed along with their call for immediate mandatory pay guidelines.

By earlier this year, however, it had become clear that there would be no early upturn in the economy while, to the government's particular disquiet, negotiated wage settlements were beginning to run much higher than in the United States. In the last quarter of 1974 the average annual pay increase in major Canadian union contracts was 14 percent annually and rising, while American labor bureaucrats had managed to keep the U.S. figure down to 5.9 percent despite approximately equal rates of inflation. Moreover, international comparisons showed that Canada had the highest per capita number of man-days lost through strike action of any major industrial country save Italy.

In March the federal government fired its opening salvo of an escalated war against the unions by passing emergency legislation to smash the strike of 3,500 West Coast ILWU dockers. Not unexpectedly, the social-democratic NDP supported the legislation. Soon after, federal finance minister John Turner announced a government policy of voluntary restraints, which was rejected by the leaders of the Canadian Labor Congress (CLC). However, the "militant"-posturing CLC tops were equally worried about growing combativity among the ranks and the following month agreed to serve on a class-collaborationist tripartite Labor Relations Council bringing together union, management and government representatives to find ways of reducing "labor strife."

Trudeau Strikes at Labor

After inflation and wage-increase statistics for the second quarter of 1975 showed no letup—the average annual wage hike hit almost 19 percent while comparable U.S. figures hovered below 10 percent—bourgeois public opinion began to swing heavily toward mandatory controls. Joining several leading capitalist newspapers, economists and industrialists in the call for a pay-increase ceiling were the social democrats Allan Blakeney and Ed Schreyer (NDP premiers of Saskatchewan and Manitoba), along with (at one point) federal party leader Ed Broadbent. In Ottawa, Turner resigned his finance portfolio in early September when the cabinet voted down controls.

One month later Trudeau was ready to slap on the wage strait jacket. Provincial governments in Quebec and British Columbia, the two main hotbeds of labor militancy, had broken the backs of militant strikes. The Liberal Quebec government passed special back-to-work legislation to end a Montreal transit strike in mid-September, and in B.C. only three NDP backbenchers voted against Barrett's strikebreaking decree. In both cases the union bureaucracy put up a brief show of verbal bluster and then gave in without a fight.

CP

Transit workers march through Montreal during strike in June.

Now this pattern is being repeated once again. Following announcement of a cabinet "White Paper" outlining the proposed "wage/price" controls, CLC leaders issued a "protest" couched in the immanently "reasonable" language befitting senior labor statesmen. While decrying the "inequities" of this particular program of restraint, the labor federation brief affirmed the bureaucrats' willingness to work with government and management "to develop a program to control inflation." CLC president Joe Morris and eight other union leaders continue to sit on the Labor Relations Council, and no effort has been made to mobilize the ranks against the government attacks. (Although B.C. premier Barrett has since demagogically come out against Trudeau's program, the NDP is committed, like the CLC, to negotiating a compromise plan.)

Canadian workers stand today before a situation fraught with possibilities for a successful labor counteroffensive against a government which is demonstrating ever more clearly its union-busting intentions. Yet not one major labor leader (including the "anti-capitalist" Quebec bureaucrats who sit on a provincial labor board with government and management) has called for generalized defiance of the "guidelines" backed up by massive defensive strike action against government attempts to force their implementation. It is the NDP and CLC misleaders who are the major roadblock to successful labor action to smash Trudeau's austerity program.

CUPW Leaders Prepare to Sell Out Postal Workers

The best hope of scuttling the Liberals' wage-cutting policies is for militant strike

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 83 31 October 1975

Franco on Deathbed

For Workers Revolution to Smash Francoism!

Informations Ouvrieres

Anti-Franco demonstrators in Madrid last June.

OCTOBER 28—The impending death of Generalissimo Francisco Franco has focused world attention upon the bloody Spanish dictatorship. During and after the 1930's Civil War this gang of butchers murdered literally hundreds of thousands of proletarian militants; they then spent the next 36 years trying to abolish the class struggle by decree. Faced with the departure of their *caudillo*, the politically active sections of Spanish capital are now hoping for an "orderly transfer of power" to the designated heir apparent, Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón.

Derided as "Juan Carlos the Brief" by his numerous detractors, the prince does not have the committed loyalty of any sector of the far-from-united regime. Nor does he have the personal command to play the role of arbiter with any degree of success. Above all, the militancy and increasingly open political protests of a working class filled with bitter hatred for the hangman's regime threaten to burst through its brittle bonapartist shell. Francoism without Franco has no future.

As neighboring Portugal moves ever closer to civil war, Spain is on an already ignited political short fuse. Both the right and the treacherous misleaders of the left are desperately trying to stomp it out. "The bunker," as the die-hard fascist Falangists are known, has floated numerous coup warnings in the hope of staving off anticipated "liberalization" measures believed to be imminent upon the prince's accession to office. The Guerrilleros del Cristo Rey (Warriors of Christ the King) and elements of the Guardia Civil threaten some kind of drastic action.

For their part, both the PSOE (Socialist Workers Party of Spain) and the Communist Party (CP) are seeking to revive the popular frontism which paved the path to the 1936-39 disaster. Commenting on the anticipated death of Franco, Santiago Carrillo, general secretary of the CP, last week called for the formation of "a provisional government based upon a broad coalition of all those who do not wish to see a new civil war, but who wish to see a pluralist stytem" (DPA dispatch, 24 October). Both the Stalinists and the social democrats have their coalitions with sectors of the bourgeoisie, the CP leading the Junta Democrática and the PSOE with its Platform of Democratic Convergence.

Spain Is Not Portugal

But the bulk of the Spanish bourgeoisie is not now opting for a popular front. Particularly since the discovery of the Democratic Military Union within the armed forces last summer (see *WV* No. 80, 10 October, "Basque Strikes Rock Franco Regime"), the press has been filled with superficial comparisons to the "Revolution of the Carnations" in Portugal. However, the economic situation and mood in the officer corps are not at all comparable to that of Spain's Iberian neighbor. By 1974 the Portuguese bourgeoisie was in severe economic straits and unable to extricate itself from debilitating colonial wars.

In contrast, the Spanish economy has been one of the strongest in capitalist Europe. Based on sharp restrictions of the masses' standards of living, a powerful banking sector with heavy foreign investments, and a large tourist trade, Spanish capitalists succeeded in rapidly industrializing the country during the "miraculous decade" of the 1960's. The per capita gross national product rose from $300 in 1960 to $2,000 in 1975 (*Newsweek*, 13 October).

While clustered outside the Pardo Palace awaiting the latest medical bulle-

continued on page 10

Fight MFA Gag on Left-Wing Media in Portugal! 2

Moynihan's Crusade: Imperialist Hypocrisy at the UN

Throwing Stones from Glass Houses

OCTOBER 27—The United Nations, imperialism's most exclusive club, is dedicated to the false proposition that there is honor among thieves. Lately that proposition has been put to a severe test by an intense debate over the character of Zionism. The debate has been marked by an unusually high level of hypocrisy, even for this big-wig assembly of imperialist war criminals, tinpot dictators and Stalinist bureaucrats.

At issue is a resolution adopted by the UN's Social, Humanitarian and Cultural Committee and scheduled to come before the General Assembly. It contains a sentence proclaiming that the UN "determines that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination." The fight over this resolution produced some interesting bedfellows. Daniel P. Moynihan, U.S. chief delegate to the UN, was especially incensed at the large number of Latin American nations that supported or abstained on the motion. They "deserted" us, he moaned.

A particular target of Moynihan's wrath was Chile, which has apparently struck a bargain with the Arab states for going easy on its torture centers, a subject due to come up soon in the UN Humanitarian Committee. In return the military butchers of Chile voted to condemn Zionism, thus gaining entry into the "Communist-Third World bloc" of "anti-imperialist" countries.

This prompted one U.S. official to comment that "The fascists [!] in Chile and some like-minded military regimes are lining up with the anti-semites" (*New York Times*, 19 October). These are strong words, especially coming from a representative of the country that spent millions of dollars to put those same "fascists" in power and watched with satisfaction while the police sadists used their CIA-designed equipment and American training in the vile art of electronic torture. Obviously, the U.S. government feels that Pinochet and his

continued on page 10

Marion Kaplan/Echave & Associates

Idi Amin

UPI

Daniel Moynihan

Fight MFA Suppression of Left Media in Portugal!

AP

Soldiers retake Rádio Renascença transmitter which had been sealed by the Portuguese government in an attempt to silence left-wing media.

OCTOBER 27—On Wednesday evening several tens of thousands of left-wing workers, accompanied by soldiers from virtually every unit in the Lisbon Military Region, marched on Rádio Renascença. Finding no one in the government who would authorize reopening the station, closed since troops occupied all radio and television facilities on September 29, the crowd broke the seals. After some difficulties caused by the removal of parts by the occupying troops, Rádio Renascença went back on the air at 3 a.m.

The battle over this left-wing transmitter—formerly the voice of the Catholic Church hierarchy—is yet another in a series of crises resulting from attempts by the sixth provisional government to clamp capitalist law and order on a country on the brink of civil war. Ordering a ban on publishing all statements by members of the armed forces, attempting to impose army control of broadcast media, moving to purge left-wing officers and even whole units, the right wing of the ruling Armed Forces Movement (MFA) has been checked at every step by massive resistance.

The Rádio Renascença events took on particular importance because control of the station had been a main focus of left-right dispute in Portugal ever since it was occupied by the workers five months ago. Mario Soares, head of the Socialist Party (SP), claims that during negotiations over the formation of the cabinet Premier Jose Pinheiro Azevedo promised that the facility would be returned to the Church hierarchy. Thus when troops were withdrawn from all the other stations (after the collapse of the occupation, due to pervasive fraternization between soldiers and workers), Azevedo ordered commandos to close down the Renascença transmitter.

The occupying forces were withdrawn on October 15 and the facility sealed. A meeting the following day with representatives of numerous Lisbon-area workers, soldiers and neighborhood commissions decided to guard the building with around-the-clock pickets in order to prevent sabotage from rightist forces and warned against "any thoughtless acts, such as unsealing the transmitter" before conditions were ripe. When it became clear the government would not agree to reopen the station under the workers' control—President Costa Gomes had an audience with Pope Paul at the Vatican the same day Rádio Renascença was "liberated"—a struggle committee composed of delegates from several major industries and military units organized the reoccupation.

Rádio Renascença: Workers vs. the Bishops

Although the Rádio Renascença dispute has dragged on for months almost nothing has been published in the foreign press, left-wing or bourgeois, on the origins of the clash. Even today many details are unclear to an outside observer, and our information comes almost entirely from a lengthy article in the 10 July *República*. Controversy reportedly first arose at the station a few days after the 25 April 1974 coup d'état that toppled the Caetano dictatorship, when some editorial personnel objected to censorship of news by management (i.e., the Church hierarchy). Several months later, in September, 13 workers (half of them editorial) were fired for refusing to submit to unprecedented "psychological tests."

A "workers coordinating commission" was then formed and the Ministry of Labor intervened. Negotiations dragged on until February 19 when the workers finally were forced to strike against an unyielding management. But on March 11 came an attempted right-wing putsch. Throughout the country workers rushed to occupy major points of transport and communication (airfields, intersections) and surround key barracks. Learning that Rádio Clube Português had been forced off the air because of damage to its antenna—and remembering the important role played by left-wing radio stations in the "battle of the communiqués" during Spinola's September 28 power grab—Rádio Renascença workers immediately re-entered the station and resumed transmission under the workers coordinating committee.

As a "reward" for this action, the government appointed a "mixed commission" (three military men and a representative of the Ministry of Labor) to investigate the labor dispute. But as the church hierarchy continued its intransigence, the commission was reduced to "talking in circles." An example of the position of the hierarchy was the refusal by the archbishop of Lisbon to permit Rádio Renascença to broadcast the daily mass from any church in the capital! Finally, in exasperation the workers occupied the station on May 27 and threw out management.

As was inevitable in Portugal's highly charged atmosphere, what began as a labor dispute quickly took on political overtones. The church hierarchy immediately began screaming about atheists and communists attacking religion; a Maoist group, the Popular Democratic Union (UDP), was accused of leading the action. However, according to the 10 July *República* account, the occupying workers were mainly left-wing Catholics, some of them members of the "Christians for Socialism" group. A spokesman for the workers coordinating committee was quoted as saying: "We are not proposing to do any more than what the Catholic Church proposed, for example, at the Vatican Council II.... We believe that it is the Church hierarchy that goes against Christian ideology."

Revolutionary Marxists must defend the Rádio Renascença workers in their struggle, particularly against the government's recent efforts to shut down the station. The latter was an attack on the entire working class. But if the facts outlined above are roughly correct, then the workers committee made an important tactical error with its May 27 occupation of the broadcasting facility. They evidently took a simple trade-union approach in conditions which required comprehensive revolutionary strategy. They were clearly not prepared for the anti-communist propaganda offensive which the bishops immediately unleashed.

The takeover of Rádio Renascença gave the Salazarist hierarchy an excellent occasion to mobilize backward peasant masses from the conservative north to fight "godless communism." There were marches on the shrine of Fatima, site of a 1917 "miracle" which the clergy hailed as a sign of divine displeasure with the Bolshevik revolution. At several demonstrations called by the bishops around the slogan of restoring the "National Catholic Broadcasting Station" the most popular cry was "Death to the Communists." Many burnings of Communist Party offices occurred in the aftermath of these reactionary rallies.

On March 11 the Rádio Renascença workers showed good political sense in calling off their strike in order to provide radio communications during a decisive battle. Again on October 22, the "struggle committee" correctly sought to avoid a disorganized confrontation with the government by temporarily holding off on reoccupying the transmitter, then carrying out the occupation in a disciplined manner clearly demonstrating support from key sectors of the working class. If a revolutionary policy had been followed in May, methods of struggle other than the occupation would have been chosen. The strike could have been resumed, for example. And in terms of stopping counterrevolutionary propaganda by the reactionary, Salazarist episcopacy, it would have been far better had the workers taken over the studios in the course of refusing to broadcast appeals for anti-communist demonstrations.

But once the action had been taken it was the task of communists to defend Rádio Renascença workers against attack by the class enemy.

República Revisited

The occupation of Rádio Renascença came only a week after the closing of *República* by the MFA due to a dispute between the newspaper's left-wing workers and its SP editor. The two cases have been closely linked during the political developments of the last four months, but the *República* affair and the Rádio Renascença dispute are not identical. In contrast to the virtual blackout of information on the latter case, reams have been written about *República*. Yet the facts in this conflict are, if anything, even less clear, with two conflicting versions of every important development.

Thus, for example, when *República* printers voted in mid-May to oust the editor Raul Rego and put out the newspaper themselves, both sides occupied the premises, each side accusing the other of calling in the military forces who emptied and then sealed the building. There is also sharp disagreement over

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions $5.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

Jordan Sims Reaps "Rewards" of Lesser-Evilism

UAW Clamps Receivership on Eldon Local

Hands Off UAW Local 961!

DETROIT—Moving to slap down a mildly troublesome dissident, United Auto Workers (UAW) leaders recently struck at Local 961 president Jordan Sims: on October 9 his Eldon Gear and Axle Chrysler local was placed under International administratorship. Sims is the black co-chairman of a reformist "opposition" in the UAW, the United National Caucus (UNC). While the UAW tops cite recent "arbitrary" actions by Sims, their real concerns have nothing to do with guaranteeing auto workers' rights. With the General Motors and Chrysler Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) funds exhausted, tens of thousands of auto workers still laid off and speed-up intensifying for those still in the plants, the UAW brass is already preparing to throttle rebellious locals in the 1976 contract negotiations. Solidarity House is going after Sims now not because either he or the UNC is a red-hot threat, but to serve notice on any and all who dare oppose the Woodcock machine's disastrous pro-capitalist policies.

Bureaucratic Harassment

The specific charges against Sims relate to his recent suspension of the Local 961 secretary-treasurer and removal of the Local vice president from grievance handling. Both were elected last June as part of a pro-International group based largely on white skilled tradesmen. Sims was narrowly re-elected over his tradesman opponent Elroy Richardson with a scant 100-vote margin.

Allegations of financial irregularities surrounded the elections. Richardson and his cronies tried to get Sims disqualified, but a check on the union books by the International reportedly uncovered no wrong-doing on Sims' part. In an interview with *WV*, Sims claimed that the Local's books had been audited five times in the last six months!

Encouraged by this clear pattern of bureaucratic harassment from the UAW hierarchy, Local 961 secretary-treasurer Kronenberg reportedly changed the combination lock on the local's safe, refusing to tell Sims the new combination, to fill out the payroll or to let Sims do so. Sims then suspended Kronenberg. Although Sims' decision was reportedly upheld by a subsequent local meeting, the intra-bureaucratic war escalated. Sims also removed the vice president from grievance handling responsibilities, charging failure to process Stage 3 grievances.

These actions provoked the International to intervene, naming as administrators UAW vice president Doug Fraser and regional director George Morelli (notorious for his red-baiting, strikebreaking role in crushing the Mack stamping plant sitdown strike in 1973 and the Dodge Truck wildcat in 1974). Fraser and Morelli also claim that Sims temporarily appointed two stewards and then failed to hold elections within the specified 30 to 60 days, that he was himself negligent in processing grievances, and that on a number of occasions he failed to carry out democratic mandates of the union membership.

Under the terms of the UAW constitution the International has authority to do as it pleases with a local in administratorship, including suspending any local officer and holding new elections. While it is unclear if the International will take this course, it could spell the end of Sims' short and spotty career in the bureaucracy.

Jordan Sims' Radical Friends

The outfit Sims co-chairs is a small and politically mixed grab bag combining skilled trades officials and disgruntled bureaucratic aspirants with a host of young radicals whose views are regularly praised in the pages of *Workers' Power*, newspaper of the International Socialists (IS). The latter and numerically preponderant wing is constantly willing to sacrifice class-struggle policies for the sake of currying favor with slightly better known opportunists. Except for an occasional and quickly forgotten paper resolution, the UNC cares nothing about fighting for a program to defend auto workers' interests, instead preferring endless get-rich-quick gimmicks.

Thus, for example, although the left-reformist IS proclaims advocacy of a labor party to be one of the basic principles of "class-struggle unionism," five of the six IS-supported UNC slates in last spring's Detroit-area UAW local elections refrained from any mention of this crucial demand. When massive layoffs hit auto in late 1974, the IS refused to call for factory seizures. While mentioning a shorter workweek, IS-backed UNC groups initially emphasized a scheme for alternating weeks of work and unemployment, with pay to come from "Short Work Week Benefits." This would have caused a *20 percent pay cut* in the off-weeks for all auto workers involved, with no benefits at all for workers with less than one year's seniority!

Grasping at straws, the IS predictably fell in behind union-busting calls for "preferential layoffs," urging the courts to tear up union contracts in order to grant "super-seniority" to black and women workers over higher-seniority white males. This divisive capitulation to layoffs is the IS view of how to be the "best builders" of an economist "rank-and-file movement."

Jordan Sims is virtually the only even relatively well-known black leader of the UNC, and is therefore highly touted by the IS. He has not proved, however, to be their most sterling item. He gained the Local 961 presidency in 1973 only under the auspices of a Labor Department-supervised election, preferring government fiddling with union affairs to the more difficult task of building an organized opposition among the rank and file.

In the earlier, allegedly rigged, election, Sims sought to demagogically ride a wave of black proletarian militancy that surfaced in the late 1960's. However, not wanting to appear too radical, Sims repudiated support from the Eldon Revolutionary Union Movement (ELRUM), affiliated to the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. From the beginning Sims' gamble has been that a slick-talking black militant posture, together with politics not too divergent from Reuther/Woodcock would assure him a UAW future.

Not long after taking office, Sims voted in the UAW Chrysler Council for the sellout 1973 contract, much to the embarrassment of his radical allies in the UNC. After a little coaching, Sims

WV Photo

Jordan Sims

disingenuously announced that he had been "tricked" into support of the contract—at best, a self-indicting testimony of incompetence and supreme naïveté. At the last national UNC conference, Sims again proved embarrassing to the radicals, bitterly opposing a resolution from a non-UNC member which called for the defense of black school children and busing in Detroit.

The Hanged Man Supports the Noose

Sims' half-hearted opposition stance is underlined by his flirtation with the UAW tops. In an interview with *Workers Vanguard* he stated his inclination to support UAW Chrysler Department head Doug Fraser for union president when Leonard Woodcock retires in 1977. This is the same back-stabbing bureaucrat that has just taken over his local! Sims compared the three leading candidates Fraser, Pat Greathouse and Irving Bluestone to a "cobra, a viper and an asp" saying that "you can train a cobra. At least he won't bite your head off"! His own decapitation notwithstanding, Sims prefers the dead-end game of picking the lesser of three evils.

Given Sims' equivocation, and his inability and failure to build a rank-and-file base in his own plant (where a quarter of the membership is still laid off), combatting the machinations of Solidarity House will not be easy. Even the fawning IS has been forced to lamentingly admit the absence of support within his own local, "the lack of which has made him vulnerable to this attack" (*Workers' Power*, 17 October). But despite Sims' record, all auto workers must adamantly oppose the takeover of Local 961. The auto companies' servants in the UAW leadership are moving not to clean up local leadership, but to quash even the most wavering criticism. The task of defeating opportunists like Jordan Sims lies not with the pro-capitalist UAW bureaucracy but in the hands of the Auto Workers' ranks. ■

Racists Fuel Boston Cauldron

BOSTON, October 27—The racial tensions which have been seething here for weeks beneath a surface calm, maintained only by massive police presence, began to boil over in recent days. Spurred on mainly by racial clashes inside the schools, anti-busing marches and "funeral processions" have been increasing in size. A "prayer march" on October 18 was led by a woman carrying a burning cross, symbol of the murderous Ku Klux Klan! Police battled racists at an "unofficial" anti-busing march the next day at South Boston High School, resulting in several arrests and injuries.

On October 23 fighting broke out between whites and blacks after a high school football game when black sportscaster Baba Johnson was insulted and shoved by white racists. Violence spilled over into South Boston High the next day. Tactical and state police were called in, and the school was closed 90 minutes early.

Proclaiming "National Boycott Day," the racists held another march and rally today. A white school boycott was almost 100 percent effective at Charlestown and South Boston High Schools, and the rally drew a reported 8,000 to 10,000 people, by far the largest anti-busing demonstration this school year. The march passed close to South Boston High School where black students were sent home early. Stores along the route of march were "requested" to close and most did. Speaking at the rally, State Representative William Bulger referred to the many anti-busing bills and amendments put forward in Washington by ambitious redneck politicians, trumpeting "We are now being heard in the halls of Congress."

Since the end of the teachers' strike last month, racist assaults and suspensions have become routine occurrences in Boston schools. Black students have held press conferences and demonstrations protesting discrimination and harassment by racist students, administrators and cops. They have demanded, among other things, more black cops, teachers and administrators, fairness in suspensions, closing South Boston High School and moving it to a neutral site. White students have demanded that no concessions be made to the black protesters, that the pledge of allegiance be said daily (!) and that they be permitted to leave school "when they feel threatened." What this amounts to is allowing racists to carry out assaults on black students and then take refuge on white "turf."

The large police presence on the streets of Boston has not stopped the reactionary mobilizations. At best it has temporarily frozen the racist status quo. The capitalist state will not provide real protection for black people under racist attack; calls for black cops or "fairness" cannot change this. Only a broad mobilization of labor, black organizations and all anti-racist forces, totally independent of bourgeois courts, cops, troops and politicians, can defeat the reactionary anti-busing movement. ■

Boston SYL Class Series:

Marxism or Menshevism—
An Introduction to the
Communist Movement

Wednesdays at 7:30 p.m.
October 29-December 10
Phillips Brooks House
Harvard University

Second Class—November 5
"Stalinism or Bolshevism"

S.F. CWA Tops Slam Door on Fired Militant

SAN FRANCISCO, October 28—The fight to reinstate fired union militant Jane Margolis continues to be a major issue facing Communications Workers of America (CWA) Local 9415. Margolis, a leading member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC), is waging a determined campaign against her September 5 firing by Pacific Telephone for alleged "abuse" of a personal leave of absence.

As we reported earlier, Margolis' firing was a pure frame-up—a blatant attempt by the company to purge a long-time union militant who is vigorously fighting Pacific Telephone's drive to cut its workforce; the company is on a rampage of widespread harassment, firings, downgrades and layoffs. Pacific Telephone especially wanted to prevent Margolis, who had previously served as an executive board member in Oakland's CWA Local 9410, from running for the 9415 executive board as representative of the traffic department.

To accomplish these ends the company suspended Margolis, pending an "investigation," following her return from a six-day personal leave. Upon concluding this "investigation" PT&T bosses fired Margolis using as their excuse the two days she spent in transit to and from Philadelphia, where she had gone due to a serious illness in her family.

From the time of her suspension in mid-August Pacific Telephone had maintained that Margolis had "falsified records" concerning the leave. Rumors were whispered that she never left the Bay Area and had been seen walking United Farm Workers picket lines. The company alluded to a mysterious "source" who would prove that Margolis was somewhere else.

Confronted during the grievance procedure, PT&T was forced to admit that there never was any "source" (i.e., it had no reason for the suspension, and furthermore had lied to justify the act). The company now does not dispute *any* of the written evidence submitted by Margolis, which supports her statements in every detail. Nor does it claim that the personal leave was grounds for her firing. Instead, management, in effect, now bases the firing on the ludicrous assertion that Margolis should have been able to make the 6,000-mile trip to and from Philadelphia ... instantaneously!

Phone workers, who daily have to face PT&T's incredibly arbitrary and vicious "labor discipline," were shocked by this "1984"-style grotesquerie. From the start the case has won widespread support and sympathy in the Local. During the first week of its existence, a Committee to Defend Jane Margolis collected more than $100 in donations and gathered over 100 signatures to a petition condemning the firing, demanding immediate reinstatement of Margolis and calling upon the union to adopt a policy of retaining all fired and laid-off members in the union with full membership rights.

Bureaucratic Sabotage

While many union militants have come forward to defend Margolis—correctly seeing the firing as a dangerous precedent that could be used to get rid of anyone the company dislikes and as an attack upon the union—the Local 9415 leadership has done as little as possible, going so far as to actively sabotage Margolis' defense.

Thus at Local 9415's September meeting union president Kirkpatrick led a campaign to discourage attendance by telling people not to show up. When Margolis and her supporters took the floor to discuss the case, Kirkpatrick cut off the mike, adjourned the meeting and scurried out of the hall. He was joined by his opponent for the Local's presidency, one Jack Whitehouse.

Despite these antics, most of the 50 CWA members who attended the meeting stayed on for two hours, denouncing Kirkpatrick's walkout and discussing how to fight Margolis' firing and the wave of downgrades and layoffs hitting Local 9415.

Margolis met with further resistance by the bureaucracy at the October executive board meeting where she was granted the opportunity to present her case to the union leadership. Most of the officials present showed their pro-company bias by refusing to do anything more than agree to continue processing her grievance. They refused to even consider a motion submitted by Margolis which demanded of the company that she be reinstated with full back pay! Having had her union dues sent back, Margolis submitted another motion, that she retain full union rights and be permitted to run in the upcoming union elections. In a petulant display of contemptuous backstabbing, the executive board turned down this resolution as well.

Motions by several exec board members (who at least retained some shred of union militancy) to the effect that Margolis retain union membership while her grievance is being processed or that she be hired as a part-time union organizer (and thus retain union membership) were quashed by the Kirkpatrick machine. Kirkpatrick's "opponent" Whitehouse merely sat on his hands, obviously uninterested in what the company does to the union's militants.

Kirkpatrick then underlined his position at a special October union meeting to nominate candidates for the upcoming union elections. When Margolis was nominated for traffic rep to the executive board, Kirkpatrick ruled the nomination out of order on the grounds that union constitution and by-laws, according to his "reading," exclude Margolis from the CWA. Members of 9415 are well aware that when one of Kirkpatrick's cronies is involved he "reads" the rules with a different pair of glasses.

A number of people angrily shouted seconds to Margolis' nomination and one took the floor to denounce Kirkpatrick for his spineless capitulation to the company frame-up. Following what is now becoming a monthly ritual Kirkpatrick once more hastily adjourned the meeting and fled from the membership. Again a number of members stayed on and argued the issues raised by Margolis' firing. Subsequently, Margolis and the MAC have stated their intention to refuse to recognize Kirkpatrick's bureaucratic suppression of her nomination by running Margolis as a write-in candidate. Already a number of Local 9415 militants have come forward and offered to help in the write-in campaign.

Kirkpatrick and Whitehouse: Tweedledum and Tweedledee

Margolis' firing, the struggle to get her job back, her fight to be allowed to run for union office—all these have served as litmus tests for the various candidates for union office. While a few executive board members have in one way or another tried to defend Margolis (a reflection of the support for her case among the membership), most of the candidates for office have done absolutely nothing to fight this atrocity.

Especially noteworthy in this respect is Kirkpatrick's presidential opponent, Jack Whitehouse. Militant talk is cheap at election time, and the challenger has gone to a lot of effort to pose as a real alternative to the sellout Kirkpatrick leadership. But Whitehouse has been silent on the Margolis case. Instead he has put all his energies into a "Jobs Committee" consisting of himself and a few "radical" supporters who have shamefacedly tried to cover their backing for him by "supporting the issues, not the man."

In fact, the "Jobs Committee" is simply an electoral vehicle for Whitehouse. All it has done is to call for enforcement of the union contract, while proposing *fining those members who work overtime*! As far as the Margolis defense effort goes, the "Jobs Committee" has said and done next to nothing.

An especially disgusting role has been played by those sympathetic to the views of the Progressive Labor Party. They have gone along with Whitehouse 100 percent, giving a fake "left" cover to his "Jobs Committee." This despite the fact that *Whitehouse in his former role as president of Local 9415 oversaw a purge of PL supporters from the Local!* Their stupidity is compounded by urging a policy of going out on adventurist, ill-conceived "wildcats." In the past this has only served to get the best militants in the union fired.

The MAC, on the other hand, has put forward a program that speaks to the real objective needs of the telephone workers an end to the company's reform-school-like work rules; a national strike for a full cost-of-living allowance and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay; for workers control; for expropriation of the phone company with no compensation; for an independent workers party to struggle for a workers government.

Local 9415 members who are determined to fight the company instead of joining Kirkpatrick and Whitehouse on their knees will show their support for Jane Margolis by voting for her in the upcoming union election. The transformation of the CWA into a fighting union can only become a reality through mobilizing the union membership. Repudiation of the cowardly policies of the Kirkpatricks and Whitehouses and the election of MAC candidate Jane Margolis can be an important step forward for all phone workers! ■

Philip Allen Frame-Up: The Facts Speak for Themselves

Age: 20 years.
Height: 5 feet, 3 inches.
Weight: 135 pounds.
Occupation: Student at Los Angeles City College (LACC), carpenter.

* * * * *

- **1 January 1975**—After New Year's Eve party at Whiskey-A-Go-Go in Los Angeles, Philip Allen joins curious crowd in front of broken store window. Police arrive. A fight ensues.
  - —Allen is confronted by four deputy sheriffs and beaten to the ground. During the fight one deputy sheriff killed, two wounded.
  - —Allen arrested, jailed and later informed he is charged with murder.
- **5 March 1975**—Allen released on bail of $25,000 after 67 days in county jail.
- **1 July 1975**—Trial begins. Sole accuser is Deputy Sheriff Grimes. Says he knew "by instinct" his service revolver was missing.
  - —A lie detector test which Philip Allen took showing him to be innocent was not allowed into evidence at trial by the judge.
  - —No paraffin tests were performed on Allen, or on any of the deputies. This test would have been positive proof of who fired the gun.
  - —No fingerprints were found on the gun, although Grimes stated himself that he held the gun.
  - —Grimes admits to pulling trigger twice on revolver pointed at Allen's head while Allen was on the ground. Gun was empty.
  - —Prosecution claims Allen's motive derives from courses in Black Studies at LACC.
- **19 August 1975**—Allen found guilty of "voluntary manslaughter" and two counts of "assault with a deadly weapon on a peace officer."
- **1 October 1975**—Allen speaks at a rally to protest his frame-up and conviction.
- **2 October 1975, a.m.**—Allen sentenced on one assault count: five years to life. Granted bail of $25,000 pending appeal. Judge "positive" that Allen is good bail risk.
- **2 October 1975, p.m.**—Bail revoked in judge's chambers. Judge says he has been informed Allen has been speaking publicly proclaiming his innocence and "agitating."
- **7 October 1975**—Formal motion to grant bail denied by the judge.

* * * * *

Support Philip Allen! Protest this frame-up and denial of democratic rights! Philip Allen's life is in danger—He must be freed now!

The Partisan Defense Committee urges readers of *WV* to send messages of support and greatly needed contributions to the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005.

Stop the Sellout in Canadian P.O. Strike

Break Trudeau's Wage Controls!

TORONTO, October 25—Last Friday, Canadian Labor Congress (CLC) president Joe Morris announced that the 2-million-strong federation had no intention of mobilizing its ranks to defy the federal government's new wage control "guidelines." Morris' announcement came as leaders of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) prepared to scuttle their four-day-old national postal strike—a strike with the potential to spark militant action by the entire labor movement against prime minister Pierre Trudeau's anti-union attack. As we go to press, CUPW officials are preparing to resume negotiations with the government, and most outstanding issues appear to be "settled." "We're not really very far apart," said a union spokesman in Ottawa Wednesday.

CUPW leaders have "unofficially" announced that they would agree to a government wage offer, which they had denounced as unacceptable only days before. This offer based on the terms of Judge Jean Moisan's conciliation report, is identical to the sellout settlement reached with outside postal workers in the Letter Carriers Union of Canada (LCUC) last June—a 38 percent pay raise over a 30-month contract. Because of an escape clause providing for wage parity in the case of closely related groups of workers (such as CUPW and LCUC members), a settlement under the totally inadequate terms of the Moisan report would fall within the guidelines of the wage-control legislation. Thus bringing CUPW to heel would represent the first major victory for the government in its battle to implement the controls.

A Sellout in the Works

A settlement under Moisan's terms would also mean a grave defeat for the ranks of a historically militant union. Inside postal workers in CUPW face speed-up, job dislocation, increased surveillance and eventual layoffs under a new automation scheme (known as MAPP) which the government is introducing to "rationalize" postal operation. Under rank-and-file pressure, union officials had made the right to negotiate over technological change (denied to postal workers under the terms of the reactionary Public Service Staff Relations Act) a key element in their original contract demands.

CUPW negotiators now express satisfaction with Moisan's "solution" to the MAPP question—which provides for binding arbitration of disputed issues. Thus postal workers are guaranteed that technological change in the post office will not be to their benefit, but will instead lead to worsening job conditions and a cut in the workforce.

National CUPW president Joe Davidson and his fellow bureaucrats have been setting the stage for a sellout for some time. The union leaders' original contract demands—including a 71 percent wage increase with full cost-of-living escalator, a one-year contract and a shorter workweek with no loss in pay—gave them a "radical" veneer sharply at variance with their demonstrated inability to defend the membership's interests. As far back as last May, Toronto local president Lou Murphy warned that the union leadership had no real intention of fighting for its demands, shrugging off the "30-for-40" demand in particular as "negotiable... we don't expect it" (*Globe and Mail* [Toronto], 16 May).

A year ago the CUPW tops disaffiliated from their joint bargaining unit with the LCUC rather than take steps to realize the democratic merger of the two unions which is so necessary. They then launched an abortive raiding campaign on LCUC drivers and carriers, seeking to force a "merger" on their own bureaucratic terms by swallowing the other union whole.

Last spring, when management fired 47 militants in Montreal and suspended hundreds more for protesting the use of scab "casual" labor, the CUPW national executive refused to call a national strike in their defense, promising instead to raise the question of rehiring the militants during contract negotiations. Now the issue has been shunted off to the grievance procedure, and even Davidson admits that the union has little chance of winning the case.

UPI

UPI

Top: Jean Claude Parrot (left), chief negotiator for the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, along with CUPW national president Joe Davidson last week. Bottom: Striking Canadian postal workers in Montreal.

For a National Strike of All Postal Workers!

Not content to give management the green light for job-cutting automation schemes, junk the officially adopted wage demands, sabotage postal workers' unity and abandon victimized militants, the CUPW tops have now worked out a "deal" with LCUC leaders to *force outside postal workers to cross CUPW picket lines* during the strike! What is needed instead is a national strike of all postal workers, which would also reopen the LCUC contract to provide job protection against MAPP and lay the basis for a democratic merger of the two unions under one contract. In addition to winning the CUPW demands this could provide the necessary impetus for a massive counteroffensive against the anti-labor wage controls.

The CLC's recipe for "fighting" the government's austerity program is quite different: pressure Trudeau through the reformist New Democratic Party and negotiate a "fairer" system of restraints with government and management representatives on the tripartite Labor Relations Council. But only a militant mobilization of labor and defiant strike action, not class collaboration, can provide a real strategy for successfully smashing the "guidelines."

By calling for labor solidarity in defense of their strike and against the wage controls, CUPW could have spearheaded the fight. However, the union leadership, through both its past actions and the impending sellout, has sought to prevent the necessary labor counteroffensive from materializing.

Davidson and Murphy cannot lead such a struggle precisely because their perspectives are limited to pro-capitalist business unionism. Nor can the various ostensible oppositions in the postal unions—from "militant" Montreal local president Marcel Perrault, to the economist Postal Action Committee (PAC) in Toronto (led by the Stalinist Canadian Party of Labor, analogue to the U.S. Progressive Labor Party), to supporters of the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG)—all of whom fail to raise the necessary class-struggle program. Their lack of a consistent program for struggle against capitalism has led all of these would-be militants to commit betrayals which are qualitatively no different from those of Davidson & Co.

Thus Perrault refused to call for official strike action to defend the victimized workers in his local in May, or to support the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC) postal mechanics strike two months earlier. Today he sits on the union negotiating team, reportedly wielding great influence, while the membership's demands are being thrown away. As for the Postal Action Committee, some of its leading members went so far as to cross picket lines and scab on the PSAC strikers. During the current CUPW strike PAC has raised no demands beyond those of the union leadership. The RMG supporters' reformist trade-union strategy led them to bloc with the bureaucrats by voting to end a national wildcat in April 1974 at a point when the strike was still solid and the only "concession" from management was agreement to arbitrate the dispute. Today they flounder aimlessly in search of some elusive "new mass vanguard" to give them leadership.

No confidence can be given to such fakers. Militant postal workers must fight within their unions to replace the sellout bureaucracy with a class-struggle leadership which can show the way forward for the entire working class against capitalist attacks. Caucuses must be formed which go beyond simple trade unionism, putting forward a full political program to expropriate the capitalists and put the working class in power. ■

Bulletin der Bolschewiki-Leninisten

herausgegeben von den Österreichischen Bolschewiki-Leninisten

5 NUMMERN — 4,-- DM
30,-- öS

zu beziehen über:
ÖBL, Postfach 39
1033 Wien, Österreich

SPARTACIST Canada

JUST OUT!

Issue No. 1—Special Double Issue
20c

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist/Canada Publishing Association
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Puerto Rican Maoists Stabbed in the Back by China's UN Vote

Last year Chinese premier Chou En-lai coined a new epigram. "Countries want independence, nations want liberation and people want revolution," he said, and Maoists throughout the world immediately took up this inanity. But anyone naive enough to believe that such a statement has any relevance to the actual policies of the Peking bureaucracy was in for a rude awakening on August 20. On that day China abstained in the United Nations Decolonization Committee on a resolution calling on the U.S. to refrain from any measure that would hinder "the right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination" (see "China Withholds Support for Puerto Rican Independence," *Young Spartacus* No. 37, November 1975, for more details).

Naturally, Mao's Puerto Rican apologists were quick to make excuses for this stab in the back, the product of U.S.-Chinese "détente" and Chou's policy that "Soviet social-imperialism" is the "number one enemy" (the resolution was introduced by Cuba and backed by the Soviet bloc). But this Chinese action will certainly raise questions in many minds concerning the revolutionary credentials of those who back a government that *abstains* on Puerto Rico's right to independence.

Maoists Squeeze Left

There has never been a strong ostensibly socialist movement in Puerto Rico. The Socialist Party enjoyed a brief period of popularity in the 1930's but soon lost all credibility after entering the colonial government and actively helping to break the militant 1934 sugar workers strike. The Puerto Rican Communist Party first capitalized on the SP's demise, then lost its working-class support after uncritically supporting the bourgeois autonomist (i.e., anti-independence) Popular Party of Muñoz Marin in 1938 and subsequently liquidating itself into the Populares in 1943 when Stalin scuttled the Comintern.

From the 1940's to the 1960's the Puerto Rican left was dominated by bourgeois nationalist organizations. After the virtual disappearance of the Nationalist Party following the 1950 Jayuya uprising, the largest groups were the Pro-Independence Movement (MPI) and the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), both of which had their strongest support in the university. However, after a decade of largely fruitless student agitation and a brief flirtation with guerrillaism, the MPI in 1968 began a process of transformation into the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), a party which combines Menshevik theories of "two-stage revolution" with virulent nationalism. It calls for an "independentista united front" in the elections, which binds the workers to the class enemy (in the form of the bourgeois PIP).

The PSP enjoyed rapid growth since 1969, now having a daily newspaper and several thousand supporters both on the island and within the Puerto Rican community on the mainland. By virtually sewing up the slot of reformist misleader of the working class, the PSP has effectively forced its opponents on the Puerto Rican left to adopt a stance of apparent opposition to its grossly class-collaborationist policies. For the several Maoist groups this has meant rejection of the "two-stage revolution" schema and the nationalist "divided nation" theory. But this has been done on a purely empirical basis leading to total confusion rather than a revolutionary Marxist program.

Thus Resistencia Puertorriqueña (Puerto Rican Resistance, a New York-centered group sympathetic to the Communist Labor Party) rejects the perspective of capitalist independence for Puerto Rico, denouncing "the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie that desperately tries...to drag the Puerto Rican working class on its tail and to make the Puerto Rican national minority in the U.S. into a mere appendix of the reformist struggle for the banana republic of Puerto Rico" ("Analysis of the Political Declaration of the PSP in the USA," October 1973). Another group, El Comité, which also goes by the name of Movimiento de Izquierda Nacional Puertorriqueño (Movement of the Puerto Rican National Left), adds specific arguments:

> "...the non-existence of a significant peasantry; the objective alliance of the local ruling class to U.S. Imperialism as its very existence, its very dependence on the continued imperialist domination of Puerto Rico and the existence of a petty bourgeoisie whose interests become closely bound to U.S. capitalists' interests. These aspects of Puerto Rican society coupled with the existence of a numerically large working class determine that strategically the struggle for Puerto Rican independence is fundamentally and predominantly a struggle for socialism."
>
> —*Obreros en Marcha*, 24 July 1975

WV Photo

Demonstrators in Washington, D.C., October 1973, demand freedom for Puerto Rican political prisoners.

The Spectre of Trotskyism

While leftist posturing toward the PSP is to be expected, the danger in arguing for proletarian revolution in a colonial country is clear to every Stalinist: behind the perspective of socialist revolution lies the spectre of Trotskyism. Such charges are already being thrown around the Maoist milieu. At a debate last July the Movimiento Socialista Puertorriqueño (MSP—Puerto Rican Socialist Movement), a group based on the island and uncritically supported by El Comité, was accused of "assuming a 'Trotskyist' position in opposition to the 'two-stage revolution'." The MSP reportedly answered by denouncing "mechanical applications of other revolutionary experiences" (*ibid.*).

The "other" experiences alluded to, of course, are Mao's "theories" of "New Democracy" and a "bloc of four classes." In contrast to the Mao/Stalin call for a "first stage" of "democratic" bourgeois revolution, the Trotskyist theory of permanent revolution holds that during the epoch of imperialist decay the weak bourgeoisies of the backward capitalist countries are inextricably tied to domestic reactionaries and the imperialist powers. Fearful of mobilizing the exploited masses, the native capitalists are incapable of carrying out even the most basic tasks of the bourgeois revolution, such as national independence. It is up to the proletariat, by establishing its own class rule with the support of the oppressed urban and peasant masses, to fulfill these democratic tasks. And with the workers in power there can be no "Chinese Wall," no barrier between a first and second stage, as the revolution must quickly pass on to socialist measures in an uninterrupted process.

Rather than coming to grips with Trotskyism, the Puerto Rican Maoists seek refuge in a vulgar empiricism which denies the validity of the historical lessons of the world communist movement. The MSP restricts itself to talk of "concrete analysis of concrete conditions." Resistencia Puertorriqueña and El Comité go slightly further, speaking of special conditions in an "industrial colony." The Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Movement (PRRWO) talks of a "capitalist colony," but quickly adds that there "may or may not" be a "one-stage revolution, depending on certain concrete conditions." Having had somewhat more experience in Mao-Thought than the other groups, the PRRWO is careful to state that "a certain degree of capitalist development" was correct in China, and that the Mao/Stalin/Menshevik program of "two-stage revolution" is valid for "normal" colonies ("In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism: The Struggle for Proletarian Revolution Moves Ahead," November 1974).

Formula for Betrayal

The history of the workers movement is unfortunately filled with bloody defeats resulting from class-collaborationist alliances with "progressive" capitalists that lie at the heart of the reformist "two-stage" hoax. The Shanghai massacre of 1927 was the direct result of Stalin's political bloc with "anti-imperialist" General Chiang Kai-shek. The Great Organizer of Defeats allowed Franco to drown the Spanish workers in blood rather than upset his "democratic" imperialist "allies" by permitting a revolutionary assault on capitalist rule. In 1965 a similar deadly blow was administered to the Indonesian workers and peasants with the massacre of half a million leftist militants. Resistencia Puertorriqueña chalks this defeat up to the "strategic line of Moscow," completely ignoring the responsibility of Mao & Co. in encouraging the Indonesian Communist Party to restrain the revolutionary movement and support the bourgeois nationalist Sukarno.

From last October's Madison Square Garden extravaganza organized by the PSP on the liberal theme of a "Bicentennial Without Colonies" to this fall's Havana Conference of Solidarity with the Independence of Puerto Rico, the Maoists have vigorously denounced "Soviet social-imperialism" and the Russians' sacrifice of national liberation struggles on the altar of "peaceful coexistence" with U.S. imperialism. They are fond of citing Chile as a case where the pro-Moscow CP's reformism led to a bloody debacle. Yet they are silent about China's role. How could they justify the refusal by the Chinese embassy in Santiago to accept a single political refugee? (In fact, the head of the Chilean Maoists was able to reach Peking following the 1973 rightist coup only by way of the USSR!) And what excuse do the Maoists give for the fact that China was among the first to accord diplomatic recognition and negotiate trade agreements with the butcher Pinochet?

The treacherous implications of Maoist/Stalinist strategy can be clearly seen right next door to Puerto Rico, in the Dominican Republic. The Movimiento Popular Dominicano (MPD—Dominican People's Movement), the largest pro-Peking organization in Latin America, in 1972 signed the Agreement of Santiago with not only the bourgeois-nationalist PRD of Juan Bosch (the Dominican equivalent of Muñoz Marin's Populares) but also with the executioner of the 1965 Santo Domingo uprising, General Wessin y Wessin! Naturally the Agreement provided for the maintenance of the capitalist army and failed to expropriate the agrarian bourgeoisie.

Puerto Ricans in the U.S.

The Maoists have rejected the PSP's theory of the "divided nation," which holds that Puerto Ricans in the U.S. are part of a spiritual nation united by Eastern Airlines' "air bridge" between New York City and San Juan. Although erroneously viewing Puerto Ricans in the U.S. as a "nationality" or "national minority" (they are immigrants), the Maoists have correctly concluded that "the majority of Puerto Rican people in the U.S. are objectively an integral part of the proletariat in this country" (El Comité, "The Process of Puerto Rican Migration and the U.S. Working Class," January 1975).

Yet Puerto Rican Maoists in the U.S. remain trapped in a nationalist framework, to which Maoism provides no alternative. Their independent organizational existence flowed from earlier "Third World" poly-vanguardist politics, when they accepted "divided nation" theories and the rest of the nationalist baggage. With a turn toward workerist Maoism and away from the glorification of ghetto rebellions, the rationale for a separate political grouping of Puerto Ricans disappeared. The barrios of the South Bronx and East Harlem are no longer the limits of their world.

For the last several years, the PRRWO, El Comité and Resistencia Puertorriqueña have flailed around unable to find an organizational anchor in the splintered U.S. Maoist milieu. The PRRWO, together with the Black Workers Congress, careened from the Revolutionary Union to the October League to the Communist League and is now drifting aimlessly in the hazy mists of Mao-Thought, searching for a "multi-national vanguard party." While the former

Independence for Puerto Rico!

Young Lords Party now denounces the reformism of the RU and OL, and the "Trotskyism" of the CL, it is evident from the polemics that bureaucratic appetites (namely fear of being swallowed up in a national organization) have been a major reason for its inability to find a home.

But the problem goes far beyond organization. Both the national Maoist organizations and those based in the Puerto Rican ghettos of New York City are unclear on the relation of Puerto Ricans to a U.S.-wide party for the same reasons they have wandered all over the map on the black question (a "Negro nation" in the South, black nation "of a new type," "self-determination for the Black Belt," etc.): there is no Maoist strategy for the advanced capitalist countries, nor does the Peking bureaucracy give any concrete political direction to its acolytes outside China.

Neither is there a Maoist International, as this would only hinder Chinese foreign policy maneuvers. Puerto Rican Maoists are reduced to placing their faith in an elusive "proletarian style that joins communists around the world" ("In the U.S. Pregnant with Revisionism..."). For Stalinism and its Maoist variant, the doctrine of "socialism in one country" is the reflection of a nationally insular bureaucratic ruling caste seeking to protect its privileges by working out a deal with imperialism. For them world revolution is a threat, and an International thus unnecessary.

The Trotskyist movement is armed with a Marxist program uniting the struggle of proletarian revolutionaries in the semi-colonial countries, the advanced capitalist states and the deformed workers states. Rather than resorting to limp "Puerto Rican exceptionalist" arguments, the theory of permanent revolution explains why no significant section of the colonial bourgeoisie is willing to fight for independence from imperialism, a fact which is just as true in Indonesia or the Dominican Republic as in Puerto Rico. And despite the destruction of the Fourth International by the advocates of Pablo-ist revisionism—those renegades who abandoned the struggle for an independent Trotskyist party in order to tail after the pro-Moscow Stalinists, Maoists and Guevarists—authentic Trotskyists continue to struggle today for the rebirth of the world party of socialist revolution.

—Immediate Independence for Puerto Rico!

—For a Puerto Rican Workers Republic in a Soviet Federation of the Caribbean! ■

PDC Telegram

29 October 1975

Committee for the Freedom of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners
Box 164, 161 East Houston St.
New York, New York 10002

The Partisan Defense Committee solidarizes with the demand for unconditional release of the five Puerto Rican Nationalist prisoners. Their imprisonment is an outrage against all who struggle in the interest of the oppressed! Free Collazo, Lebrón, Cordero, Flores and Miranda!

Partisan Defense Committee

FALN Bombs Symbols of Colonial Rule

NEW YORK, October 27—In what seems destined to become an annual event, a chain of bombings early this morning hit four New York City banks, the U.S. mission to the United Nations, three Chicago office buildings and the State Department in Washington D.C. No injuries have been reported. As in the bombing of five New York banks a year ago yesterday, credit was claimed by the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN) of Puerto Rico. An FALN message discovered in a New York phone booth said the "simultaneously coordinated attack against Yanki government and monopoly capitalist institutions" marked the first anniversary of the organization and commemorated the Puerto Rican nationalist uprising of 1950. The communiqué demanded the immediate independence of Puerto Rico and the freeing of Puerto Rican political prisoners, including the five nationalists imprisoned in the early 1950's for attacks on Blair House and Congress.

The bourgeoisie's response to the bombings is completely predictable. They will scream about "radicals and terrorism" while at the same time stepping up repressive police measures. But the ineffectual bombings of the FALN cannot be measured on the same scale as the terrorism of the bourgeoisie against the working masses. The capitalist statesmen who now profess pious indignation are servants of the ruling class which has for decades sucked the blood of the Puerto Rican people. These are the statesmen who advise, applaud and bankroll the torturers and jailers of the Chilean working masses. These are the gentlemen who have murdered millions in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos.

The Spartacist League stands opposed to the strategy of terrorism carried out by the FALN—not out of some moral abhorrence of "violence" but because the historical experience of the working-class movement shows the futility of such individualistic terrorist acts.

We unambiguously side with the outrage of the oppressed against the oppressors. We uncompromisingly support Puerto Rican independence and liberty for the nationalist prisoners. In this context we defend the FALN against the bourgeois state.

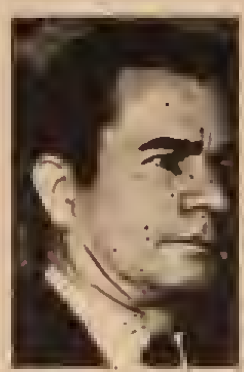
But we also know that the terrorism of the FALN is a dead end, a pointless detour from the fight to free the working masses of Puerto Rico from imperialist bondage. The minor damage inflicted by the FALN this year and last does no real harm to U.S. imperialism; its resources are not drained by replacing some plaster and a few window panes. The power of the bourgeoisie derives from its ownership of the means of production, backed up by its army and police. Blowing up a few buildings or assassinating this or that official enrages the bourgeoisie but does not even momentarily weaken the grip of the colonialist fist.

While we understand the legitimate rage of those who daily feel the boot of U.S. imperialism upon their necks, we cannot defend the FALN in those instances when frustration leads it to acts of indiscriminate terrorism such as last year's bombing of the Fraunces Tavern in Manhattan.

That bombing was utterly despicable and indefensible. The bomb was knowingly placed so as to kill and maim as many people as possible who happened to be passing by the restaurant at lunch hour. Among the four killed and 44 wounded were many working people who were in the area because they worked there. The revolutionary vanguard must distinguish such truly criminal acts from misguided attempts to attack the real oppressors of the Puerto Rican people and symbols of their authority such as banks, government offices, etc.

The powerless acts of isolated terrorists, of no consequence to capitalist rule, can only boomerang against their initiators and, more generally, against the radical and labor movements. As the FBI entered the case immediately in all three cities bombed today, a crackdown on Puerto Rican communities, and left and nationalist militants in particular, is threatened. This must not be tolerated!

Those who are committed to ending imperialist rule in Puerto Rico must not permit themselves to be sidetracked into the dead end of impotent terrorist acts, which are a diversion from and substitute for organizing the revolutionary vanguard party of the working class. Only the massed power of the conscious working class of Puerto Rico and the U.S., led by Leninist parties, can break the fetters of colonial enslavement through the revolutionary overturn of international capitalism. ■


Irving Flores

Lolita Lebrón

Rafael Cancel Miranda

Andrés Figueroa Cordero

Oscar Collazo

Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners!

Twenty-five years ago this October 30 the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party staged an armed uprising in the town of Jayuya, proclaiming a "Second Republic of Puerto Rico" (the first being the short-lived 1868 "Grito de Lares" revolt against Spanish colonial rule). The 1950 uprising was brutally repressed by U.S. forces. Hated mercenary police held searches at gunpoint, the National Guard fired on homes of independence fighters and entire towns were bombed by Air Force planes. Hundreds on the island were arrested, including Nationalist Party leader Pedro Albizu Campos. The Jayuya revolt was an expression of despair, a heroic gesture, rather than a powerful proletarian uprising.

Shortly afterward, on November 1, two Nationalist Party members who were unable to leave the U.S. in order to take part in the revolt shot their way into Blair House—residence of U.S. president Harry Truman—in an attempt to assassinate the commander-in-chief of American imperialism. Both Nationalists were seriously wounded, Torresola fatally. Collazo received the death penalty. As a result of mass protest Collazo's sentence was later commuted to life in prison. He has already sat in jail longer than any other political prisoner in the U.S.

Later, in 1954, four other Nationalists carried out a gun attack on the U.S. House of Representatives, wounding five congressmen, to dramatize the cause of Puerto Rican independence. Still in jail, they are: Lolita Lebrón at Alderson, West Virginia (with a sentence of 16 years 8 months to 50 years), Rafael Cancel Miranda at the federal penitentiary in Marion, Illinois (25 to 75 years), Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores (25 to 75 years each) at Leavenworth, Kansas, where Collazo is also being held.

Although they were directed at bourgeois politicians responsible for the perpetuation of colonial oppression and capitalist exploitation, the attacks on Congress and Truman did not advance the struggle for Puerto Rican independence. Nevertheless, it is the duty of all socialists and class-conscious workers to defend those who lash out against the bourgeoisie in the interest of the oppressed. We demand: Unconditional independence for Puerto Rico! Immediate freedom for Oscar Collazo, Lolita Lebrón, Rafael Cancel Miranda, Andrés Figueroa Cordero and Irving Flores! ■

Teamster Politics: Trade Unionists and Trotskyists

by Chris Knox

REVIEW: *Teamster Politics* by Farrell Dobbs

Teamster Politics (New York: Monad Press, 1975) is the third in a projected four-book series by Farrell Dobbs on the historic organizing done by Trotskyists in the Teamsters union in the 1930's. The first, *Teamster Rebellion* (1972), told the story of the great strikes in Minneapolis in 1934 which transformed a bitterly anti-union town into a bastion of industrial unionism and class struggle. The Trotskyist leadership of General Drivers Local 574, of which Dobbs was a part, organized local drivers and inside (warehouse) workers in mass numbers for the first time. They successfully faced down vicious union-busting attacks by local employers, murderous cops and the National Guard in three hard-fought strikes. Combined with the Toledo Auto-Lite strike and the San Francisco general strike of the same year, the Minneapolis truck drivers strikes demonstrated the potential for revolutionary leadership of the working class after years of betrayals and failure by the conservative AFL union bureaucracy and ultra-left "Third Period" sectarian Stalinists. These victories paved the way for the subsequent rise of the industrial-union CIO.

The second book, *Teamster Power* (1973), chronicled most of the succeeding seven years of militant union organizing in which the same leadership extended the 1934 victory to other workers and the unemployed. Local 574 (later 544) was forged as a model of democratic, class-struggle unionism, fully independent of employers, the government and the reactionary Teamsters bureaucracy of Dan Tobin. Most noteworthy among the achievements of this period was the campaign to organize over-the-road drivers led by Dobbs, as a result of which the long-haul drivers were incorporated into the previously federalized Teamsters for the first time. Forcing recognition even from Tobin (and retrospectively from James R. Hoffa, who worked under Dobbs in the organizing), this eleven-state campaign achieved the first uniform minimum wage scale, laying the foundation for the powerful Teamsters union of succeeding years.

Going back over the same years covered in the second book, *Teamster Politics* demonstrates that organizing unions and running strikes weren't the only things that occupied Trotskyists and other class-struggle militants in the Teamsters union. The book traces such themes, only lightly covered in earlier volumes, as FBI harassment of militant union organizers and a notorious "fink suit" raid on the union's records. These were only preludes to the 1941 Smith Act assault against the Minneapolis 18 Local 544 and Socialist Workers Party (SWP) leaders who were clapped in jail for opposing the imperialist World War II. *Teamster Politics* devotes four chapters to the brilliant unemployed organizing and 1939 WPA strike led by Local 544; and it covers in detail the in-fighting in the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party, a third-party formation which populists and Stalinists succeeded in tying to the Democratic Party.

Fighting Imperialist War and the Fascists

In almost every chapter, the reader can find striking contrasts between the revolutionary work of the Trotskyists during the 1930's and the miserable reformism of the present-day SWP, which continues to call itself "Trotskyist" only through deliberate misrepresentation. Thus when Roosevelt escalated war preparations sharply in 1938, the SWP responded with a campaign against imperialist war which was at once taken into the unions. The Minneapolis Central Labor Union passed a Trotskyist resolution for "class struggle opposition to all imperialist wars." It affirmed that "the government's preparations for war are a mortal danger to organized labor," and noted that "the purely pacifist, non-working-class opposition to war has already collapsed in Congress" (*Socialist Appeal*, 2 April 1938). In contrast, during the 1960's, the SWP violently opposed a working-class orientation for the antiwar movement, supported pacifist draft resistance and mouthed social-patriotic slogans such as "Bring Our Boys Home" in order to attract liberals in Congress.

When the Silver Shirts, one of the small fascist groups which sprang up in the late 1930's, attempted to establish itself in Minneapolis with mass meetings in 1938, the Trotskyists led in the formation of a mass Local 544 union defense guard which successfully prevented the meetings and quickly drove the Silver Shirt menace out of town. Not for an instant did the Trotskyists even consider raising such treacherous bourgeois-liberal slogans as "democratic rights for fascists," yet the SWP today supports precisely this slogan. Moreover, the SWP also opposes the call raised by the Spartacist League for labor/black defense guards in Boston to defend endangered schoolchildren from racist mobs, calling instead on the federal government to send troops.

Dobbs describes Trotskyist opposition to the Wagner Labor Relations Act and a Minnesota "Slave Labor Law" copy in terms which would make the SWP of today howl:

> "This piece of legerdemain [the Wagner Act] was hailed by trade union bureaucrats throughout the country as 'Labor's Magna Charta' [sic]. Like the authors of the Wagner Act, they hoped it would enable them to steer the workers away from self-reliant action and toward dependence on the capitalist government."

Today the SWP bows low in reverence before the AFL-CIO bureaucrats such as Cesar Chavez, and utters not a peep of protest at measures such as the Agricultural Labor Relations Act, a modern "Slave Labor Law" recently foisted on California farm workers by Chavez.

Adaptation to Rooseveltians in the Unions?

As the record of a participant in a unique chapter in U.S. labor history and in an outstanding example of revolutionary trade-union work, Dobbs' series is of the greatest interest not merely to historians but chiefly to revolutionists, who seek to profit from the Minneapolis example in order to advance the struggle for socialism. But for Trotskyists, a vital aspect of the history should be critical reassessment in the light of the continual need to sharpen the revolutionary program and its application. This aspect is completely missing from Dobbs' accounts. The history is presented simply as a record of the past, with no attempt to draw lessons for the present.

Specifically, Dobbs makes no mention of criticisms of the SWP's adaptation to pro-Rooseveltian progressives in the trade unions during the late 1930's. These criticisms were raised by Trotsky in discussions with Dobbs, James P. Cannon and others in 1940. Trotsky sought to convince the SWP leaders of the need to give critical support to the Communist Party in the approaching presidential elections in order to reach the CP's worker ranks, who had just been ordered (following the Hitler-Stalin pact) into a 180-degree turn away from support for Roosevelt and toward opposition to imperialist war. Meeting stiff resistance to this maneuver (which was never carried out), Trotsky saw as the reason the bloc with anti-Stalinist progressives, "not only fakers but honest rank and file," which the SWP had established in the unions, as in Minneapolis.

> "Yes they are honest and progressive but from time to time they vote for Roosevelt—once in four years. This is decisive. You propose a trade union policy, not a Bolshevik policy.... You are afraid to become compromised in the eyes of the Rooseveltian trade unionists."
>
> Trotsky, *Writings, 1939-40*

Trotsky singled out the *Northwest Organizer*, the Teamster paper edited by Dobbs, as "a photograph of our adaptation to the Rooseveltians." The *Northwest Organizer* was founded in 1935 by Dobbs to aid the over-the-road organizing campaign, and it thus figures prominently in both *Teamster Power* and *Teamster Politics*. Trotsky was particularly concerned that the *Northwest Organizer* had failed to conduct a campaign for an independent candidate to oppose Roosevelt in the elections.

The bloc with progressive trade-union leaders willing to follow the Trotskyists' lead in union organizing was vital to the success of the revolutionary movement's work in the unions in the 1930's. But it was not this to which Trotsky objected. The deformation was that—as can be seen in the pages of the *Northwest Organizer*—this bloc was allowed to interfere with the struggle for a revolutionary program in the unions. On class-struggle trade unionism the *Organizer* was excellent, but on political subjects, it tended to represent two views: one revolutionary, and one reformist. The program of the Trotskyists for workers power mingled with the reformism of the Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party (F-LP) in part because of the Trotskyists' own tactical confusion on the handling of this middle-class, third-party hangover from the LaFollette movement of 1924.

The Farmer-Labor Party

The nature of the F-LP as a "two-class party," attempting the hopeless task of reconciling the interests of two classes in one party and program, was recognized by the Trotskyists, as Dobbs points out in *Teamster Politics*. The Declaration of Principles of the Workers Party (1935) stated that, "any party which purports to represent two or more classes on an equal footing, or to direct an appeal 'to all classes,' is essentially a middle class party doomed to irresolution and surrender to the big capitalists...." In 1929, in a *Platform of the Communist Opposition*, issued just after their bureaucratic expulsion from the Stalinist Communist Party, the Trotskyists had been even more emphatic:

> "The organization of two classes in one party, a Farmer-Labor Party, must be rejected in principle in favor of the separate organization of the workers, and the formation of a political alliance with the poor farmers under the leadership of the former. The opportunist errors of the [Communist] Party comrades in the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota and other states [in 1924] flowed inevitably from and were secondary to the basically false policy of a two-class party, in which the farmer and worker are ostensibly on an 'equal basis,' but where in reality, the petty-bourgeois ideology of the former actually dominates."
>
> —*Militant*, 15 February 1929

The Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota had already completed its "surrender to the big capitalists" before the 1934 strike when Floyd B. Olson, its key leader and the governor who sent the National Guard against the strike, placed it firmly in the camp of Roosevelt. However, the Minneapolis AFL unions which came to follow the lead of Local 544 on trade-union matters were the main trade-union base of the F-LP. This reflected considerable illusions in the F-LP and in Olson among the rank-and-file workers.

The Minneapolis Trotskyists "solved" this problem by treating the middle-class F-LP as though it were a reformist workers party, doing prolonged entry work and giving critical support to its candidates in the elections. The thrust of

Monad

Local 544 Union Defense stopped meetings of the Silver Shirts in late 1930's and drove the fascists out of Minneapolis.

their slogans was to make the F-LP truly independent of capitalist politics, and to put it firmly on the organizational base of the unions and not the ward clubs. The latter were represented way out of proportion to the size of their membership and were the chief vehicle for Stalinist penetration of the F-LP.

But the F-LP was not a reformist workers party; it was a party in which the mass organizations of the workers were subordinated to petty-bourgeois and bourgeois class interests. Its commitment to Roosevelt suppressed the class contradictions within the F-LP still further, since the New Deal was a bourgeois program in no way representing the interests of workers. The revolutionists' central task was to break labor from the New Deal Democrats who posed as champions of the plebian masses. The two central demands of the Trotskyist—break with Roosevelt, base the F-LP organizationally on the unions—should have been made the *preconditions* to any electoral support to the F-LP.

Split the Two-Class Party!

Backward workers not yet willing to break with the F-LP and support socialist candidates could still have been approached in the course of the struggle for revolutionary politics through the unions, since the unions formed the potential basis for a real workers party movement. To the extent that they thought that the Farmer-Labor Party *ought* to be held strictly accountable to the labor movement, the masses of union members in Minneapolis, while still far from revolutionary politics, formed the basis for splitting the Farmer-Labor movement along class lines programmatically and organizationally, thus establishing the possibility for real independent working-class political action.

The Trotskyists succeeded in mobilizing enough mass union support to begin this necessary splitting process. In 1938 a district F-LP convention defeated the reformist-Stalinist clique and passed a militant resolution against imperialist war, and in the same year the trade unions chose the Minneapolis mayoral candidate by mobilizing to defeat the Stalinists. The SWP correctly withdrew its own candidate in order to give critical support.

The *Northwest Organizer* reflected adaptation to progressive trade unionists primarily through its attitude to the F-LP. Although it reported the efforts of Trotskyists and the trade-union caucus to make the F-LP independent, base it on the unions and steer it in the direction of a national labor party, the paper also avoided angering F-LPers by muting its criticism of F-LP candidates during elections. Sometimes criticism was nonexistent, and rarely did the paper attack the subordination of the F-LP to Roosevelt. On the death of Olson in 1936, it carried a completely uncritical eulogy, in which Olson's ideas of reforming capitalism "peacefully and legally" were implicitly supported. Subsequently, the paper featured a motto, "Keep faith with Floyd"! In 1940 it failed to mention, even in the form of letters to the editor, the desirability of a trade-union candidate to oppose Roosevelt.

Despite their errors, the Trotskyists set a record in Minneapolis of which revolutionists can be proud, and which is certainly not besmirched by the galloping degeneration of the SWP into reformism during the mid-1960's. Class struggle union militants and revolutionists of today should study Dobbs' books for the positive examples they contain, viewing the record with a critical eye. Trotsky indicated the corrective in 1940: "Our real role is that of third competitor," distinct from both Stalinists and "progressives." While prepared to undertake principled blocs and united fronts for common action, the Spartacist League supports the formation of caucuses struggling openly for the Transitional Program within the unions. There must be no confusion of the revolutionary program with the reformism of simple trade unionism. ■

Pass the New York ERA!

This November 4, voters in New York State and New Jersey will vote on whether to add to their state constitutions an Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) which asserts that women are entitled to "equality of rights under the law." The bills are expected to pass in both states. Proponents of the ERA view these state votes as significant mainly in keeping up the momentum of their drive to ratify the federal ERA. The National Organization of Women is reportedly calling for a "women's strike" on October 29 to publicize the New York State and New Jersey votes.

The federal Equal Rights Amendment, whose wording is virtually identical, requires a "yes" vote in 38 states before the March 1979 deadline to ratify the 1972 Congressional vote and thereby establish the ERA as the 27th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. New York and New Jersey have already voted in support of the federal measure, but the ERA is still four states shy. Opinion polls indicate that a majority of the U.S. population favors the bill. But the foam-flecked anti-ERA campaign spearheaded by reactionary ideologues is having an effect; Nebraska and Tennessee rescinded their ratification votes.

That the amendment—one simple sentence affirming equality of the sexes under law—is so passionately contested is a measure of an increasingly hard-line polarization on social issues such as race and sex. "Operation Wake-up," one of the myriad anti-women's liberation groups springing up, claims 100,000 members according to the *New York Times* of 18 September. In their rabid opposition to the ERA, the medievalists of the Catholic hierarchy, the "right-to-lifers" and the racist anti-busing mobs have acquired an uneasy bloc partner: a sizeable section of the left movement including, most prominently, the Communist Party. Nervously seeking to distinguish themselves from groups like Phyllis Schlafly's "Stop the ERA"—which fears the "unisex" amendment will entice "happy housewives" out of their homes—the leftists argue that the ERA jeopardizes existing protective legislation for women workers.

In its simply stated form ("equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the U.S. or by any state on account of sex"), the ERA represents a bourgeois-democratic right. If passed it should overturn at least 200 laws in New York State concerning areas such as employment, credit, taxation and education. Despite the bland assurance of the anti-ERA leftists in presenting the bill as a bourgeois conspiracy against women workers, it is far from clear what effect the ERA would have on existing protective legislation.

It is true that the ERA is an expression of bourgeois liberalism which includes some not-so-liberal bourgeois elements among its backers. The bourgeoisie will always try to "take away with the right hand what it grants with the left," to manipulate in its own interests formally democratic advances. Within the legal framework of the ERA, protective legislation applicable to women only (e.g., maximum hours, weight limits, compulsory overtime, cleanliness of work facilities) could be ruled unconstitutional, with harmful consequences for women workers. But the extension of protective laws to both sexes is equally compatible with the ERA.

Protective legislation is itself a two-edged sword: restrictions on the working conditions permitted for women have historically functioned both to inhibit the bosses' merciless exploitation of one section of the workforce and to exclude women workers from certain high-paying jobs. Numerous state protective laws have already been declared abrogated under Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The fate of protective laws rests ultimately not on judicial interpretation but on the class struggle. If the ERA is passed, employers will certainly seek to use it as a means to intensify the exploitation of working people; it is the responsibility of the labor movement to struggle to extend protective legislation to men. Those who oppose the ERA because of potential employer manipulation have already accepted an anti-struggle perspective which sees as the source of progressive social change the "benevolence" of the liberal bourgeoisie. The ERA is a legalistic, token statement of sexual equality. We certainly do not oppose it. In supporting it, however, we do not credit it with the power to effect any fundamental solution to the oppression of women in capitalist society. Like any bourgeois-democratic reform, the ERA will acquire content only if in the hands of the class-conscious proletariat it is used as a weapon to increase the working masses' unity, consciousness and capacity to struggle for power.

Whereas communists seek to polarize the women's movement along class lines, winning a section of it to the side of the proletariat and its revolutionary vanguard, the reformist Socialist Workers Party supports the ERA in order to stump for the Democratic Party. An SWP-sponsored forum October 18 in New York City featured state senator Carole Bellamy; the SWP remained silent when Bellamy argued that the ERA should be supported because the ability of women to bring more money home would strengthen the family. While refusing to allow supporters of the Spartacist League to distribute an announcement of a forum on the ERA, the SWP publicized an ERA benefit featuring Gloria Steinem, recently exposed by the feminist press as having allegedly been connected with CIA-backed activities.

Propping Up the Family

The ERA is the rightists' rallying point because the question of women's rights strikes at the oppresive family system. Senator Sam Ervin termed the ERA simply "evil."

The family is needed by capitalist society because its deadening, conservatizing environment is a brake on the revolutionary potential of working people. A prison-house for women, keeping them trapped in routine household drudgery, atomized and isolated from the process of production, the family is also an important component of the transmission of bourgeois values to the youth.

In the 1930's the Stalinist bureaucracy of the USSR deliberately rehabilitated the nuclear family, reversing the measures undertaken by the Bolsheviks to liberate women from the confines of the home through creating facilities for the socialization of household functions. The Communist Parties of today are no less zealous in kowtowing to the family system. The American CP argues that protective legislation is crucial "so families will not suffer and child care provisions for family safety and security [are needed] to protect the specific reproductive capacities of women" (*Daily World*, 25 October). In 1974 the Italian CP opposed the legalization of abortion.

The anti-ERA "Committee to Restore Women's Rights" warns that if you let women out of the house, before you know it you've got "homosexuality, abortion, and disrespect for family and religion." Unfortunately, it is not always easy to distinguish the leftists from the outright reactionaries on social questions. Perhaps most extreme on the left, the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly Revolutionary Union) lists its own catalogue of horrors that stem from the breakdown of the family. At bottom, this apparent convergence reflects an opportunist craving to achieve "unity" with the workers on the basis of existing backward consciousness. However, simple puritanism is evidently an additional component of the workerist leftists' social outlook.

According to the CP and the International Socialists, the ERA should be opposed because it is only a token reform which does not guarantee full employment, job training or child care. This fundamentally reformist outlook seeks a solution to sexual oppression through bourgeois law. No reform, including the ERA, can guarantee equality for women. Sexual oppression, essential to capitalist class society, can never be legislated out of existence.

Revolutionists fight to mobilize the tremendous potential power of the organized workers movement to embrace as its own the struggles of all the oppressed against injustice and exploitation. Through this fight must emerge the revolutionary workers vanguard to lead the working people forward to the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the abolition of capitalist social relations. Full equality of all men and women will be achieved only in the course of creating a world socialist society. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana)

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON ..... (713) 921-7253
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Glass Houses...

(continued from page 1)

hitmen have welched on their deal. Like the Mafia, the CIA knows when it is owed a favor, and the U.S. godfathers fully intend to collect.

On the other hand, Moynihan had nothing but unctuous praise for "the decent countries" who voted against the motion. "If you had to pick your company in the world, you wouldn't pick better." This time the old boys' club of the "democracies" included Haiti, home of Papa Doc, Baby Doc and the Tontons Macoutes.

Zionists and Other Murderers

Like all nationalisms, Zionism *is* murderously racist in character. Its ethnic exclusionism contains the seeds of genocide. This is repeatedly demonstrated in Israeli bombing-raid reprisals against entire Arab villages "suspected of harboring guerrillas." But the Zionists have no monopoly on racism or genocidal appetites. While self-righteously debating the question of Zionism, spokesmen for American imperialism, who defend the rape of Indochina, exchange insults with bourgeois Arab representatives, who defend the genocidal slaughter of half a million black Africans in the Sudan or Iraq's savage war against the Kurds.

Idi Amin, self-styled Führer of Uganda, responsible for thousands of murders and the forcible expulsion of 60,000 Asians, earlier this month visited the UN, where he called for "the extinction of Israel as a state." Ford-mouthpiece Moynihan responded indignantly by quoting the *New York Times*' characterization of Amin as a "racist murderer." This is the same Daniel P. Moynihan whose cynical answer to racial oppression in the U.S. is "benign neglect"—cutting federal funds for the already meager social services in the ghetto. The difference between the two-bit tyrant and the academic imperialist is mainly one of style...and resources. Moynihan's superiority exists not in the realm of morality but only in firepower.

Besides screaming betrayal, the American government has responded to the anti-Zionist vote by a not-so-gentle tug on the pursestrings. The U.S. pays about a quarter of the UN's $1.3 billion budget. Last December John Scali, then UN ambassador, reminded delegates from numerous "small nations" that the U.S. was "deeply disturbed" about recent decisions regarding Israel and South Africa. He threatened that the U.S. will "reassess our priorities, review our commitments, and redirect our energies" unless "the United Nations can return to the path of the Charter" (*New York Times*, 7 December 1974). That path, of course, was originally plotted in the interests of the imperialist powers, primarily the United States.

The American ruling class is not about to sit back while the UN pretends to be something other than its creators intended: an instrument of imperialist reaction. And the official bluster and economic blackmail may be having the desired effect: "Reports from Washington that Congress was reacting with displeasure to the United Nations denunciation of Zionism, and might withhold United States funds from the world body appeared to be worrying some third-world delegations and others" (*New York Times*, 23 October).

Their Internationalism and Ours

Thirty years ago, when the United Nations began amid cynical imperialist maneuvers and utopian reformist illusions, it provided the protocol for the post-war imperialist/Stalinist division of the world into "spheres of influence." A podium for the sanctimonious façade masking the cynicism of "great power" politics, the UN is for the bureaucracies of the deformed workers states a vehicle for their shameless quest for a global accord with imperialism at the expense of proletarian revolution. All the while the UN has served the bloody aims of imperialism well—in the Korean War, in the invasion of Lebanon in 1958 and in maintaining Kissinger's "peace" in the Near East today.

While the UN in practice has nothing in common with its mythical status as the vehicle for world peace, it could prove to be a propaganda staging ground for world war. Against this hypocritical den of thieves and murderers—the likes of Moynihan, Pinochet and Amin—masked as bourgeois internationalists, we pose the real internationalism of proletarian revolution. ■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____

83

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)

☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377, GPO/NY, NY 10001

Actualidad Espanola

Generalissimo Francisco Franco with Prince Juan Carlos de Borbón in 1974.

Francoism...

(continued from page 1)

tin on the dictator's condition, foreign correspondents have noted no unusual excitement in the streets. This has led some to write idiocies about the Spaniards' alleged love for monarchy, support for the regime, etc. It is true that the end of Franco's rule will not be met with the general euphoria which marked Lisbon in the first weeks after the April 24 coup. But the outward calm only represents a temporary lull in the waves of political strikes that have swept the country in recent months. If there is a hesitation to initiate the sharp battles which must come, it is because both the bourgeoisie and proletariat have bitter memories of the Civil War and are understandably reluctant to repeat it. There will be no carnations in Madrid.

No Bonapartism without the Bonaparte

The obvious difficulties standing in the way of a smooth transfer of power from Franco to the prince are inherent in the nature of the Spanish regime. Since its inception, Franco's dictatorship was characterized by unwillingness to rest on support from any sector of the popular masses, including the plebeian right. The development of Falangist paramilitary forces was obstructed even during the Civil War, and the fascist movement was purged of its more independent leaders. (The *caudillo* of the Falange, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, died early in the Civil War.)

Franco ordered the fusing of the Falange with its most hated opponent on the right, the monarcho-clerical Carlist party, which both provided a compliant state party and defused the then-growing fascist movement. After the dissolution of a Falangist conspiracy to monopolize power in 1940-41, the real basis of the triumphant regime was made clear to all. As one of Franco's ministers of the interior put it: "In the last analysis, the center of gravity, the true support of the regime (in spite of the appearances which we foolishly forced ourselves to exaggerate) was and would continue to be the Army..." (cited in *Falange: A History of Spanish Fascism*, by Stanley Paine, 1961).

By the 1950's the Falange, whose membership had reached 600,000 in 1939, was virtually lifeless, with old-guard Falangists occupying only about 5 percent of the political posts in Spain. During the 1960's Franco used the right-wing clerical "modernizers" of the Opus Dei order to remove virtually all vestiges of Falange influence at high levels in the government. Today the fascists are concentrated above all in special repressive organs and in the corporatist syndicates. Their instinctive fear of an organized proletariat is heightened by the knowledge that, due to their proximity to the masses, in the event of a revolutionary uprising they would be the first to go.

Franco could concentrate power in his person because he was able to maneuver between the Falangists, monarchists, army, big capital and church. But this concentration was based on the absolute disfranchisement of the entire population, a condition which together with the regime's viciously anti-labor policies guaranteed the absence of a sizable social base of support. Franco's regime was a rightist bonapartist dictatorship, not fascism as is sometimes claimed. And while it managed to stay in power for three and a half decades—due to the treachery of the reformists—such a regime is incapable of harmoniously transforming itself.

Make Way for the Spanish Proletariat!

Because of its firm determination to crush the proletariat at all costs, and also due to the prosperity and relative social peace which followed the initial bloodbath, the Spanish bourgeoisie was loyal to Franco to the end. This has imbued the proletariat with a powerful hatred of the capitalist class as a whole. In terms of organization and class consciousness, Spanish workers are far advanced over the level of their Portuguese brothers and sisters in 1974. Already there are thousands of workers in key plants who have rejected Stalinist and social-democratic class collaboration.

Across Spain there exist today hundreds of workers commissions separate from the corporatist syndicates. These workers commissions have often played a leading role in the mass strikes which have swept the country from the Asturian miners to SEAT auto workers in Barcelona, culminating in repeated effective general strikes in the industrial Basque region. While it would be dangerous to entertain illusions about these organizations—many are dominated by reformist CP, PSOE or left-Catholic bureaucrats—they have organized the most militant sectors of the proletariat.

Even among those who have gone beyond reformism there is no desire to repeat the tragic experience of the Civil War...unless there are conditions for victory. The CP seeks to play on this sentiment by calling for unity of all those opposed to civil war. The Stalinists make a great deal of the moderately liberal Democratic Military Union—comparing it to the far more leftist Portuguese Armed Forces Movement—and even chase after former defense minister Diez Alegria.

As they did forty years ago, the Stalinists would lead the working class into the arms of the butchers. To avoid another massacre the answer is not the philistine chant of "no to civil war"—a favorite of the Chilean CP—but a resolute struggle to prepare the workers for the necessary revolutionary uprising to overthrow Francoism and the entire capitalist state. That the murderer of two generations of proletarian fighters could die in bed is the most damning condemnation of the reformists' criminal betrayals. But condemnation is not enough. ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 2)

precisely what happened June 16 when an attempt was made to reopen the paper under a compromise maintaining Rego as editor while protecting the jobs of the employees. In addition there has been conscious deception on both sides: the Socialist Party attempted to portray *República* as its party paper rather than a bourgeois paper with an SP editor, and the workers commission invented a disingenuous story that the whole affair was a labor dispute caused by the printers' fear of losing their jobs due to declining circulation.

In *WV* No. 73 (18 July) we outlined the main political points of the *República* affair:

> "...the dispute was not a 'labor problem' but a clear case of political censorship, initiated by the CP and enforced by the MFA. The subsequent CP-initiated efforts to stop Rego from publishing a paper at other shops only underlines this obvious point. The suppression or curtailment of bourgeois-democratic rights under capitalism must be opposed. Whether initiated by Stalinist bureaucrats or directly by the government, it is the capitalist state which ultimately will enforce such censorship. Moreover, even if initially directed against conservative forces, censorship laws and other abridgements of democratic rights will ultimately be used above all to suppress the labor and socialist movements."

This remains fundamentally correct, although containing what (on the basis of later information) now appears to be a factual error concerning the exact nature of the Communist Party's role in the events. While the two CP members of the *República* workers commission participated in the move to oust Rego, there were also supporters of the Maoist UDP in the commission. Moreover, a *WV* reporter in Lisbon during August was told by members of both the UDP and the New Left-syndicalist Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) that there had been a split in the CP's cell at *República* some time after the takeover.

The issues of the newspaper published after it was reopened in mid-July indicate that the dominant political views at *República* roughly coincide with those of the so-called "far-left" wing of the MFA, headed by General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. There is the same theme of "non-partyism," and the activities of Carvalho's cheerleaders in the civilian left (the PRP) are given prominent coverage. (The first issue to appear in July carried a photo of a banner from a June 17 demonstration bearing the statement: "*República* workers support the CRTSM." The latter "Revolutionary Councils of Workers, Soldiers and Sailors" are PRP front groups.)

The same line characterizes the "Manifesto of the Workers of *República*" published on 11 June. This document states: "A prostituted press in the service of such parties under the claim of pluralism can only contribute to the dissolution of society, leading to indifference and relaxation." In addition to considering itself the voice of the workers commissions, the newspaper also echoes Maoist themes. Thus the "Editorial Statutes" published in the 1 August *República* define its policies as "a political line of National Independence against the superpowers."

A Misguided Provocation

While it now appears that the Communist Party did not initiate the takeover, it was certainly involved. There is no doubt that the CP took advantage of an opportunity to harass its main opponent in the working class, the SP. The CP-controlled Graphic Arts Union actively supported the *República* workers commission by stopping publication of Rego's *Jornal do Caso Republica* in other shops.

It is also clear that the whole dispute was not a "labor dispute" occasioned by a desire to protect jobs. In fact, an article in the 19 September *Le Monde* reports that the circulation of *República* is lower than ever, with 30,000 printed and far less than that (possibly no more than 5,000) actually sold. Now the workers actually are in danger of losing their jobs for purely economic reasons. The newspaper reportedly asked the government for a loan to cover its substantial losses, but was turned down.

That the purpose of the attempted takeover on May 19 was in fact censorship of the SP editorial views is beyond question. Thus the 11 June "Manifesto" states: "The commandist tops whom we are trying to get rid of have already proven their lack of moral fitness to consistently use the newspaper as an instrument of revolutionary action and analysis." And a representative of the workers commission said in an interview with *Rood*, the Flemish language newspaper of the United Secretariat's Belgian section, that "...the editors under the guidance of the Socialist Rego were following more and more the line of the Socialist Party.... We printing workers did not want *República* to lose its independence and tie itself in this way to one party" (quoted in *Intercontinental Press*, 13 October 1975).

Finally, the *República* workers were clearly well aware that they could only take over the newspaper with the permission of the MFA, that is, of the bourgeois government. In a June 26 letter to the premier, the workers commission stated: "We request that your excellency arrange to order immediate nomination of an administrative committee" to run *República*. And when the paper resumed publication on July 10 it was under the editorship of Col. Pereira de Carvalho, who was appointed by the MFA's Supreme Revolutinnary Council. (The paper reports that the masthead was originally supposed to read "under the direction of the workers," but this was changed when Col. Carvalho was appointed by the regime.) That the state-appointed editor is evidently in agreement with the dominant political line on the workers commission does not change this fact.

Thus it is necessary to repeat our earlier warnings against censorship and control of the press by the bourgeois state, even by the "left" MFA. The *República* workers may have been justly outraged over the increasingly rightist line taken by the SP editors, yet their actions only played into the hands of the bonapartist officers, paving the way for even more drastic attempts at government management of information such as the occupation of the Lisbon radio stations on September 29. As Trotsky noted in his 1938 article, "Freedom of the Press and the Working Class":

> "It is essential to wage a relentless struggle against the reactionary press. But workers cannot let the repressive tool of the bourgeois state substitute for the struggle that they must wage through their own organization and their own press.... The most effective way to combat the bourgeois press is to expand the working-class press."
>
> *Intercontinental Press*, 9 June 1975

Defend República and Rádio Renascença!

The workers' takeover of Rádio Renascença was a serious tactical error in a labor dispute. The attempted takeover at *República* and ouster of the editor was a misguided provocation, and a direct appeal for state control of communications media. Both served as excellent pretexts for the Salazarist church hierarchy and the virulently anti-communist SP leadership to mount a hypocritical campaign around demands for freedom of the press (doubly hypocritical because these same forces are now in the forefront of those demanding that the sixth provisional government purge leftists from the mass media). It would have been far better if workers with a distinctive political viewpoint had sought to put out their own newspaper or set up their own radio station. Then when the MFA sought to repress them—as it undoubtedly would have done—the workers would have had the advantage of mobilizing support to defend their democratic rights under attack.

But while we would have argued against the takeovers in late May, Trotskyists would do so from the point of view of revolutionaries, not as reformists who place bourgeois-democratic freedoms above class issues. The question of freedom of the press cannot be considered abstractly, but only in light of specific conditions. Under a stable bourgeois democracy the Socialist Party and the Catholic Church should indeed have the right to express their opinions (as should the Marxists). But were it a workers soviet, rather than the bourgeois MFA, which proposed to take over rightist newspapers, as opposed to an SP-line press, then we would take a different position. Trotsky upheld the Petrograd Soviet when in February and March of 1917 it ordered the closing of monarchist and ultra-rightist papers. Moreover, in conditions of civil war a workers government would be compelled to restrict or deny freedom of the press to counterrevolutionary forces (possibly including social democrats).

Under a regime of workers democracy, a revolutionary government would both expropriate the press monopolies and make printing facilities (presses, paper, supplies) available to all significant currents of opinion which do not place themselves in the enemy camp against the revolution. Lenin was the author of a press decree in November 1917 that provided for such regulations. He also called for state monopoly of advertisements. Thus Trotskyists are decidedly opposed to the censorship and state monopoly of information media such as are imposed by the Stalinist bureaucracies of the present degenerated and deformed workers states.

While Portugal is not yet in a civil war, the present pre-revolutionary situation raises many considerations beyond the question of democratic freedoms. Thus it is important that the state of mind of the workers involved appears to be subjectively leftist. If what was involved was a simple state takeover using the workers as pawns, or a purely bureaucratic coup by the CP, our tactical approach would be different. In the case of an action growing out of leftist impulses it would be our obligation, while continuing to counsel a wiser course, to stand with the workers against state repression and anti-communist mobilizations. This acquires burning importance as the sixth provisional government moves against leftist-controlled media in its attempts to crack down on the rebellious soldiers and workers.

—Defend *República* and Rádio Renascença!

- Down with the MFA—CP and SP out of the popular front—Unite the workers, soldiers and neighborhood commissions into a national workers assembly! Toward a workers government!

Women & Revolution/Spartacist Forum

Equal Rights for Women: a class-struggle strategy

The E.R.A.:
The communist viewpoint on democratic reform

Speaker:
KAY BLANCHARD
Women and Revolution
Editorial Board,
SL Women's Commission

Affirmative Action:
Seniority vs. preferential layoffs at Fremont G.M.

Special Guest Speaker:
DARLENE FUJINO
Committee for a Militant UAW,
Fremont, CA

Saturday, November 1
at 7:30 p.m.
306A Barnard Hall,
Barnard College, N.Y.C.

For more information, call (212) 925-5665

Sponsored by the Columbia Friends of the Spartacus Youth League

Donation $1.00

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- Milton Friedman and "Chicago Boys" Implicated in Chilean Repression: Protest Barbaric Junta's Collaborators!
- Pat Swinton Acquitted: Abolish All Conspiracy Laws!
- SWP/YSA Pushes "New Civil Rights Movement": Ex-Trotskyists Tail Uncle Toms
- Banker Barons Slam New York City
- Portuguese Workers Must Take Power!

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
$2/11 issues

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State/Zip _____
63

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

For A City-Wide NYC Phone Strike!

OCTOBER 28—New York City Western Electric installers walked off the job this afternoon to protest N.Y. Telephone's bringing in of outside contractors for a major fire-circuit installation job. At present layoffs at Western go back to 8 years in seniority, and more than 100 new jobs have been threatened. CWA Local 1101, the city's major craft local, says it will honor the picket lines, but this is not enough. The picket lines must be defended against scabs, and the jurisdictional dispute turned into a city-wide phone strike against layoffs!

Because of massive fire reconstruction at the Second Avenue central office, Local 1101 has not yet faced the layoffs and short work-weeks which have hit Western and traffic personnel, as well as craft employees across the country. But large-scale work cutbacks are already in the offing.

For years phone strikes, particularly in New York, have been defeated because the unions have ignored each other's picket lines—operators scab against craft, and vice versa; one CWA local against another; CWA against IBEW, and so on. A united telephone strike would have tremendous economic power. Not union raiding, but a fight for jobs for all, through a shorter workweek with no loss in pay, is needed!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Vote No on Anti-Labor S.F. Charter Amendments!

SAN FRANCISCO, October 24—Behind this year's dreary S.F. mayoral campaign is a sinister debate among bourgeois politicos over how best to tame the restive Bay Area labor movement. The traditional alliance between liberal Democrats (in particular, the Alioto family) and the union bureaucracy has proven less and less effective as the ruling class finds it has virtually no crumbs left to throw to the public workers' sector.

The increasing inability of the liberal-labor alliance to maintain "social peace" became evident in March 1974, when a routine dispute over municipal workers' wages nearly exploded into a city-wide general strike. It was averted at the last minute only by the direct intervention of San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto, who threw a few cents more into the deal. But when city workers returned to work they found their raises delayed for a year by a so-called "taxpayers' suit" cooked up by the local Chamber of Commerce.

This year Alioto nearly lost control again when police and firemen struck for higher wages. Marxists do not regard cops as part of the working class and do not support their demands (more pay for strikebreaking, racist harassment such as "Operation Zebra," etc.). The bourgeoisie, however, also did not appreciate the sight of mobs of armed cops roaming San Francisco streets openly defying "law and order." The affair was settled only by Alioto's invocation of an emergency powers provision of the city charter, allowing him to grant the cops' wage demands without approval from the Board of Supervisors. Alioto is well aware that the bourgeoisie must placate its potentially bonapartist hired killers if the police are to be a reliable instrument to bludgeon the workers movement in periods of social crisis.

Over the past two years a clear split has developed between the mayor's office, which prefers to let the labor bureaucrats do the dirty work of disciplining the ranks, and the Board of Supervisors, which more openly advocates union-busting. The supervisors running for mayor have placed a number of anti-labor city charter amendments on the ballot as they vie for the "enraged taxpayers" vote.

The most publicized is Proposition B, which would delete section 8.403 of the city charter. That section pegs the pay rate for municipal trades and crafts workers to the prevailing wage received by similar employees in private industry. Since San Francisco is a union town, section 8.403 has meant relatively high wages for city tradesmen. If Proposition B passes, craft wages would be set by direct negotiation with the Board of Supervisors and thus come under heavy direct attack. Proposition B is the brainchild of notorious anti-labor supervisor John Barbagelata, a leading mayoral candidate, and is fully supported by the rest of the Board and by the Chamber of Commerce.

Cringing before bourgeois "public opinion," the reactionary labor bureaucracy has not sought to mobilize labor action against this onslaught but instead is trying to defeat the Proposition by pandering to the anti-labor vote. Thus another impotent electoral bloc between Democrats and labor bureaucrats has emerged, the "Citizens Opposed to Unnecessary City Strikes." On billboards even the word "unnecessary" has been eliminated, possibly to catch the vote of unwary anti-union elements or perhaps simply to underline the bureaucrats' capitulation. The new "Citizens" coalition includes the usual motley collection of liberal politicians and labor fakers, among them the other leading mayoral contender, Democrat George Moscone, along with Jack Crowley of the Central Labor Council and David Jenkins of the ILWU. Appealing to the basest anti-labor sentiment, the "Citizens" group boasts in one leaflet that "FOR THIRTY YEARS THERE HAS BEEN NO CITY STRIKE OF CRAFTS PEOPLE" (emphasis in original) and warns in another leaflet that "If Proposition B is passed, it will pit labor against business...." To reformists like Crowley and Jenkins, it is unthinkable that unions should be anything but vehicles for their class collaboration.

San Francisco Examiner

Police attack strikers during spring 1974 S.F. strike wave.

No doubt the labor skates consider all this sweet talk to be simply clever electoral maneuvering, but sooner or later it will backfire against the trade unions. The anti-labor reaction whipped up in the campaign is building the political base of politicians who are out to smash the unions, bureaucrats and all.

Other propositions on the ballot reflect in-fighting between Mayor Alioto and the Board of Supervisors. Proposition N would limit the mayor's ability to use "emergency" powers by requiring him to obtain approval from a majority of the supervisors. While it affords no real protection, Proposition N should be supported since "emergency" powers granted to bourgeois officials invariably undermine bourgeois-democratic rights and lay the legal basis for police rule.

Propositions O and R, backed by the Board and the mayor respectively and directed against strikes by cops and firemen, should be opposed only because firemen *are* part of the working class and should have the legal right to strike. For similar reasons Proposition P, directed against cops' and firemen's wages, should also be voted down. The police, it goes without saying, will not be restrained by propositions, but must be resolutely opposed by labor and eventually *smashed* by the power of a revolutionary proletariat and its workers militias. It is necessary as a first step that class-conscious workers demand the expulsion of cops from the union movement.

The split between Alioto and the Board of Supervisors became obvious over the Proposition L campaign in the fall of 1974. Initiated by Diane Feinstein, head of the Board and now a mayoral candidate, the so-called "Feinstein amendment" to the city charter would have locked city workers' pay into a rigid formula based on an average of low-wage non-unionized areas of the state. In response to this threat, the labor bureaucrats put forward a purely legislative strategy, creating the "Citizens United Against Proposition L" with Alioto & Co. Only the Spartacist League called for a break from this class-collaborationist line-up and for labor strikes against the charter amendment. The SL also initiated a general strike contingent at a "Citizens United" rally in October 1974. Although Proposition L was defeated at the polls last year, the 1975 propositions represent another concerted attack on the working class.

Although Alioto is on the way out, the mantle of "friend of labor" seems to have been passed to state senator Moscone, who in the past has received heaps of undeserved praise from ILWU hacks like Jimmy Herman. The Communist Party's *People's World* (18 October), a reliable weathervane of "progressive" politics, goes out of its way to laud mayoral candidate Moscone, who we are told "continues to garner support from his friends in the labor movement, minority communities, and senior citizens—in general among the organized sections of the poor and working population of the city." The Stalinists, while beating the drums for their preferred capitalist candidate, conveniently overlook his sponsorship of a state bill to outlaw police and firemen's strikes. In a display of bipartisan union-busting the Republican mayoral candidate, state senator Milton Marks, backed Moscone's proposal (*Los Angeles Times*, 11 September).

While the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) maintains a formal separation from the Democratic Party by running "independent" electoral slates, the *practice* of these ex-Trotskyists runs neck-deep in class collaboration. For instance, Roland Sheppard, the SWP's candidate for lieutenant governor of California, boasts in one electoral flyer that he is a "delegate to the United Labor Action Committee." The short-lived ULAC originated as a bloc of bureaucrats—including Harry Bridges of the ILWU, George Hardy of the SEIU, Jerry Wurf of AFSCME and others—to channel unrest against the wage freeze into an impotent protest rally at San Francisco Civic Center in April 1973. By pre-arrangement the rally had been officially endorsed by Mayor Alioto, thereby transforming it into a political vehicle for the bureaucrats' pro-Democratic Party politics. Needless to say, the SWP was afraid to alienate the bureaucrats by calling for labor strikes against the wage freeze. Similarly during last year's campaign against Proposition L, the SWP limited

UPI

Striking S.F. cops—Workers' enemies! Cops out of the unions!

itself strictly to the bureaucrats' electoral strategy, deliberately avoiding any call for a general strike. Clearly the SWP yearns to be the waterboys for the labor bureaucracy, saving its "socialist" rhetoric for harmless electioneering.

For the ILWU ranks who have seen their jobs eroded by the treacherous Bridges/Alioto cabal, for women workers in the SEIU who were led by feminist Maxine Jenkins into supporting Diane Feinstein for S.F. supervisor in 1973, for the entire labor movement of San Francisco, the class-collaborationist strategy of supporting bourgeois politicians is a death trap! Class-struggle oppositions are necessary in the unions to dump the treacherous misleaders. Labor must build its own party and fight! ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 84 — 7 November 1975

For A City-Wide General Strike!

NYC Faces Default

Ford, Carey, Banks Plan New Attacks on Workers' Living Standards

From the headline sessions of the *Daily News* to the board meetings of Chase Manhattan, the New York City "establishment" howls with indignation; the city's working masses wait with growing apprehension while their future is debated in Wall Street chambers and Washington corridors. A significant section of the ruling class has recoiled in anger and disbelief at Ford's "let-'em-default" speech. Addressing the National Press Club on October 29, Ford categorically announced he would veto any bills for federal guarantees against default by the city government of New York. He stated he was submitting "to the Congress special legislation providing the federal courts with sufficient authority to preside over an orderly reorganization of New York City's financial affairs" (*New York Times*, 30 October 1975).

The prospect that the center of U.S. finance capital will declare bankruptcy has produced a deepening fear in ruling circles that the ripple effect of default will seriously undermine the securities market and threaten the present fragile and lopsided upswing of a depressed economy. New York's fiscal crisis, only yesterday viewed by the bourgeoisie as simply an opportunity to break the unions, is increasingly seen as a threat to the banks as well. But the outraged "save the city" cries of Ford's bourgeois critics, like Governor Carey, William Proxmire and David Rockefeller, conceal merely a different scheme for continued union-busting and the further emiseration of New York City's beleaguered inhabitants.

Bail-Out "Versus" Bankruptcy

The bail-out bankers and the bankruptcy fundamentalists are now locked in furious rhetorical combat. Ford's speech to the National Press Club was a kind of economic "Southern Strategy." Calling for "hard decisions" and "straight talk," he repeated the litany of free-trade capitalism's old-time religion. New York City ought to be run the way any small business runs in Grand Rapids: get in debt, go bankrupt. "The harder you try, the luckier you get," preaches Ford with characteristic inanity.

No one should be too surprised that Ford, vying for the Republican nomination, should talk like Calvin Coolidge and Herbert Hoover. The game played by the twin parties of capitalism is that the Republicans are the "party of philosophy" while the Democrats are the party of "pragmatic program." For the most part only the talk is different. Ford's "Drop Dead" strategy for New York is part of the phony "balance the budget" sloganeering that has been Republican stock-in-trade for years. Facing a challenge in his own party, Ford needs to out-Reagan Reagan, appealing in coded language to racist sentiment. Attacking New York City's Democratic politicians who "will not face up to the city's massive network of pressure groups," Ford is promising he will not be "soft" on blacks, ethnic minorities and welfare recipients.

The Democratic politicians Ford assails for fiscal profligacy have already, in the name of fiscal austerity, engineered a collision course with the municipal unions. For months the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) has hacked away at city spending: laying off 25,000 city workers, closing hospitals and firehouses, overcrowding classrooms through teacher cuts and slashing public transportation service while increasing fares by forty percent. Waving the threat of default and "payless paydays," MAC, assisted by the treachery of the city-patriotic labor bureaucracy, has torn up contracts, frozen wages and drained pension funds into the reckless purchase of MAC bonds. The remnants of rent control, City University open admissions and free tuition are under attack from the advocates both of bankruptcy and of default.

Ford's default program is primarily a threat to bludgeon the labor movement. The bail-out backers are no less eager for this prospect, but are wary about the effect of default on the banks. And the banks do have something to worry about. "The New York banks hold roughly 23 per cent of their equity capital in M.A.C. and city securities," according to a banker interviewed in the 8 September *New York Times*. An FDIC survey showed 60 banks that held "New York City securities equivalent to 50 per cent or more of their total capital" and 25 which had "more than 70 per cent of their capitalization tied up in city securities" (*New York Times*, 26 September).

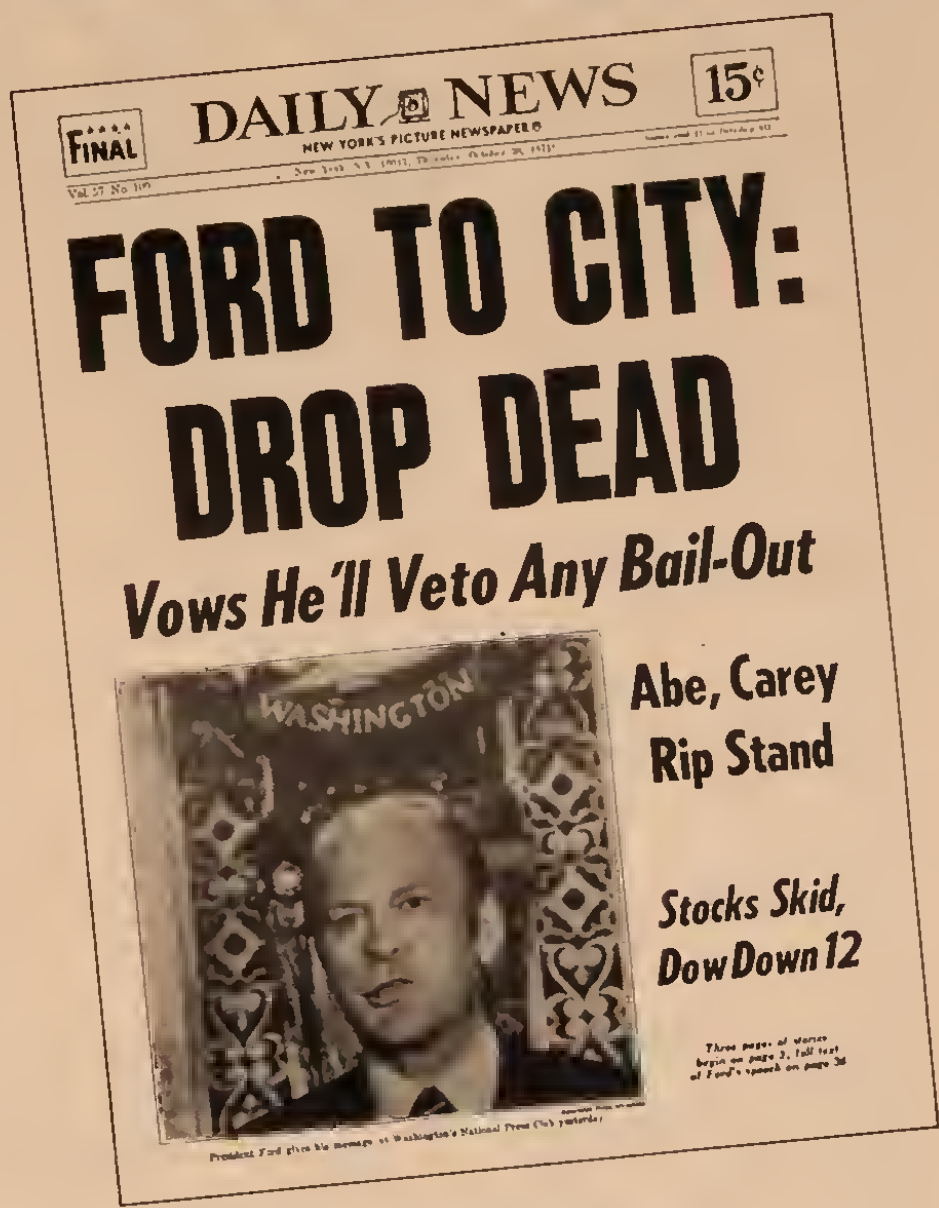
Although united in their craving to crush the municipal unions and cut back social services, important elements of the bourgeoisie are at loggerheads with Ford's lunge for the jugular vein of "sin city." Former ideologues of fiscal purity like the heads of Chase Manhattan and First National City Bank now support bail-out plans like the congressional Proxmire-Stevenson Bill. Economic cave man Arthur Burns, head of the Federal Reserve, worries that default could "injure the recovery process now underway in our national economy" (*New York Times*, 3 October).

Foreign capital apparently takes an equally dim view of Ford's willingness to tamper with a shaky economy. The conservative London *Economist* fretted on 18 October, "If their words are any guide, Mr. Ford and Mr. Simon see financial integrity as a thing very like virginity, easy to lose and difficult to recapture without divine intervention." Others joined in the cautionary chorus. "If he sticks to his resolve it will be an act of monumental folly," lamented the London *Times* on 31 October. "It is no exaggeration to say that for the financial system of the United States, for the reputation of that country, and for the rest of the non-Communist world it could be a disaster.... The city's default will be seen and exploited by others as evidence that the American system does not work."

Ford's laissez-faire rhetoric is rooted in the neanderthal economics peddled by the Republican Party during election years. But the influential *Wall Street Journal* supports Ford's plan for bankruptcy, saluting his "Dutch uncle lecture" as "highly appropriate" and welcoming the opportunity to reduce the "unreasonably generous salaries and pension benefits" of city workers.

The Proxmire-Stevenson Bill for federal guarantees to city bonds expresses the neo-Keynesian approach favored by the Democrats. But despite different rhetorical appeals aimed at their respective constituencies and the considerably greater element of risk in Ford's plan, the two approaches share fundamental goals: cut the state bureaucracy, break the city unions and force New York's working people onto short rations while extending the hand of federal benevolence to any capitalists who suffer in the process. Both plans would put the city under draconian federal control, forcing even deeper cutbacks than those already in effect. The liberals' bill would protect the banks by attempting to prevent default; Ford's plan encourages default but would shore up banks who suffer a cash shortage by throwing open the Federal Reserve's "discount window" where they can sell short-term notes or borrow on their municipal bonds. In addition, the federal courts would require that the

continued on page 11


FINAL

DAILY NEWS 15¢

NEW YORK'S PICTURE NEWSPAPER

FORD TO CITY: DROP DEAD

Vows He'll Veto Any Bail-Out

Abe, Carey Rip Stand

Stocks Skid, Dow Down 12

Portugal: "MFA-People Alliance" Tightens Workers' Belts....6

AT&T Suspends Hundreds for Honoring Picket Lines

Break Phone Lockout in NYC!

NEW YORK, October 31—AT&T management has slapped a four-day suspension on members of Communication Workers of America (CWA) Local 1150 for the apparent crime of union solidarity: honoring the picket lines of striking Western Electric installers (CWA Local 1190). The installers' two-and-a-half-day walkout was in response to company moves to subcontract work traditionally in 1190's jurisdiction. Seven CWA locals honored the picket lines, although the strike was not sanctioned by the International. Local 1150 has been singled out for a virtual lockout, the third time large numbers of 1150 members have been suspended in little over a year. This is nothing more than a vicious management attempt to demoralize the workforce and crack union solidarity.

Early reports indicate that the company's tactic is having some success. Phone workers told *Workers Vanguard* that many 1150 workers are grumbling that their defense of Western Electric workers has only gotten them into hot water. Such demoralization must be laid squarely at the feet of the timid and treacherous CWA bureaucracy, which has promoted a long history of scabbing in the phone industry and refuses to take immediate militant action to prevent this sort of victimization. For years, phone strikes have been undermined by leadership-directed scabbing of one CWA local against another: craft against operators, IBEW against CWA and vice versa. What is most notable about the recent strike is that so many CWA locals stuck together. To preserve this important solidarity what is needed is a militant, unified strike by all New York City phone workers to demand the immediate reinstatement of 1150's workers with full back pay and clearing of their records. But no CWA leader has suggested such action, not even 1150's own officers.

Currently, the 1150 leadership's tape-recorded office message weakly protests the suspension, whining that "the best we can do is get speedy arbitration" and "our fate now rests in the hands of an impartial third party"—as if "impartiality" existed between labor and capital! Reliance on the overwhelmingly pro-company decisions of arbitrators is a recipe for defeat. AT&T's lockout must be broken by an immediate city-wide strike.

The strike which precipitated AT&T's lockout began in Western Electric, a subsidiary of the Bell system. Leaders of Western Electric Local 1190 had passively watched as over half the union's membership was laid off. But the recent contracting out to the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 3 of work that fell in 1190's jurisdiction sparked tremendous membership pressure for action. The work, installation of fire alarm circuits, has also been a subject of dispute with the major New York craft local, CWA Local 1101. 1101 members told *Workers Vanguard* that they had been assigned about 70 percent of these jobs, with 20 percent going to the IBEW.

The final settlement seems sure to inflame jurisdictional rivalries. 1190 got back a little over half the work given to the IBEW and a temporary reprieve on the scheduled layoff of over 100 additional installers. But in a phone company maneuver that can only pit worker against worker for a declining number of jobs, 1190 will now be allowed to bid on outside work that has always been the IBEW's!

Rubbing salt in the wounds of the union, the company has given the local a one-day suspension (executive board members drew at least 4 days off) for its strike action! This defeat only underscores the fact that jurisdictional fights for a handful of jobs will not replace the crucial task facing the CWA nationally: strike action for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to halt the phone industry's escalating job-cutting drive of automation, layoffs, firings and attrition.

Not all New York City CWA locals went out in solidarity with the striking Western Electric installers. In sharp contrast to the seven striking locals, leaders of Locals 1194 (Western supply) and 1109 (Brooklyn craft) ordered their workers to scab. 1109 president Al Ruggiero reportedly told stewards to scab-herd because "1190 never did anything for us." He further said that some Brooklyn workers might get laid off if they struck. This is not a surprising statement. It comes from the mouth of the International's flunkey, the man who split away the Brooklyn craft workers from 1101 after the militant seven-month strike of 1971.

Numbered among the scabs were the Bell operators in the pro-company Telephone Traffic Union, whom the CWA leadership has failed to organize because it turns a deaf ear to the Traffic department and the special needs of the women workers. Some clerks and operators in AT&T Long Lines also scabbed, despite threats of disciplinary action by 1150 leaders.

Even among the CWA local leaders backing the strike, support was far from unconditional. *Workers Vanguard* learned Tuesday that 1101 leaders instructed members to cross picket lines if 1190's strike was directed at regaining the circuit laying assigned to 1101. When these bureaucrats learned that the 1190 strike was not aimed at 1101 jobs they decided to honor the picket lines. On Friday *Workers Vanguard* also learned that a meeting late Thursday night of down-state local presidents pressured the Western Electric negotiators to take whatever deal they could get, threatening to send their locals back to work by Monday morning in any case.

The strike was also seriously weakened by the half-hearted picketing efforts initiated by the 1190 leadership. In most cases only one Western Electric picket was assigned to major New York Telephone buildings. Some buildings simply were not picketed. Management could thus cross the lines with impunity and take over enough work to maintain phone service. This avoidance of mass picketing has become a hallmark of CWA-led strikes.

While Local 1190 was perfectly justified in striking to preserve work in its jurisdiction, it is now urgent that New York CWA locals take the offensive to prevent the victimization of the 1150 members who went out in solidarity with the 1190 strikers.

—For a City-Wide Strike Against Layoffs and Reprisals!
—Reinstate all 1150 Members with Full Back Pay and Clean Records!
—For a Full Cost-of-Living Clause! For a Shorter Workweek with No Loss in Pay!
—Jobs for All!

Letters

[Bangladesh]

27 October 1975

Dear friends,

I appreciate your ideas expressed in "Racism and Gun Control" (*WV*, No. 80). At a time when the reformist SWP is demanding federal troops for protecting the blacks at Boston and relying upon the cops for its own defence from the right wing thugs, at a time when the Healyite WRP members can have a firearm only on pain of expulsion (*Bulletin*, 7 October), you have struck a different and Marxist note.

What Engels noted in the case of France remains equally valid for other countries even today: following every revolutionary uprising the disarming of the workers remains the first commandment of the bourgeoisie at the helm of the State. It was realised by the Trotskyists in India and Bangladesh and that is why while the bourgeoisie in Bangladesh proceeded to disarm the workers and peasantry [early] in 1972, the Trotskyists have demanded the repeal of the Arms Act, a legacy of British rule in the Indian sub-continent. The Kremlin bureaucrats and their agents have however sided with the bourgeoisie there.

But their defence of the bourgeois monopoly on arms is not limited to countries like India and Bangladesh where a national bourgeoisie in power is supposed to be progressive, even revolutionary. President Ford does represent the forces of monopoly, but the warriors against monopoly capital that run the Soviet press have written a lot of stuff commenting on the attempts to murder Ford and have not hesitated to suggest disarming the American citizens to save Ford! I wonder how could you ignore it.

Though it may or may not be wise to use arms at a particular time, it is totally wrong to preach reliance on the bourgeois state. The Stalinists as anti-working class forces may and do preach it, but not the Trotskyists. The fact that the SWP, Workers League and their allies do that proves the obvious: they are renegades, Pabloites and not proletarian revolutionaries.

The latest developments in the SWP satellite in India (Communist League of India—CLI) have demonstrated it beyond doubt. Applying the SWP policy on Boston to its own country, the CLI Hindi organ, *Mazdoor Kisan Kranti* (Workers and Peasants Revolution), has demanded special government bodies to protect the untouchables and women. Kailas Chandra, a leader of the CLI and also a member of the IEC of the United Secretariat, has praised Indira Gandhi and welcomed her emergency measures in a money-making journal he edits and publishes. Despite Hansen's great concern for democracy, another of his friends in India, Indre Sen, is now a staunch supporter of Indira's coup. Mr. Hansen has not tried to correct his allies in India so far if he does think they are wrong, but I do not think he does. As I wrote to you earlier, his logic leads to the support of Indira Gandhi. Like the bureaucrats at the Kremlin, Hansen wants to disarm the working class not only literally, but politically—the former is closely linked to the latter.

Farooq Alim

15 October 1975

Comrade Editor:

At the risk of sounding like one of the disingenuous phantom worker-correspondents of *News & Letters* or *Workers' Power*, I find myself compelled to write to congratulate you on the overall quality of WV, and of issue no. 80 in particular. You have succeeded in making the rest of the left press unreadable. One of my main criticisms of your paper in the past was a lack of coverage of U.S. political issues broader than the left—you read my mind and came out with the truly excellent piece on gun-control. Even your article on the Zaslow debate—which I attended—managed to teach me something new—the facts of Z's past. Very impressive!

The seriousness with which you take the united-front approach to defense work is also impressive; it hardly gibes with the image of sectarianism your adversaries (including me, in the past) try to pin on you.

My own particular interests would be served by these suggestinns for coverage:

—A more thorough run-down on the left spectrum in Portugal, in particular the PRP-LCI-LUAR "Revolutionary" United Front. You have done a good job of exposing their past atrocities, but I'm not clear on the nature of their general political approach, base, etc.

—What are Harrington and the other Social-Democratic formations up to?

—Does the '72 split in the labor bureaucracy on whom to support seem likely to repeat itself in '76?

—Is my impression that U.S. Maoism has undergone a precipitate collapse, and that all the party-building postures have come to naught, exposing all the groups as sects with shrinking peripheries, merely a subjective impression, or are these groups still growing? Obviously, they must still be contended with, but how important are they?

I know these issues are secondary from the point of view of the SL's main priorities, but I would be interested to see what you had to report on these questions from the point of view of personal interest.

Let me make clear that I do not always share the SL's views, though I regard you as the most serious non-Stalinist national group in the U.S.

In any case, I'm sending you $10 as a token of support. Use $5 to extend me for a year, and use the rest as a contribution.

For socialism,
A friend in California

CORRECTION

The article "S.F. CWA Tops Slam Door on Fired Militant" published in *WV* No. 83 erroneously reversed the numbers of the San Francisco and Oakland CWA locals. The San Francisco local is CWA 9410, while the Oakland local is CWA 9415.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013 Telephone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business) Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 Domestic subscriptions: $5.00 per year.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

Baraka's Electoral Follies

National Black Assembly: Another Dead End for Black People

The National Black Assembly (NBA), founded three years ago at the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, has announced its intention to "run a black presidential candidate in 1976 who would not be the candidate of either the republican or democratic parties" (*Unity and Struggle*, July 1975). At first glance this might appear to be a drastic change in orientation for an organization whose two conventions shelved resolutions calling for an independent black party and whose Political Council is chaired by Richard Hatcher, Democratic mayor of Gary. But the NBA's decision to espouse an "independent" campaign is merely a temporary "left" posture reflecting two parallel developments: the Assembly's virtual abandonment by major black politicians and the verbal left turn of its Secretary-General, Amiri Baraka.

Baraka has consolidated his position as spokesman and prime mover in the Assembly, surviving competition from black elected officials and a red-baiting campaign spearheaded by NBA president Ron Daniels. The evolution of Baraka and his organization, the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), from cultural nationalism to "Mao Tse-tung Thought" is part of the same process which has led the NBA to the decision to run an "independent" presidential candidate.

Ebony

Baraka with Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, at 1972 Black Political Convention.

From Gary to Little Rock

The withdrawal of Congressional Black Caucus members and other prominent black politicans from the NBA has allowed Baraka to become a big fish in a shrinking pond. The Gary convention, which drew 8,000 people, was attended by many black elected officials who hoped to pressure the Democratic Party for a bigger share of political patronage and more black candidates. Baraka and the bourgeois politicians agreed on the need for a "Black brokerage" for the 1972 elections but split on the question of who would run it. In a position paper, "National Overview," circulated at Gary, the CAP leader explained his game-plan:

> "Some group of Blacks will be bargaining with whites for some power, goods and services. This group must include grassroots people and nationalists! In the past it has not. We have been content to criticize the bargainers, rather than seizing some part of the bargaining process for the advance of the entire community. The structure that we must see exist as a national Black political structure, after the convention, must be the 'official' brokerage structure. We must see to this."
> —*Black World*, October 1972

But the politicians preferred taking their marching orders from George McGovern, who had a far bigger pork barrel than Amiri Baraka. So they dropped the convention's main "achievements," the NBA and the National Black Political Agenda, like a hot potato. Some hung on a bit longer because they needed a little more space to maneuver. Baraka's account of the convention leaves little room to misunderstand the motives of the black Democrats who continued to flirt with the NBA:

> "Charles Diggs was publicly 'iced' from the leadership of that [Congressional Black] Caucus, so his position, at least, stands in relief by that occurrence. Ron Dellums, whose California 'left' populism has made him a radical Congressional voice on his own, also seems to stand in some relief from the others."
> —*ibid.*

But the drastic drop in interest from Gary to the 1974 Little Rock convention, which drew fewer than 2,000 people, and Baraka's rhetorical shift to "Marxism-Leninism" have driven many of the remaining politicians away. Diggs resigned as NBA president on the eve of the Little Rock convention to be replaced by Ron Daniels, a TV show moderator and head of a community organization in Youngstown, Ohio. Assembly treasurer Hannah Atkins, an Oklahoma state representative, resigned this January solidarizing with Daniels' red-baiting attack on Baraka:

> "I doubt seriously whether the constituency inside the Assembly which adheres to communism is large enough to warrant representation within the leadership of the NBPA."

And Daniels suggested that Gary mayor Hatcher may soon follow suit (*Black World*, October 1975).

So Baraka has inherited leadership of the NBA by default. How useful a vehicle it will prove for CAP's leap into big-time reformism remains to be seen. What is crystal clear is that the Assembly's projected presidential campaign does not represent a step toward independent class politics for the black masses but is an ill-fated venture into bourgeois third-party politics. It is based not on a fundamental political break with bourgeois politics but on a futile conjunctural attempt to pressure both capitalist parties to the left. Introducing the proposal to the November 1974 national political council meeting, Baraka urged that the Assembly "unite all those who can be united regardless of whether they are socialists or nationalists or elected officials or moderates...to struggle *against the rightward moves* of both the Republican and Democrat parties" (CAP Ideological Paper, "The National Black Assembly and the Black Liberation Movement").

In an interview with *Black World* (October 1975), Ron Daniels listed some possible candidates for the NBA campaign: Congressmen Ron Dellums and John Conyers, Georgia legislator Julian Bond and Dick Gregory. In the same issue Baraka accurately describes the concept as "a popular front campaign." Since it must win support from the black masses while not embarrassing any of the black bourgeois politicians it hopes to attract, the NBA campaign program must, of necessity, be a hodgepodge of minimal reformist demands and black nationalist demagogy.

Black Agenda: Recipe for Confusion and Betrayal

The opportunists connected with the NBA have always regarded the question of political program as a matter of little consequence. The Gary convention adopted the Black Agenda, a makeshift program intended to touch all bases in the "black community." For those inclined to bourgeois philanthropy, it proposed a new charity, the Black United Fund. The Agenda also included a number of supportable reform demands like free medical care for all families earning less than $10,000, free public transportation, free public education and a higher minimum wage. In its final form, the Agenda was largely the work of Walter Fauntroy, non-voting congressional delegate from the District of Columbia.

The Black Agenda's grab bag of demands included some designed to appeal to radical nationalists, principally the reactionary call for "community control" of the police and schools. Like the organization's hostility to busing, these proposals for formalizing and deepening the racist status quo play into the hands of white segregationists. Even in its heyday, the radical black movement could not generate a program capable of ameliorating the poverty and daily degradation of the black ghetto masses. Realization of the program of even the most "revolutionary" nationalists would do no more than create careers for a black petty-bourgeois layer in administering schools, poverty agencies and a "blackened" but no less brutal police force.

The Agenda projected organizing all-black labor unions parallel to unions excluding blacks. No perspective was raised for fighting to open racist job-trusting craft unions to black workers, nor for struggle within the integrated industrial unions to oust the conservative, racially insensitive bureaucracies and thereby mobilize the power of the organized labor movement in the fight against racial oppression.

The Agenda raised utopian demands for billions of dollars in reparations for the hundreds of years of slavery and discrimination and for "Land Banks" to be used for "cooperative crop production, soil fertilization and animal husbandry." A nod was made in the direction of "black capitalism" with the proposal for a federally funded "Black development agency...for the purpose of facilitating Black ownership and/or control of the full range of business and service enterprises now serving ghetto communities."

This "program" produced at Gary was supposed to concretize Baraka's conception of "unity without uniformity." Although the Agenda served as an excuse (coupled with anti-busing and anti-Israel resolutions) for the NAACP and several legislators to dissociate themselves from the convention, the ink was hardly dry before the program was promptly forgotten by its authors.

The vague catch-all character of the Agenda flowed directly from the attempt of the convention organizers to paper over the class antagonisms that exist among black people, uniting black workers and potentially revolutionary students, community organizers and rank-and-file members of nationalist groups with black bourgeois politicians, black businessmen like Gary convention treasurer Alvin Boutte, president of Chicago's Independence Bank, and black capitalist/nationalist hucksters like CORE's Roy Innis, Rev. Jesse Jackson and Black Muslim minister Louis Farrakhan.

Ebony

Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana.

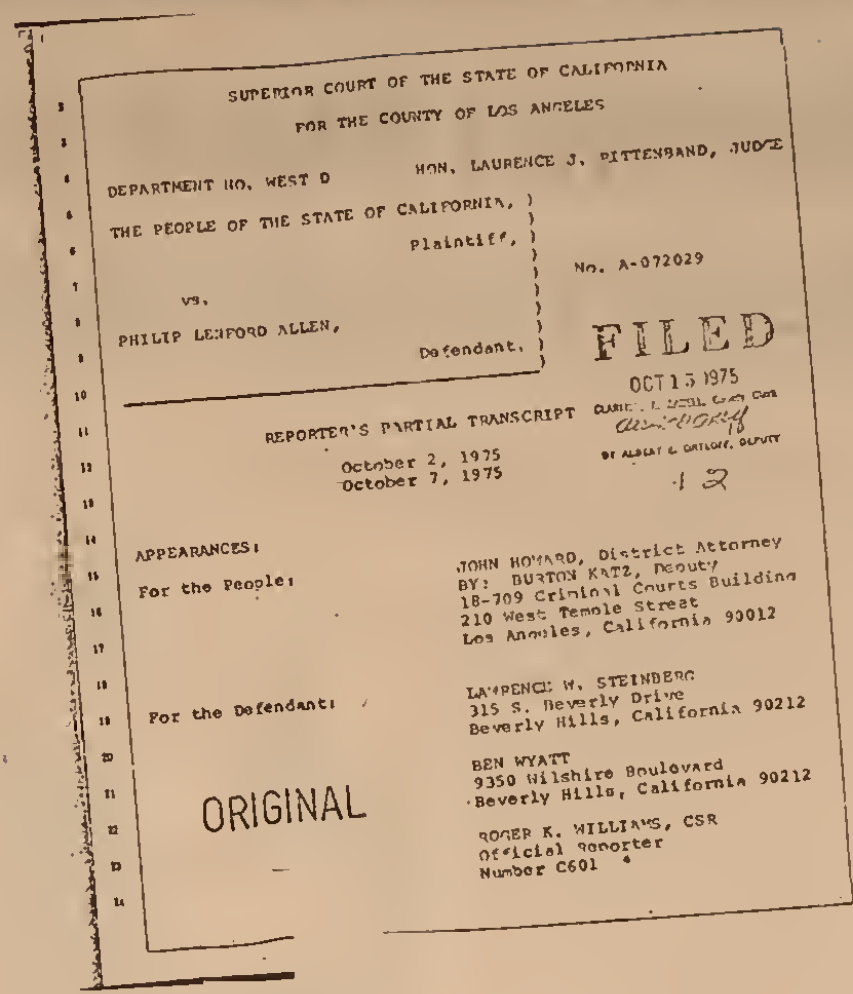
Phony Socialists and Fake "Independence"

The typically opportunist response of fake-socialist organizations to the Gary convention and the Black Agenda was a telling indicator of the jerry-built character of the program. The Communist Party, then simultaneously

continued on page 8

Catch 22: Stay in Jail Until You Admit Your Guilt

Transcripts of Philip Allen Bail Proceeding



SUPERIOR COURT OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA
FOR THE COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES

DEPARTMENT NO. WEST D — HON. LAURENCE J. RITTENBAND, JUDGE

THE PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF CALIFORNIA,
Plaintiff,
vs.
PHILIP LENFORD ALLEN,
Defendant.

No. A-072029

FILED
OCT 15 1975

REPORTER'S PARTIAL TRANSCRIPT
October 2, 1975
October 7, 1975

APPEARANCES:
For the People: JOHN HOWARD, District Attorney; BY: BURTON KATZ, Deputy; 18-709 Criminal Courts Building; 210 West Temple Street; Los Angeles, California 90012
For the Defendant: LAWRENCE W. STEINBERG; 315 S. Beverly Drive; Beverly Hills, California 90212
BEN WYATT; 9350 Wilshire Boulevard; Beverly Hills, California 90212
ROGER K. WILLIAMS, CSR; Official Reporter; Number C601

ORIGINAL

Philip Allen, the young black student framed up on charges of voluntary manslaughter and assault on Los Angeles sheriff's deputies, remains behind bars at Chino State penitentiary—his bail revoked during appeal.

WV reprints here selected passages from the transcripts of Allen's bail proceedings in which the court first set bail during appeal and then revoked it. Taken as a whole the transcript is a stinging indictment of capitalist "justice," rich in examples of the arbitrary abuse of judicial power, racist contempt, bungling mendacity and self-righteousness. But we have chosen those portions of the transcript which most clearly highlight the political motivation behind the court's class "justice" in revoking Allen's bail.

Those who believe that blacks, communists and labor militants can get a fair trial from the courts of capitalism need only consult the record—from Sacco and Vanzetti to the Rosenbergs to Hurricane Carter—to be proved wrong. Philip Allen's conviction and bail revocation demonstrate once again the invidious procedures of a vicious court system that frames up its victims and then covers up its own criminality. In the process the most elementary democratic rights are dumped, the most "sacred" constitutional guarantees are denied for the sake of expediency of political purpose. This bail revocation hearing is one such atrocity.

We present the following selections not only to prove the point that Philip Allen was denied democratic rights, but also because in this transcript there is something to learn about the motives, machinations and narrow political class interests of the men who sit in judgment for the capitalist class.

OCTOBER 2, 9:40 A.M.

[The COURT is Judge Laurence J. Rittenband. Burton Katz is the County Deputy District Attorney. Philip Allen's defense lawyers are Lawrence W. Steinberg and Ben Wyatt.—WV]

MR. KATZ: ...We vigorously oppose the granting of any bail, the setting of any bail at this time. We feel that to do so would be to impair the carrying out of the orderly processes and orders of the Court; namely, to get on with the sentence, and refer now the defendant to the Adult Authority for the term prescribed by law.... I think that the defendant's attitude is extremely critical and important in this area, and this is that he continues to profess his innocence. He continues to refuse to accept the responsibility of his acts, to show any remorse, or to state that he was in anyway involved, peripherally involved, or otherwise, with the shooting of Officer Day and Leschinsky, and the killing of Officer Darden Hollis....

THE COURT: I have noticed, all thoughout these proceedings, that the defendant was most punctilious in appearing in this court when he was supposed to. He was never late, that I know of, not on one single occasion.... And I am positive that if I were to release him on bail, pending the appeal, that if the appeal was adversely decided, he would appear in this court to have sentence meted out, and he would not in any way disappear, because he would be doing these people [supporters of Allen who contributed to his bail—*WV*] a terrible, terrible, and a grave injustice; because they've put out—a number of them have put out, as I understand, monies from their savings. And maybe many of them have given more than they could afford in order to put up the bond.... So, contrary to the recommendation of the District Attorney, I am going to permit bail in this case, because bail is only intended for the purpose of assuring that the defendant will appear at the time of sentence, in the event that the appeal finally is determined adverse to him.

I am going to fix bail in the sum of $25,000....

(Whereupon, at 11:50 A.M., an adjournment was taken in this matter until 1:30 P.M. of the same day.)

2:05 P.M.

THE COURT: ...I might as well tell you now for the record, it has come to my attention, on extremely good authority—as a matter of fact, from people who actually heard—that your client has been on television, in effect, inciting and agitating against the Sheriffs and the Police Department and again characterizing the police officers as being pigs.

And I think that this kind of activity might—should not be—it's a matter of discretion with me as to whether I want to permit him on bail.

And if he's going to engage in activities of that kind, and incite the people against authority or police officers, I won't permit him out on bail. I'll tell you that now quite frankly....

MR. KATZ: ...I heard additionally, your Honor, that he and his mother are going up to the San Francisco area to appear for the San Quentin Six, in order to appear as political figures, and support funds—or the procurement of funds, in order to underwrite legal expenses of the San Quentin Six, as well as to tell of his experiences with respect to the abuse of legal authority in connection with his conviction, and to refer to the establishment as pigs and racists....

MR. KATZ:...I think that either Mr. Allen or, through his sanction, people in support of him, in their overzealous attempt to condition a public opinion that he is being railroaded, that he's a victim of racial prejudice, and that the pigs' and the fascists' political structures that exist in the United States, is making sure that minorities are not able to secure their fair...measure of justice.... Mr. Allen himself, in apparent control of the supporters, who has the ability to say, "Wait a minute, stop what you are doing; you are not helping my cause. You are misrepresenting"—Mr. Allen, who has the ability not to act as a poppycock or a little martinet, or a political hero or anything else, or a great martyr, and say, "Wait a minute. My lawyers are doing the job. That's as it should be under the system."...

THE COURT: I frankly believe that with activities of the kind that he's been engaging in, I'd rather not have him out on bail on appeal, so maybe you'd better get the bail from the Court of Appeal.

MR. STEINBERG: Your Honor, I hope you are not saying—

THE COURT: I'm saying that it's in my discretion. And if he's going to continue conduct—if he's going to continue conduct, which is all that he's doing, is agitating and stirring up people—I'm not going to permit him out on bail....

OCTOBER 7, 9:40 A.M.

MR. KATZ: ...When you consider all of these things, together with the fact that the defendant himself has acknowledged no complicity in the offense which resulted in the death of one officer and the shooting of two other officers, the fact that he does not in any way recognize his transgressions, the fact that he has distorted his involvement, in connection with the killing of one police officer and the shooting of two others—and I now refer to a tape which I am going to ask be made part of the record, which is a Channel 7 news videotape, which contains the coverage of a protest proceeding which was held at Los Angeles City College on October 1st, 1975, the day before the sentencing in this case, and which was covered by Judd Hambrick, the news commentator.... And this is what the Court has to consider: The defendant not admitting his guilt, even though he's been convicted and conclusively proven to be guilty beyond a reasonable doubt and to a moral certainty.... I submit that's a fact that the Court has to consider, because the Court feels—excuse me—because the defendant feels he has been railroaded, that he's been framed, he is not likely to appear....

MR. STEINBERG: Might I be heard, your Honor?

I rise to what I think are really important questions of reasonable bail, due process of law, freedom of speech, and the openness of our appellate processes.... I am much struck by what Mr. Katz says of the necessity, in order to be granted bail, for my client, in effect, to concede his guilt.

Your Honor—and I say this not as a joke, and not in—as a matter of humor, but I say that is a truly tragic Catch 22 kind of thought, where the condition of achieving the right to seek untrammeled access to appellate review is based upon the defendant's admitting that he is not entitled to succeed.

I cannot conceive of the concession of the defendant that he is guilty as being any kind of possible consideration with regard to the granting of bail pending appeal. That is simply unthinkable, your Honor....

THE COURT: ...you can't call it a racist thing. And I pointed that out to you before.

I'm not making a spectacle out of this for the benefit of the people that you invite here.

MR. STEINBERG: Your Honor, I do not invite people.

THE COURT: They come somehow.

MR. STEINBERG: They are members of—

THE COURT: You know. You know. You know who it is....

Protest this frame-up and denial of democratic rights! Philip Allen's life is in danger—Free him now!

The Partisan Defense Committee urges you to send greatly needed contributions for the appeal process and also messages of support to the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee of the First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005. PHILIP ALLEN NEEDS YOUR SUPPORT TODAY!!

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION
No. 10, Fall 1975

- Early Communist Work Among Women: The Bolsheviks
- CLUW's Had It
- The Legend of "Red Emma"
- FBI Sends Grand Jury After Feminists, Leftists
- The Oppression of Muslim Women

Subscription rate:
$2 for 4 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001

Houston NSCAR Demands Free Speech for "Imperial Wizard"

Hostile Crowd Confronts Klan Leader

WV Photo

As shouting protests erupted against racist Klan speaker, NSCAR member (standing center) attempted to quiet crowd in defense of "free speech for fascists."

HOUSTON—Jeers, clenched fists and at least one well-aimed egg greeted Scott Nelson, "Imperial Wizard" of the Texas Fiery Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, at the University of Houston on October 27. An overwhelmingly hostile crowd of 300 students, approximately half of whom were black, repeatedly interrupted Nelson, who had been officially invited to speak as part of a series of forums for Houston mayoral candidates.

At several points the crowd appeared ready to prevent Nelson from speaking altogether in response to his endless racist taunts. The crowd could easily have stopped him had it not been for confusion and division among the various left groups on campus, including outright defense of this night-rider's "right" to speak by the Houston Student Committee Against Racism (Houston SCAR) and the Socialist Workers Party/Young Socialist Alliance (SWP/YSA).

Attempting to inflame race hatred in any way he could before the largely black audience, Nelson concentrated his vicious racist epithets on the Jews. "The Zionist Jew in this country is the problem we have to deal with," said Nelson, "they are brainwashing us through the mass media. That is why New York is going down the drain." The NAACP is under the control of Jews, he asserted, and blacks are exploited by prominent Jews.

Nelson was asked from the audience to explain the vicious racist "hunting licenses" aimed against blacks and the "back to Africa" stickers which have appeared all over Houston in connection with his campaign for mayor. He responded that he would print up "hunting licenses" aimed against Jews for all the "good blacks" in the community! He then said it wasn't blacks he was against, "but the white communist trash," and he wanted questions from "good blacks" not "communists"!

The hostile reception Nelson received was largely a spontaneous reaction to the Klan's racist ideology and practice. The protest was a confused outcry of moralism and liberal illusions. Many of the student militants in the audience attempted to counter Nelson's program for racist terror with debate and "exposure." A student who answered Nelson's anti-Semitic filth with the rejoinder that Christ was a Jew was roundly applauded. Nelson, however, merely sidestepped appeals for rational discourse and threw new taunts back at the audience—he did not want to make Jews into soap, he said, because when he washed he "wanted to get clean, not greasy"!

But racist fulminations such as this from the Ku Klux Klan cannot be "debated" or taken lightly. The KKK is an organization of fascist *action*; it has a long and bloody history of lynchings, murder, anti-communist and anti-labor terror. It is a living threat of genocide for Jews, immigrants and blacks. Although a minor embarrassment to the ruling class today, the Klan represents a potential mass organization for gassing minorities, exterminating leftists and smashing the organized power of the working class. The capitalist rulers will not hesitate to use the Klan as a tool when they deem it necessary to prevent the working class from taking power.

Not just a forum for racist ideas, Nelson's electoral campaign and University of Houston appearance are part of an effort to organize the Klan, foment race hatred and legitimize the politics of race genocide. In 1973 Nelson led a split away from the United Klans of America, accusing it of "lack of aggression." It seemed that the usual amount of Klan terror wasn't enough for Nelson, who publicly stated that there are some people he thinks ought to be lynched (*Houston Post*, 6 May 1973). Since then there have been numerous Klan attacks on radical bookstores and radio stations.

Nelson's appearance on campus should have been *prevented*, not just given a hostile reception, through a mass mobilization of students and workers. But the SWP/YSA anticipated Nelson's arrival with a special effort to make sure that he would speak. YSA members handed out a leaflet entitled "Racist Terrorist, Scott Nelson Belongs In Jail, But He Has the Right to Speak." At the meeting, during every crescendo of verbal protest against Nelson's racist epithets, a supporter of SCAR got up in the middle of the crowd and attempted to stop the protests, telling people to be quiet and motioning to them to take their seats. Particularly since the SCAR supporter was black, this despicable defense of the "right" to organize racial genocide had the effect of calming the crowd and encouraging illusions in "debate" with fascist vermin.

The SWP leaflet defended Nelson's "right" to free speech despite its own recounting of Klan lynchings and other "illegal terrorist actions against Blacks, Jews and Socialists," including two attacks on the headquarters of the SWP itself in the last year. The leaflet castigated Houston mayor Fred Hofheinz for "refusing to stop the Klan's acts of violence," failing to mention that Hofheinz's police force is notorious for its heavy infiltration by the Klan. The bourgeois state is completely incapable of suppressing fascism. Only the organized power of the working class can do the job.

Reflecting its utterly reformist, electoralist approach, the SWP leaflet stated its confidence that Nelson and such scum "will never win the majority to their views." While no doubt true, this completely misses the point, since fascists expect to come to power as a minority movement over the prostrate form of a defeated working class. Nelson does not share the SWP's illusions in bourgeois democracy! Hypocritically, the SWP leaflet also proclaimed its "confidence" that "Nelson's repulsive views will receive no hearing from U.H. students." Yet this did not stop the SCAR supporter from doing everything he could precisely to ensure that those "repulsive views" did obtain as wide a hearing as possible!

The Spartacus Youth League played an important role in the hostile reaction to Nelson. The SYL first called attention to the planned speech in the campus *Daily Cougar* (23 October), in a commentary entitled "No Platform for Fascists." The SYL demanded that Nelson's invitation be withdrawn and called on the campus community to protest the presence of fascists. SYL members and sympathizers leafletted Nelson's speech and participated in a disciplined contingent which chanted "Fascists Out" and "Down with the Klan." The SYL leaflet made clear the opposition of Marxists to any illusions in the bourgeois state's ability to control fascism. It specifically pointed to the error of calling on the state to pass laws against fascists, since these never work and are instead used only as legal weapons to suppress the left.

Fascism can be defeated only by mobilizing the working class and oppressed minorities through mass protests, union defense guards and mass actions with a firm determination to prevent or break up fascist meetings or rallies at every favorable opportunity. While not substituting for organized anti-fascist activity in the unions, a militant mobilization to prevent Nelson's speech at the University of Houston could have been an example for the future handling of the Klan at other times and places. The grovelling reformist capitulation of the SWP/YSA can only obstruct the building of the revolutionary vanguard party and postpone the day when the menace of fascism can be snuffed out forever. ■

WV Photo

New York Picket Protests Banquet for Chilean Butchers

In New York City on November 1 a fund-raising banquet sponsored by the reactionary "Committee for Aid to Reconstruct Chile" was picketed for several hours by about 150 demonstrators protesting the murderous Pinochet junta. Cordoned off by a squad of cops, the spirited demonstrators chanted anti-junta slogans and jeered the arriving fat-cat "guests," some of whom scurried single-file into the Roosevelt Hotel while others simply went home.

The Communist Party-dominated Chile Solidarity Committee, which was centrally responsible for initiating the demonstration, raised only its usual liberal and classless slogans, such as "Chile Si, Junta No," "Allende Si, Junta No" and "Money for New York City, Not for Murder in Chile." In contrast, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League contingent carried a large banner with the slogans, "Down with the Junta!—No Political Support to Popular Fronts!—For International Workers Defense!" and chanted, "Defend Corvalan, MIR!" and "Obreros Si, Junta No!" Other organizations participating included the Committee in Support of the Resistance in Chile, Centro Obrero Latinoamericano, Youth Against War and Fascism and the International Workers Party.

Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the International Spartacist tendency

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)
U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia

Capitalist Austerity Program for Portugal

"MFA-People Alliance" Tightens Workers' Belts

OCTOBER 31—In a cabinet meeting on Tuesday, Portuguese premier José Pinheiro de Azevedo declared that an official "austerity program" would soon be announced under which the laboring population would have to work harder, pay higher taxes and earn less. This grim prospect is the result of a year and a half of popular-front governments in which the leading reformist workers parties have joined with capitalist parties to back the rule of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), political expression of the officer corps of the bourgeois military.

The six provisional governments which have paraded in and out of office since Portugal's "revolution of the carnations" have been unable to alleviate the country's economic woes. Portuguese economic life has deteriorated steadily, now approaching a near-collapse. The workers and small farmers—the victims of the soaring inflation and high unemployment—are blamed for causing the chaos by their "disruption of production" through strike actions and by their "too high expectations of the revolution."

The working masses' willingness to defend their living standards is not the source of Portugal's economic problems: it is the key to their solution! What is required is the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers government to run the economy in the workers' class interests.

The anarchy of production for private profit, bureaucratically regulated by the MFA's governmental machinery, cannot hold the economy together under the present turbulent social conditions. Orderly development cannot be instituted by the imposition of arbitrary "austerity" measures by the bourgeois MFA, but only by a revolutionary regime which can enlist the support of all the plebeian strata of the population behind the proletariat in administering a planned economy in a workers state.

A revolutionary proletarian regime would begin its reorganization of the Portuguese economy by instituting strict control, supervision, accounting and regulation of all phases of economic life by workers councils. It would abolish commercial and industrial secrecy. It would nationalize all the banks and trusts. It would administer production through factory committees. In the countryside, it would break up the large estates and distribute "land to the tiller."

But the succession of capitalist coalition governments in Portugal is unable to address the real problems of the economy. While some reforms have been introduced—nationalization of the banks and some of the large trusts—this has been accomplished only very partially and after much "debate" and foot-dragging. To go beyond these measures would require a direct confrontation with capitalist interests.

Avante!

Informations Ouvrieres

Left: Portuguese agricultural workers demonstrate for agrarian reform during strike this September. Right: "People's Bank"—After attempted right-wing coup last March Portuguese banks were nationalized.

Economic Life Under the Coalition

Portugal's industry, including the nationalized sector, is in a state of chaos. Unemployment stands at well over 10 percent in a country which before 1973 traditionally had two percent or less unemployed. And this situation will worsen as 200,000 to 300,000 jobless refugees continue to stream in from Angola. The comforting claim that most of these can "not starve" by returning to the farms or being taken in by relatives is not very reassuring.

On 21 June of this year the "plan of political action" presented by the Council of the Revolution announced that "if the actual conditions of production are not modified, the gross national product will diminish by about 6 percent in relation to 1974" (*Le Monde*, 27 July). Reserves of foreign exchange, which totaled $2 billion in 1973, have virtually been exhausted and a currency black market has sprung up. The Lisnave shipyard, formerly one of Portugal's chief foreign-exchange earners and said to be the world's largest dry dock, is in serious trouble. A Workers Defense Council report issued in July showed that for Lisnave to make a profit it must handle sixteen ships each month, spending $400,000 on each ship for repairs. It now handles an average of ten ships a month (*New York Times*, 27 August). In addition, Portugal's tourist industry, which reported net receipts of $320 million in 1973, is estimated to be off 50 percent by the end of this year.

Foreign and domestic investments are dwindling, and Portugal's export trade has suffered drastically. In 1974 Portugal showed a trade deficit of $2 billion and an overall payments deficit of $600 million. The deficit is supposedly offset by Portugal's vast holdings of gold ($4 billion) but by next year the government may be forced to start dumping its gold onto the market.

The scapegoat for Portugal's economic ills has been the working class. According to Captain Tomas Rosa, the Sixth Government's labor minister, the major problem is many workers' belief that "the revolution means higher wages and shorter hours" (*New York Times*, 6 October). The working class has been blamed for distorting the economy through impatience—by strike actions and by compelling the government to subsidize failing companies to meet their payrolls and prevent further layoffs. Rosa further stated: "The people will have to understand that there must be sacrifices, that there must be austerity so as to build for the future" (*New York Times*, 6 October). But even the highly conservative *Wall Street Journal* (18 August) was forced to admit that the 30 percent inflation has "in many cases more than offset" wage increases.

The policies of the series of coalition governments, which try to sound "revolutionary" to appease the masses while at the same time leaving capitalist property relations fundamentally undisturbed, have catapulted Portugal's economy toward catastrophe. But Portugal's economic miseries did not begin with the MFA takeover.

Prior to the April 25 coup, Portuguese economic life was determined by a relatively small number of decisions within a narrow domestic-centered context. Despite an enormous mass of small- and middle-sized enterprises, four or five financial and industrial syndicates dominated the economy and concentrated economic power. Likewise, in agriculture huge landed estates existed side by side with numerous individual or family holdings. The great trusts—CUF, Champalimaud, Espirito Santo—had a comfortable relationship with Portugal's colonies and did not directly compete on the world market.

Much of the impulse behind the military coup was the desire to get rid of a costly colonial war while trying to maintain a privileged position in the colonies and reorienting the economy toward Europe. Unable to revitalize the Portuguese economy, the post-Caetano governments sought to buttress the shaky structure by cementing new imperialist alliances. In the process Portugal became a pawn in the game of international economic blackmail—a game played according to the imperialists' rules.

Azevedo Courts Reaction

The Sixth Provisional Government, installed in mid-September, dropped much of the socialist-sounding rhetoric of the past and made a turn to the right to appease the imperialists, from whom it hoped to gain the financial help that was denied under the premiership of Vasco Gonçalves. The new cabinet under José Pinheiro de Azevedo gave most posts dealing with the economy to the Socialist Party, which had already promised to slow down the nation's "movement toward socialism" and to shore up the private sector of the capitalist economy. The Communist Party was given only one "safe" post: public works minister. The new regime promised there would be no new nationalizations for a while and that some companies whose administration had been assumed by the state would be returned to their owners.

The strategy of reassuring imperialism worked after a fashion. The Common Market, which had been debating aid to Portugal for over a year, agreed in early October to lend Portugal $187 million on easy interest terms.

Likewise, the United States, which since last spring has funneled several million dollars into Portugal through the CIA to support anti-Communist forces, agreed to substantial official financial aid after the ouster of Gonçalves. The U.S., which had previously granted assistance of only $25.8 million, announced October 10 a grant of $85 million in emergency economic aid to Portugal. Kissinger described the money as a "first step" in "United States support for the political evolution of Portugal" (*New York Times*, 11 October).

Informations Ouvrieres

Portuguese leftists ransack and burn Christian Democratic headquarters last March.

ITT, which operates several Portuguese subsidiaries including a Sheraton hotel and an electronics factory with total assets of $100 million, informed the Lisbon government in a letter dated 22 August that it was suspending all further advances for current operational expenses. The letter stated that these actions were taken "pending restoration of effective management control and the return of economic conditions which would allow us to carry on efficient competitive operations" (*New York Times*, 6 September). ITT reversed itself after the installation of the Sixth Government.

What Were the Imperialists Afraid Of?

The formation of the Sixth Government was a deliberate step back from the earlier MFA-backed governments' shrill "leftism," which had so antagonized international finance capital. But at bottom the previous popular-front coalitions were no less committed to the maintenance of a capitalist Portugal and represented no threat to foreign investment.

Particularly in the wake of the abortive right-wing coup last March 11, politicians in power found it expedient to pay lip service to programs like agrarian reform and nationalization of industry. Close on the heels of the attempted coup, the government announced the nationalization of the banks and insurance companies. This measure was broadly supported by a large section of the petty bourgeoisie as well as by the working class. Finance Minister José Joaquim Fragoso declared that nationalization of the banks created "conditions to facilitate credit for all the managers who deserve it...without dependence on co-signers or favorable conditions" and that "credit, as the decisive instrument of agrarian politics, will be utilized, in support to agricultural associations and small agricultural producers" (*Diario de Noticias*, 24 April).

Nationalization of the banking system—which orchestrates the entire economy through its policies of credit, investment, etc.—is the first step toward regulation of economic life. But the banks must be held to account by the workers. The nationalized Bank of Portugal, directly responsible only to the ministry of finance, is bureaucratically controlled by politicians who are more interested in bailing out private interests than advancing credit to promote agrarian reform. The promised new, easy credit policy in reality is not significantly different from the old policy, and credit still remains generally unavailable to the majority of small producers and the middle class.

In the southern region around Evora agricultural work became completely paralyzed in mid-September as thousands of rural workers (supported by commercial and industrial workers) struck in defense of agrarian reform and to demand the credit which they had not received. In the city of Evora, demonstrators surrounded the Bank of Portugal, which was not honoring the strike, and some of the protestors entered the building, forcing the functionaries to leave the bank. The confrontation was halted only by the intervention of the military police.

In the more conservative north, which is dominated by individual and family holdings, absolutely nothing has been done for the small farmer. Governmental passivity and lack of attention to the problems of this petty-bourgeois layer are helping to strengthen the anti-communist sentiments of the small farmers and driving them into the rightist camp. Over the summer, farmers in a number of towns to the north of Lisbon participated in the burning and looting of CP headquarters and attacks on CP meetings and demonstrations.

The plan of "short-term industrial measures" adopted in mid-June gave its objective as "the elimination of monopoly capital and latifundia which characterize Portugal to the profit of the new socialist economic system" (*Le Monde*, 29 July). An agrarian reform law decreed that the maximum for private non-irrigated holdings would be 1,250 acres and for irrigated holdings 125 acres. To date only about 200,000 acres of land have been collectivized, much of this accomplished only because the militant workers in the south took it upon themselves to directly seize the lands. No compensation was given for the nationalized lands, but workers on the collective farms charge that the ex-landlords sold off all the crops and machinery to make a last-minute profit. These acts of sabotage have gone completely unpunished.

In the industrial sector it was not until mid-July that the government decreed the nationalization of Portugal's largest monopoly trust, Companhia União Fabril (CUF), along with the Companhia Petroquimica, Nitratos de Portugal, Amoniaco Português and Pirites Alentajanas, large chemical and mining firms. The Covina Glass Company, one of the chief firms of the Feteira monopoly group, was also nationalized. But the decree to nationalize CUF was not formally promulgated until September 19!

The fact that coalition governments are unequivocally subordinated to their capitalist components is vividly illus-

(continued on page 10)

No Justice in Capitalist Courts

Demonstrators Demand Freedom for Carter and Artis

About 1,600 militant demonstrators, mostly black, rallied outside the New Jersey State House in Trenton October 17 to demand freedom for Rubin "Hurricane" Carter and John Artis, unjustly imprisoned for life eight years ago. Heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali led six hundred of the demonstrators on a mile-long march to the office of Governor Brendan Byrne, where Ali and other rally organizers presented their demands. This action provided important publicity to a case which New Jersey law enforcement officials prefer kept under wraps.

Neal Boenzi

October 17 demonstration in Trenton at which Muhammad Ali spoke for the release of Rubin Carter and John Artis.

During the meeting with Carter/Artis supporters at the Trenton rally, the New Jersey governor put out feelers about "limited clemency." Byrne has reason to be nervous about this case. As a county prosecutor in 1967 he helped arrange the deal with one of the state's witnesses, who got a reduced sentence for his testimony.

In December 1974, lawyers for Carter and Artis requested a retrial based on sworn statements by the state's two witnesses recanting the testimony on which the prosecution's 1967 case was based. Judge Samuel Larner, the same judge who presided over the original triple-murder trial, denied the motion on the incredible pretext that their admissions of perjury lacked the "ring of truth."

It is clear that the Passaic County prosecutor's office conspired with the Paterson police to frame Carter and Artis. This racist atrocity was directed primarily at Carter, then a leading contender for the middleweight crown. As a famous boxer, identified with black militancy and not afraid to stand up for his rights, Carter had been subject to police harassment for months before the arrest.

On the night in 1966 that three white men were gunned down in a Paterson tavern, Carter and Artis were picked up and questioned, because they were driving a car that was the same color as that used by the killers. They were interrogated for 17 hours and then released. Shortly afterward they voluntarily testified before a grand jury investigation which brought no charges against them. A full three months later, they were charged with the murders and convicted on the testimony of two former convicts, then in jail awaiting trail on burglary charges. The all-white jury chose to believe the cops' two witnesses over six black witnesses who swore that the defendants were nowhere near the scene of the slayings.

The case remained in obscurity until September 1974 when the *New York Times* disclosed that the two prosecution witnesses had admitted lying at the trial. They swore that detectives from the prosecutor's office had bought their testimony with promises of a $10,500 reward and leniency in their own cases.

In addition, last week defense lawyers announced they had recently uncovered a long-suppressed police report from Paterson, New Jersey, the town where the murders took place. The facts contained in the report, which the state prosecutor deliberately withheld during the trial, confirmed key points in the alibi of Carter and Artis while indicating that the police were searching for two clean-shaven suspects (Carter had a beard).

Defense attorneys told *WV* that the defense committee intends to continue building mass demonstrations to pressure Governor Byrne to release Carter and Artis under the state clemency act while the lawyers attempt to exonerate the two men in a new trial. Rubin Carter and John Artis must be freed immediately and unconditionally!

The Partisan Defense Committee urges *WV* readers to contribute to the defense of these victims of capitalist injustice. Checks should be made payable to: Freedom for All Forever, Room 721, 565 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., N.Y. 10017. Earmark checks "For Carter and Artis Defense."■

SPARTACIST
édition française No. 10
octobre 1975
3,00 F. $.75 US/Canada
pour toute commande s'adresser à:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

RSL on Vietnam

State-Cap Muddle

As the demoralized and disintegrating Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL) fades from the political horizon, its polemics against the Spartacist League seem to become ever more inane and even incoherent. In its most recent diatribe in the *Torch*, the RSL denounces us as "apologists for Stalinism" for recognizing that the Indochinese Stalinists have established bureaucratically deformed workers states with the destruction of capitalist rule in Indochina.

A petty-bourgeois radical tendency spawned by the reformist International Socialists, the RSL is politically defined by its refusal to defend or even recognize the revolutionary gains embodied in the property relations of the deformed workers states. As a rationale to cover this capitulation to imperialism, the RSL characterizes these states as "state capitalist."

S.I.P.A.

Victorious Viet Cong enter presidential palace in Saigon last spring.

Defending his analysis of Stalinism, Leon Trotsky always contemptuously dismissed and theoretically demolished the "state capitalist" theories. And the SL has refuted in several articles the RSL's eclectic meanderings on the question of Stalinism. (The self-proclaimed "creative Marxists" of the RSL have miserably failed to concoct some "state capitalist" theory untainted by a lineage of renegades and abject reformists.) The RSL's latest polemic against Trotskyism warrants a brief response only because this "theoretical" gyration reveals the anti-Marxist assumptions inherent in the "state capitalist" position.

Indochina—Deformed Revolutions

The SL maintains that the Indochinese Stalinists were compelled to take state power when confronted with the disintegration of the landlord-capitalist regimes and the temporary paralysis of imperialism. But the state established by the Stalinists over the splinters of the capitalist state and over a passive proletariat can only be a bureaucratically deformed workers state: a non-capitalist state which will defend collectivized property forms corresponding to the social rule of the proletariat but which is ruled by an anti-working-class Stalinist bureaucracy monopolizing political power. Trotskyists unconditionally defend the revolutionary gains of these states against imperialism while simultaneously insisting on the necessity for a workers' political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy whose treacherous policies sabotage this defense.

According to the RSL, this Trotskyist analysis grants the petty bourgeoisie a revolutionary role: "The SL, claiming that capitalism was overthrown in Indochina without class conscious proletarian leadership, constructs a monument to the 'progressive' petty bourgeoisie." The RSL, moreover, alleges that our analysis denies the validity of the permanent revolution, the Trotskyist theory that in the epoch of imperialism the bourgeois-democratic revolution in economically underdeveloped countries can be completed only through proletarian dictatorship and the international extension of the revolution: "The SL, which is today arguing that it was *not* the revolutionary proletariat that overthrew capitalism in Southeast Asia, therefore repudiates the notion upon which the entire theory of permanent revolution is based."

On the contrary, the SL has consistently called for the creation of Trotskyist parties in Indochina precisely because Stalinist-led petty-bourgeois forces at best can create bureaucratic regimes which usurp political power. The Stalinist bureaucracies—which can carry out bourgeois democratic tasks in a limited and deformed way only because of the smashing of imperialist domination and expropriation of the bourgeoisie—are obstacles to the development, extension and defense of the revolution. They must be removed through proletarian political revolutions.

The RSL, however, ridicules our distinction between a workers state and a deformed workers state: "But no matter what variety, the [SL] means that these are workers states, states of the workers." To consider trivial the qualitative difference between the workers state and the deformed workers state is to open the door to the prized canard of anti-Marxist renegades: that the Stalinist states are simply a "variety" of the workers state under Lenin and fundamentally no different. The Trotskyist call for political revolution to end the rule of the Stalinist bureaucracies is the programmatic recognition of the qualitative difference between a bureaucratically degenerated/deformed workers state and a workers state in which the proletariat rules through democratically elected soviets.

RSL Flirts with Stalinist "Third Road" for Third World

Given the framework of "state capitalism," the conflict which raged in

continued on page 10

National Black Assembly...

(continued from page 3)

involved in George McGovern's and Shirley Chisholm's Democratic primary campaigns and running its own "independent" ticket for show, criticized the Agenda for being too nationalist: "Another negative aspect of the convention is the separatist tone in which the program of economic and social reforms in the National Political Agenda is couched" (*Daily World*, 18 March 1972).

The Socialist Workers Party (SWP), on the other hand, initially criticized the document for not being nationalist enough: "The Agenda that was circulated represented an attempt by the Black Democratic politicians to adapt to Black nationalist sentiments." *Militant* writer Derrick Morrison completed his account of the Gary convention with this categorically negative assessment:

> "Whatever they do with the final draft of the Agenda to paper over the differences at the conference, it will not serve to advance the struggle of Black people. It will be designed to continue the subordination of the Black struggle to the capitalist two party system."
> —*Militant*, 24 March 1972

Ebony

From left: Harry Belafonte, Coretta King, Dick Gregory and Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, sing "We Shall Overcome" at fund-raising dinner for 1972 convention.

But less than two months later, the SWP had taken a second look at the attendance figures from Gary and the star-studded list of black sellout artists who addressed the convention and began talking out of the other side of its mouth: "The National Black Agenda... marks an important step toward codifying a program for the struggle for Black Liberation." After listing all the program's omissions, SWP honcho Tony Thomas concluded, "Despite all these weaknesses, the Black Agenda, and the rise in Black political consciousness it signifies, gives signs of important opportunities for the entire Black struggle" (*International Socialist Review*, May 1972).

By the time that the Little Rock convention rolled around, the SWP's opportunism was in full bloom and the Black Agenda had become "a radical document that outlined solutions to many of the problems facing Blacks." The SWP's friendly advice to Richard Hatcher, Ron Dellums and Amiri Baraka was that "Instead of trying to organize Black Democrats, the Black Assembly should take the Black Agenda and a perspective of independent political action to the Black masses" (*Militant*, 1 March 1974).

The SWP's courtship of the Assembly is a consistent extension of the concept first advanced in its 1963 resolution, "Freedom Now," that "the creation of a Negro party running its own candidates would rock the whole political structure to its foundations." Defining "an independent Negro course in politics" in the narrowest organizational terms, the SWP jumped on the bandwagon for Carl Stokes' "independent" mayoral campaign in Cleveland in 1965.

That year Stokes, then a second-term Democratic state representative, took a brief gambit at third partyism and ran against incumbent mayor Ralph Locher, who was justifiably hated by the city's black population. Stokes had no support from organized labor but was backed by a number of reform Democrats, CORE, the Americans for Democratic Action and the SWP. The SWP, of course, only extended "critical" support. Among the criticisms was Stokes' "absence of a statement of program... and failure to indicate what he is against" (*Militant*, 26 July 1965)!

Where the phony independence of ambitious black politicians like Stokes leads was evident within weeks of the election, which he lost by less than 500 votes. Stokes and local CORE leaders were invited to a private meeting with Lyndon Johnson, Cleveland CORE got a Ford Foundation grant and Stokes' law firm began getting business from major capitalists like Cyrus Eaton. In 1966 he was re-elected to the Ohio legislature as a Democrat and a year later became the Democratic mayor of Cleveland.

The SWP deepened the shameless opportunism of its orientation in "The Case for an Independent Black Party," a 1967 convention resolution. The document advocated the formation of a black party with an explicitly reformist program which "starts organizing and using its leverage effectively." This is virtually a carbon copy of Baraka's plan for a "Black brokerage" except that the SWP believes that it can win a bigger chunk of the action by stressing its purely organizational, as opposed to political, independence from the twin parties of big business. In a similar fashion, the SWP supported Black Panther Party leaders Bobby Seale and Elaine Brown in the 1973 Oakland municipal election, despite their new-found orientation to black capitalism and religion, right up to the day that they declared themselves to be loyal Democrats.

Today the SWP has lost much of its interest in the National Black Assembly, partly because the NBA has lost the interest of liberal black Democrats, partly because Baraka's left demagogy

YOUNG SPARTACUS

monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

84

$2/11 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825 Canal St. P.O.
New York, New York 10013

and political base among black people represent too formidable a competition. In the 1975 convention resolution on black liberation, the SWP National Committee sums up the results of Gary and Little Rock as "meager." Setting aside its petty-bourgeois black nationalist line the way a snake sheds its skin, the SWP has rediscovered the NAACP where "in many chapters and among the national leadership, there is a new generation that became active during the rise of the new radicalization."

Gibsonism Without Gibson

The strategies of the Communist Party, the SWP and CAP are essentially the same. Each seeks to bolster its organizational clout in order to become a left pressure group on the Democratic Party. The differences in tactics and day-to-day activity stem from specific differences in their histories and bases of support.

Baraka initially made his mark on the bourgeois political scene by successfully serving as power broker in the 1970 election of Kenneth Gibson as first black mayor of Newark. As organizer of federally funded cultural projects and initiator of the Black Caucus and Committee for a Unified Newark, Baraka (then known as LeRoi Jones) was central to the creation of a black Democratic Party political machine in that city.

Baraka became a self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninist" only after the new mayor had repeatedly stabbed his most loyal henchman in the back. The Gibson administration did not deliver on its promises of new housing for the city. It resisted appointment of a black police director. When the appointment was finally made, Baraka quickly "discovered" that "black faces in high places" do not change the repressive character of the bourgeois state. Black people were still being beaten and harassed by Newark cops, who carried out a reign of terror, including provoking a confrontation ending in two deaths at a Puerto Rican Labor Day festival last year. After Gibson unleashed his cops on a protest demonstration that Baraka had helped organize and contemptuously dismissed the demands of the Peoples Committee against Police Repression and Brutality, Baraka suddenly found that "nationalism, while necessary, is not enough" (*Monthly Review*, January 1975).

But the combination of "revolutionary nationalism" and Mao Tse-tung Thought that Baraka palms off as "scientific socialism" is nothing more than Stalinist pop-front reformism. After he could no longer pass Gibson off as a "progressive," the CAP chairman announced a "new era in our politics"; the real struggle was "to gain a progressive black majority" in the City Council. As for "neo-colonialist" Gibson, Baraka employed the same kind of back-handed support that is the stock-in-trade of the Communist Party:

> "Faced with Anthony Imperialism [Imperiale, a local white racist politician] in the north, our local ethnic pawn of international imperialism, *it is difficult to say the present mayor should be opposed. So I will not say it.* But any of our brothers and sisters who are supporting him should be told of his ominous discouraging record...." [original emphasis]
>
> —CAP Ideological Paper, "The Revolutionary Answer to Neo-Colonialism in Newark Politics"

From Henry Wallace to Benjamin Spock, "third parties" and "people's candidates" have been promoted to obscure the need for a working-class opposition to the Democratic and Republican parties of capitalism. The liberation of black people requires the construction of a mass revolutionary workers party that can weld the ghetto to the factory and champion the just democratic demands of the oppressed black masses as part of its struggle for a workers government. ■

California Court Demands Convictions

Woman Judge Banned from Prostitution Cases

SAN FRANCISCO, October 25—This week a woman judge in S.F. municipal court was barred from hearing dismissal motions in prostitution cases. This highly unusual step was the reaction of the district attorney and court officers to Judge Ollie Marie-Victoire's dismissal of 40 cases due to long-standing "selective enforcement" of prostitution laws. As master calendar judge she normally schedules the cases for other judges to hear. Recently, however, she decided to hear them herself. Angered at the blatant legal discrimination against prostitutes who, she points out, are largely non-white and "economically disadvantaged," Judge Marie-Victoire began dismissing the cases. She contended that "an intentional, purposeful, selective enforcement policy of the San Francisco police department" leads to numerous arrests of prostitutes, while permitting their white, middle-class customers to go free (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 23 October 1975).

In the eyes of the D.A. and the Superior Court this attempt to administer the law according to an abstract standard of equality constitutes "prejudice." The contemptuous treatment of Judge Marie-Victoire by more hardened practitioners of bourgeois "justice" once again demonstrates that the legal system inevitably reflects the class exploitation and social oppression of capitalism and will tolerate no challenge, even from within.

The ruling class' hypocrisy illustrated by the treatment of this judge is boundless. A 1971 San Francisco Crime Committee report noted that the city administration's periodic crusades against "immorality" always peak during election years and recede thereafter. It found that no arrest pattern is "more ritualized and superficial, nor any more apparently ineffectual" than that against prostitutes. S.F. mayor Joseph Alioto responded to this report with typical sanctimonious cant, "I would not support any legislation that would legalize prostitution in any way at all....This is a moral community and moral leadership is going to be exercised" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 5 June 1971).

On the other hand, Judge Marie-Victoire's notion of equal justice graphically demonstrates the inherent limitation of liberal bourgeois ideology. Her solution to this sexist discrimination is not to abolish the laws that imprison prostitutes. "The prostitution laws are on the books," she says, "and I think they should be enforced—but fairly." She advocates *equal entrapment*, "to have the police department get some (female) decoys out there on the street."

While prostitution is indeed a grave social problem, the criminals are neither the prostitutes nor the customers who pay for their services. The real criminals are first the ruling class, which creates the economic and social conditions that drive women into prostitution, and second the pimps and drug pushers, who leech off the commercialized sexual degradation of women. Prostitution is a big business, over a billion dollars a year according to an authoritative 1971 study. And for every so-called "happy hooker" there are thousands of drug-addicted, brutalized teenagers walking the streets.

Police in New York report that some pimps earn as much as $6,000 a day running prostitution chains. Street walkers who do not meet daily quotas are beaten by these parasitic swine. Besides maintaining their hold through drugs and physical violence, the pimps' power is reinforced by the very laws which are supposed to eliminate prostitution:

> "The pimps...have a large amount of economic leverage, and most of this is supplied by the criminal justice system itself. The pimp allows his girls enough money so that they can keep themselves looking good but not enough so that they can keep themselves out of jail. The girls need the pimp to pay bail and to hire a lawyer."
>
> —San Francisco Committee on Crime, "A Report on Non-Victim Crime in San Francisco," June 1971

While opposing the legal persecution of prostitutes and their customers, Marxists have no objections to the imprisonment of pimps, who will certainly meet with summary justice after the workers revolution.

Prostitution is often classed with abortion, homosexuality and drug use under the category of "crimes without victims." However, there are some important differences. Abortion law reform has powerful support among articulate and well-to-do women whose personal rights are directly threatened. Similarly, homosexuality exists at all levels of society. Liberalization of drug laws has followed the spread of marijuana use from urban ghettos to affluent suburbs and college campuses. By contrast, prostitutes are social victims and outcasts with few powerful defenders.

Moreover, prostitution involves far more than private sexual activity between consenting adults, an area that should be totally free from state scrutiny and regimentation. Prostitution is an institutionalized expression of the degraded position of women in class society and represents a particularly vicious form of economic exploitation. Thus our attitude toward pimps, as toward drug pushers, is markedly different from our attitude toward their victims.

While opposing laws which enforce reactionary social prejudices and strengthen the repressive apparatus of the bourgeois state, we are not at all unconcerned with social evils like prostitution, drug addiction and chronic alcoholism. It is the duty of the conscious proletarian vanguard to combat these excrescences of capitalist society at the same time as we fight the legal victimization and discrimination inherent in bourgeois "law and order." These ulcerous social problems can only be eliminated by abolishing the system of grinding economic oppression which is their root cause. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188..... (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 9054,
Houston, TX 77011

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 94101

SAN FRANCISCO
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 879-7623
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Nazi Swine...

(continued from page 12)

experience: "To turn to the state, that is, to capital, with the demand to disarm the fascists means to sow the worst democratic illusions, to lull the vigilance of the proletariat, to demoralize its will."

Not Adventurism, But Mass Action

The Spartacist League unambiguously stands for the crushing of the fascist movement in the egg. But we warn against adventures that only provoke state repression and embolden the fascists. An incident before the Pasadena rally in which the Progressive Labor Party (PL) figured prominently shows the danger of isolated groups substituting themselves for the strength of the organized working class.

While leafletting for the demonstration, several PL supporters and members of the PCIP came across some Nazis who were leafletting. A confrontation developed, a crowd gathered and the ensuing scuffle ended with five anti-fascists in jail on assault charges while the Nazis got off scot-free.

Such hapless skirmishes neither deter the Nazi worms nor demonstrate to the masses the possibility of smashing fascism while it is weak. These misplaced heroics simply land militants in jail.

Marxists hold that only the power of the working class can decisively crush the fascists. That power must be organized in workers defense guards based on the labor movement:

> "Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands."
> *Transitional Program*

The united-front demonstration in Pasadena is an important step forward. It is particularly significant that the virulent Trotsky-haters of the CLP united with Trotskyists to oppose racist terror. But to militarily defeat the vicious Nazi and Klan thugs, it is necessary to take up a fight within the labor movement for the mass mobilization of working-class organizations, particularly the trade unions. An important example of such action was recently shown by United Auto Workers Local 6 in Chicago. Acting on the initiative of the Labor Struggle Caucus, an opposition group in the union, the local established an integrated defense guard that successfully protected the home of a black UAW member from Nazi firebombers.

Though today the fascist forces are small, the outrageous mock hanging of Reverend Bailey is an ominous foretaste of their barbaric plans. Socialist and labor militants must arouse the working class to flush out the fascist vermin and destroy them. Seeking to capitalize on racial polarization and international capitalist depression, the Klan's and Nazis' ambition is to become a growing and powerful weapon against minorities and the working people. But a correct and energetic policy by the labor movement can ensure these champions of lynching and the fiery cross will be mercilessly crushed by workers' justice. ■

Portugal...

(continued from page 7)

trated by the words and actions of the Communist Party in recent months. The CP is now busily blaming the economic crisis on the "government of the right." A proposal adopted by the CP-dominated Farm Workers Union at the beginning of the September strike called for "immediate imprisonment for all landowners, conspirators and saboteurs of the economy," "immediate credit to all collective farms and small- and middle-sized farmers," "active participation of the leagues and unions and elaboration of laws concerning the Agrarian Reform, that is to say immediate surrender of all large properties to rural workers and small farmers, as the only way to take power from the large landowners who have sabotaged the economy," and "the formation of a government which guarantees effectively the advance of the revolutionary process toward a socialist society, not a social democracy" (*Diario de Noticias*, 18 September).

The CP's tough talk is cheap. But what is the record of the supposedly Communist-dominated "government of the left" of Vasco Gonçalves? The CP takes credit for the Agrarian Reform Law, but during its months of power it failed to implement it except in a few CP strongholds. Nor did the CP work to give financial and technical support to the collective farms.

Portugal's economic problems can be solved only by the destruction of capitalism through the independent mobilization of the working class. The tragic lesson of popular frontism must be absorbed by the Portuguese workers. No matter how strong the "left" component of the coalition, it is always the *capitalists* who dominate. Coalition politics means leaving power in the hands of the capitalists, allowing them to blame everything on the workers while the capitalists actually intensify the chaos. Coalitionism paved the way for Pinochet in Chile, for the Vichy government in France, for Franco in Spain. No matter how much the Portuguese coalition talks about "preparing the way for a socialist future," its reluctance to proclaim measures of state regulation over the economy, its indolence in applying them and its kowtowing before the imperialists simply strengthen the hand of the reactionaries, demoralize the working masses and prepare the way for a similar right-wing takeover in Portugal.

Financial disorganization cannot be effectively combatted by the capitalist coalition government, which at best introduces bureaucratic controls cloaked in socialist rhetoric, actually frustrating at every step the reorganization of the economy. Not "austerity," but a *planned economy* in a workers state! Only a workers government, headed by a Portuguese vanguard party, can open the road to orderly and equitable economic development through the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. ■

Healyite Slander, Hypocrisy and Cowardice...

The WRP Roars Gently

Bottom: Let me play the lion too. I will roar that I will do any man's heart good to hear me; I will roar that I will make the Duke say, "Let him roar again, let him roar again."
Quince: An you should do it too terribly, you would fright the Duchess and the ladies, that they would shriek; and that were enough to hang us all....
Bottom: I grant you, friends, if you should fright the ladies out of their wits, they would have no more discretion but to hang us. But I will aggravate my voice so that I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove, I will roar you an 'twere any nightingale.

—*A Midsummer Night's Dream*; Act I, Scene 2

"For 35 years Hansen has assiduously developed the myth of his titanic services to Trotsky as a guard in Coyoacán.
"This myth has been shattered forever with the publication of 'Security and the Fourth International.'
"Evidence presented by the IC shows that Hansen did not even see to it that the guards charged with the defense of Trotsky's life were properly trained in marksmanship."

—*Bulletin*, 24 October

"The Workers Revolutionary Party is a legal Political Party which carries out work publicly in the Labour and Trade Union Movement in addition to contesting Parliamentary elections. It is completely opposed in principle to terrorism and to the possession or use of firearms or explosives. Any member of the party found with firearms or explosives would be expelled."

—*Workers Press*, 4 October

RSL...

(continued from page 8)

Indochina could be depicted only as a reactionary war between two bourgeois forces—the "state capitalist" Stalinists and the capitalist-landlord regimes—and between rival imperialisms—the "imperialist" Sino-Soviet bloc and the U.S. In a Maoist/New Left milieu opposed to "Soviet social-imperialism" and among liberals hostile to "Russian imperialism," the RSL can swim with mainstream petty-bourgeois radicalism by vigorously denouncing Russian "state capitalism" and attacking the pro-Moscow parties as "a counterrevolutionary agency within the workers movement." But faced with the tremendous popularity and authority of the Indochinese Stalinists, the RSL, like its IS siblings, has refused to oppose the victory of these more popular Stalinists, and characterizes Maoists whom it wishes to tail as "centrists" (logically, the RSL should deem the Maoists proponents of a capitalist regime).

The RSL mangles its "state capitalism" theory to accommodate its opportunist appetites. Since the "state capitalist" USSR is an "imperialist" power, according to the RSL, any conflict between the USSR and an advanced capitalist country can be condemned as an "inter-imperialist war." But since the "state capitalist" regimes established in Indochina have not yet become "imperialist," the RSL asserts that these states should be defended from imperialist attack just like any other semi-colonial or neo-colonial country.

But in rationalizing its call for the military victory of the Stalinist forces and now the military defense of the Stalinist regimes, the RSL has backed into the proposition that "state capitalist" Stalinist insurgencies and the "state capitalism" which is established with the Stalinist victories are more progressive than the old-style capitalist states which are overturned. According to the RSL, "state capitalism" is a "means to expel imperialism and modernize the country through statification of the economy." The establishment of "state capitalism" in Indochina required a revolutionary upheaval and represents a progressive transformation: "In Indochina itself the victories will mean certain steps toward the achievement of bourgeois-democratic rights, the breakup of the landed estates, the return of the countries of Indochina to their respective peoples, some strides toward equality for the oppressed minorities and women, etc."

Furthermore, the RSL adamantly maintains that this "state capitalism" established in Indochina is identical to the mode of production prevailing in the USSR; the countries of Indochina will develop into "imperialist" states, as China allegedly has. (The RSL contends that China is "imperialist" on the basis of its "exploitation" of Tibet; presumably the Chinese bureaucracy extracts super-profits from the production of yak butter!)

Thus, it is the RSL which ascribes a revolutionary role to the petty bourgeoisie and which mutilates the very underpinnings of the permanent revolution. According to the RSL, in the epoch of imperialism a backward country like Vietnam or China can wrench free from imperialist domination and develop into an industrially advanced power without breaking from capitalism. For the RSL, "state capitalism" installed by the petty bourgeoisie in revolutionary conflict with the bourgeoisie has the potential for unleashing new industrial revolutions in the colonial and semi-colonial countries *within the framework of capitalism*. The petty-bourgeoisie, according to the RSL, can revolutionize capitalism in the underdeveloped world through "state capitalism."

The conclusions which ineluctably follow from the RSL's "state capitalist" analysis are that capitalism has not exhausted its historic possibilities and that this is not the epoch of imperialist decay and proletarian revolution. The revisionist theory of "state capitalism" thus leads to a complete renunciation of Marxism. With its anti-Marxist theory, the RSL is doomed to limp along the same path to anti-communism trodden by renegades such as Max Shachtman and James Burnham. ■

Bulletin der Bolschewiki-Leninisten
herausgegeben von den Österreichischen Bolschewiki-Leninisten
5 Nummern — 4,--DM
30,-- öS
zu beziehen über:
ÖBL, Postfach 39
1033 Wien, Österreich

Default...

(continued from page 1)

city "file a good faith plan for payments to its creditors" as part of the bankruptcy procedure.

Default and the Public Sector

The bourgeoisie's vicious drive to slash social services in New York City is part of its strategy to reverse the enormous growth of the public sector. Since World War II state and local government has accounted for the lion's share of the total increase in public employment. While the federal civilian payroll mushroomed from 1.1 million in 1940 to 2.6 million in 1972, state and municipal employment leaped from over 3 to nearly 11 million (*Handbook of Labor Statistics*, 1973). The cries of "welfare fraud" and "budget balancing" are motivated by the fervent desire to drive these figures down.

Contrary to the tenets of many adherents of the "neo-capitalist" school of pseudo-Marxism, the expansion of public sector expenditures does not reflect the profitable investments of a continuous post-war boom, but the necessary costs of maintaining American capitalism. The optimal level of state services is often an area of significant controversy among the bourgeoisie. Nixon's 1971 New Economic Policy was an adaptation to the American economy's altered position in the world market; formerly pre-eminent U.S. capitalism had become merely the strongest of several powerful competitors. This shift generated strong pressure to drive down costs and free up surplus for capital investment—hence Nixon's wage freeze and the tightening fiscal squeeze on municipal budgets.

While the New York City payroll shot up from $3 to $5 billion in the space of three years (1968-71), the city's revenue base was shrinking as the result of declining production and real estate values. At the same time the pyramiding structure of short-term loans and municipal bonds siphoned off an ever greater part of the city's income for debt service. This fiscal crunch reached crisis proportions about a year ago when the banks adopted more conservative loan policies. MAC was created to "restore the confidence" of these usurious leeches by a stringent austerity program. But even after MAC's drastic budget cuts, its bonds proved unpalatable to investors because of the city's attenuated ability to back them up. The city faces the prospect of being unable to meet its day-to-day operating costs by early December.

A crucial part of the capitalists' program for foisting their crisis onto the backs of the workers is to crush the militancy of the public employee unions, which have grown phenomenally since the mid-sixties. The American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) is the fastest-growing union in the U.S., recruiting new members at a clip of 1,000 per week. Particularly worrisome to the ruling class, public employee strikes have increased well over 1,000 percent since 1940 despite vicious anti-strike legislation and the timidity of the union bureaucrats.

Government spokesmen have demagogically denounced as exceeding the national average New York City workers' wages and benefits. Ford contrasted the wages and job conditions of New York sanitation workers with those in "most cities." All factions of the bourgeoisie are united in the determination to crack New York City union strongholds such as AFSCME's 100,000-strong District Council 37, the United Federation of Teachers, the Transport Workers Union and the Uniformed Sanitationmen.

The union brass in New York has blustered and snorted, while acquiescing to every new attack by Beame, Carey and MAC. The general strike mutterings of the Gotbaum-DeLury-Shanker-Feinstein crew were intended for membership consumption only. Having earlier urged default so that "all would suffer equally," the union tops are now prepared to go all the way with Governor Carey's admittedly "desperate and very far out idea" of using employee pension funds—to the tune of $4 billion by December—to "save the city" one more time. Lending this enormous sum, representing 50 percent of total municipal pension funds, would mean gratuitously mortgaging union members' hard-won financial security for the sake of the labor traitors' liberal buddies' political careers.

City workers must demand: hands off the pension funds! Labor must mobilize for a city-wide general strike to reverse the layoffs and restore all cuts in city services. It must demand a shorter workweek with no loss in pay to create jobs for all, and full cost-of-living protection against inflation.

Both the stringent austerity measures accompanying Proxmire's bail-out scheme and the "let-them-eat-cake" hauteur of Ford's default proposal will escalate the assault on city unions and speed up the erosion of the living standards of New York's already ravaged population. Militants in the New York labor movement must not accept these disastrous alternatives. What is needed is cancellation of the debt combined with expropriation of the banks and major industries, with no compensation to the capitalist vultures. Down with the twin parties of capital—forward to a workers party to fight for a workers government!■

WV photo

NYC teachers march across Brooklyn Bridge during strike this September.

Cop Vendetta Against Bay Area White Panthers

SAN FRANCISCO—Over the last several years cop harassment of the White Panther Party (WPP) here has escalated into a campaign of provocation. During 1974 the S.F. police department made 54 arrests of White Panthers, *none* of which led to conviction. On 12 July 1974 four plainclothes cops without a warrant forced their way into a Haight-Ashbury apartment occupied by WPP supporters, seeking to arrest WPP member Miranda Nelson on suspicion of burglary.

As the cops headed up the stairs to the second floor, White Panthers Tom Stevens and Terry Phillips, bearing legal firearms, ordered them to halt. Only after Stevens and Phillips fired warning shots did the cops beat a hasty retreat. Within minutes, however, the house was surrounded by a SWAT squad which proceeded to burn the house out according to the model set by the Los Angeles police department in its massacre of SLA members two months previously.

Phillips and Stevens managed to escape, however, to emerge from hiding a few days later and resume their political activities. It was only six months later, after the WPP had initiated a $3 million suit against the S.F.P.D. for destruction of the White Panther apartment, that they were arrested! Last May they were convicted of assaulting police officers with deadly weapons and sentenced to 5 1/2-years-to-life in prison in a frame-up, kangaroo-court trial.

As the date for hearings on reduction of sentence approached, the cops, once again inspired by the vindictive police captain Jeremiah Smith, launched yet another attack on WPP headquarters last August 6. A search warrant for stolen goods in the building next door was the ostensible basis for encircling and invading WPP premises. Four White Panthers were arrested on ludicrously false charges, while documents as well as legal firearms were stolen from the house. These outrages are vicious exercises in overkill.

The WPP is politically innocuous and ineffective. The Bay Area White Panthers descend from a split from John Sinclair's group of the same name originating in Detroit in the early 1960's. The Bay Area group is more political than Sinclair's WPP, though it is far from having a consistent viewpoint. The members of this group consider themselves "lumpen communists" and espouse a program which is an omelet of utopian, reformist, New Left ideas. In actuality they are impoverished petty-bourgeois hippies who live by organizing concerts, selling food and crafts, doing carpentry and electrical work and so forth.

The WPP's concept of overthrowing capitalism by dropping out of it—organizing alternative cooperative institutions to "serve the people"—leads them to adopt reactionary positions. They oppose free public health care as "anarchist freeism," for example. While they constantly condemn the U.S. government as "fascist," they also make a big point that not all cops are fascists. In fact their program for community control of the police includes the slogan "Support Your Local Police"! According to Point 4 of the WPP program on the police:

> "To think that the police alone can stop wanton murderers, rapists, and heroin pushers is as foolish as thinking that the police are not necessary at all. "As police departments become more responsive to the needs of the community, rather than special interest groups or profiteers, their alienation from the community—especially from the youth and minorities—will also decrease, and combined community efforts will be more successful at stopping crime."

The fact that police persecution has made the White Panthers a living testament to the absurdity of their own program in no way makes the victimization of this group by capitalism's cops and courts less despicable. Defend the right of self-defense against bourgeois terror! Free Stevens and Phillips!

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

84

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)

☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

Anti-Busing Night Riders Terrorize Black Minister

Hundreds Demonstrate Against Nazi Swine in Pasadena

PASADENA, October 26—Angry demonstrators marched through this small conservative city today to protest last month's simulated lynching of a local black clergyman. The racist outrage was the latest atrocity by the National Socialist White Peoples Party (Nazis) to exploit a lingering racial confrontation over court-ordered busing. The Nazis have been peddling their racist filth at school board meetings and pro-busing demonstrations and have incited anti-black violence at Pasadena High School. In bringing out the lynch rope again, the Nazi scum are boldly riding a wave of anti-busing racism that has swept the U.S.

On the evening of September 15, black minister Harrison Bailey was lured from his home for a purported interview on the busing question. Two men posing as reporters took Bailey to a nearby hamburger stand, where he was apparently drugged. When Bailey regained consciousness, he found himself hanging from a tree in Manzanita Park, strung up in a make-shift harness and clad only in a T-shirt on which were scrawled three swastikas and the slogan "Down with School Busing." Seeking to intimidate local busing advocates, the Nazis sent pictures of the "lynching" to black church leaders, NAACP officials and the black attorney who authored the "Pasadena Plan" for integrating the city's schools.

Police who arrived after 3 a.m. September 16 to cut Bailey down proceeded with their usual callous unconcern for victims of racial violence. Although suffering great pain, Reverend Bailey was prevented from reaching a hospital for over two hours by the cops, who interrogated him not on the identity of his assailants but on his political views and actions. Later, the cops concocted the "theory" that Reverend Bailey, along with black militants, staged the hanging in order to "stir up racial conflict." Specifically, the police attempted to tie local activist Michael Zinzun and the Pasadena Community Information Center (PCIC) to this "conspiracy." The PCIC has been subject to police harassment in the past, and Zinzun and five others are currently being framed up on charges stemming from an illegal police raid at the Center. Denouncing Pasadena's transparently twisted "justice," Rev. Bailey has said, "I'm more angry with the Pasadena police department than I am with anybody else."

WV photo

Reverend Harrison Bailey at site of "lynching" atrocity.

WV photo

October 26 demonstration in Pasadena.

United Front Against Fascist Terror

A campaign mounted to protest the Bailey "hanging" climaxed in today's militant demonstration. Nearly 300 people marched without incident through the Pasadena black community to the location of the atrocity. The anti-fascist demonstrators shouted slogans such as "Smash the Nazis! Smash the Klan!" and "Black, Brown, Yellow, White—Workers of the World Unite!"

Sponsors of the march included the Communist Labor Party, Spartacist League, Socialist Workers Party (SWP), PCIC, Progressive Labor Party, New American Movement, San Gabriel Unemployed Committee, San Fernando La Raza Unida Party, CASA (a Chicano group) and the Socialist Union. Representatives of all these organizations, with the exception of the SWP, addressed the post-march rally. Rev. Bailey and his NAACP lawyer, Charles Johnson, also spoke.

The basis for this successful united-front action had been laid in earlier planning meetings. The night before the march, proposals submitted by the Spartacist League were overwhelmingly approved: a steering committee, headed by Michael Zinzun and open to all participating organizations, was formed and all groups were allowed a speaker at the rally. The only opposition to this motion came from the SWP and its left fellow traveler, the Socialist Union.

The SWP: From Trotskyism to Respectable Social Democracy

The SWP played a disgusting role in the planning meetings and at the demonstration itself. Indicative of its grovelling for respectability, the SWP has recently adopted the civil-libertarian position that the "right" of free speech for fascists must be protected. Evidently less concerned about workers democracy in a united front, the SWP first wanted to limit speaking rights at the rally to representatives of "relevant" (that is, non-communist) groups and then bureaucratically tried to sabotage the unity of the march by disregarding the motion for an inclusive steering committee; the SWP paraded as the sole leaders who alone could organize the monitors and talk to police. The SWP, which in the 1930's had organized workers defense guards to rout the Silver Shirts and Nazis, argued against march monitors carrying heavy picket staffs for self-defense. At the demonstration, the SWP, which as a revolutionary party used to tell workers to rely not on the bourgeois courts and cops but on their own organized strength to crush the fascist filth, tried to drown out chants of "Smash the Nazis" with a liberal counter-chant, "Justice for Reverend Bailey."

The SWP's participation in the march is more a testimony to its opportunist appetite to be "where it's at" than to its commitment to fight fascism. The SWP has turned its back on other anti-fascist demonstrations, even when, as in Cleveland, a united-front rally initiated by the SYL protested rightist attacks on the SWP/YSA's own offices! For these cynical ex-Trotskyists, the re-emerging snouts of the growing Klan and Nazi forces are "insignificant." Manuel Barrera, an SWP spokesman at an early planning meeting, maintained that only "real fascists like Barry Goldwater" were a threat. The absurd and obvious (even the SWP knows better) blurring of the difference between the conservative bourgeois Senator and the fascist stormtroopers is a cover for the SWP's real appetites and behavior: a revisionist preference for the chit-chat of democratic salons and cringingly reformist electoral campaigns.

Trotsky could well have been polemicizing against the SWP of today when he wrote in 1934: "Fascism finds unconscious helpers in all those who say that the 'physical struggle' is impermissible or hopeless.... Nothing increases the insolence of the Fascists so much as 'flabby pacifism' on the part of the workers organizations" (*Whither France?*).

Bourgeois Cops Will Not Stop Fascism!

The SWP today prefers to call on the cops, courts and Federal government to stem the rise of rightist groups and racist terror. The Communist Labor Party (CLP), although it played a major role in building the Pasadena rally, carries the SWP's policy to its logical conclusion by calling on the capitalist government to ban the fascist organizations.

This orientation is utopian and extremely dangerous. The police, always a recruiting ground for fascist goons, will not subdue their brown-shirted brothers. Cops may take the fascists' firearms today, but only to return them tomorrow. History demonstrates with painful regularity that capitalist states ban "extremist" groups only to suppress the left, preserving the right for the day when the fascists' naked dictatorship is welcomed in a desperate drive to crush the workers movement. In *War and the Fourth International*, Trotsky summed up the historical

continued on page 10

For Mass Labor/Black Mobilizations to Crush Nazi Terror!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 85 14 November 1975

Portugal Leaves, U.S./South Africa Move in

Smash Imperialist Power Play in Angola!

NOVEMBER 11—The departure of the last Portuguese troops from Luanda today represents the end of five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule in Africa. Whether this will result in an independent Angolan state, however, is in question. Following the lowering of the flag in the capital, the left-nationalist Moscow-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) proclaimed a new government. At the same time, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) are reportedly preparing to announce a second government. The FNLA is financed by the U.S. and heavily backed by Zaïre (the former Belgian Congo), while Maoist China supplies guns and military advisers; UNITA is neo-colonialist, backed by the remaining Portuguese entrepreneurs and increasingly backed directly by South Africa. Meanwhile, a joint FNLA/UNITA force, spearheaded by white mercenaries and organized in South Africa, is reportedly moving toward Luanda, the capital city.

During the last 14 months Angola has been torn by a power struggle between the three groups. A "transitional government" set up with the signing of the Alvor agreement in January broke down two months later following bloody fighting in the capital. A second attempt to set up a four-part coalition (along with the Portuguese military), the Nakuru accords in June, did not last even three weeks before serious clashes again occurred. The battles quickly developed into full-scale civil war, with the leftist MPLA tenacinusly holding onto the capital and the north central region, the FNLA firmly entrenched in north Angola, and UNITA consolidating its grip on the south central plateau region around Nova Lisboa.

During this time each group has had its foreign suppliers: the MPLA receiving Soviet bloc and Yugoslav weapons; the FNLA backed up by Zaïre, China and the U.S.; UNITA receiving aid from Zambia and now South Africa. The delivery of armaments had a great effect on the shifting battle lines. Thus the FNLA drove the MPLA out of the important crossroads town of Caxito north of Luanda after obtaining tanks and artillery from Zaïre last summer; the MPLA retook the junction a few days later after receiving Russian missiles and anti-tank rockets. In addition, during August South African troops entered southern Angola and occupied the area around the Cunene River hydroelectric installations. But despite heavy foreign involvement the struggle remained essentially a three-cornered power struggle between rival petty-bourgeois nationalist formations. Within this framework, there was no way that Marxists could take sides politically among the contenders; in Angola there was no qualitative difference between the petty-bourgeois nationalists of the FNLA and MPLA, and any proletarian union- and party-based formation struggling independently would meet with the same savage repression at the hands of the nationalist groups.

l'Express

Sympathizer of MPLA arrested by soldiers of FNLA after the battle of Porto Quipiri.

However, in recent days and weeks the Angolan civil war has become increasingly dominated by imperialist attempts to "counter Soviet influence" through installing an anti-communist FNLA/UNITA regime or, failing that, dividing up the country. The decisive evidence of subordination to imperialism was the appearance of an armored column headed by 500 white mercenaries, organized by the rightist "Portuguese Liberation Army" (ELP) and launched from South African-held areas. This colonialist/imperialist-led force took the southern provincial town of Sa da Bandeira on October 29 and last week was vying with the MPLA for control of the port of Lobito and the railhead at Benguela.

This attack is part of a concerted imperialist power play aimed at "maintaining the balance of power" (i.e., containing Soviet influence) and establishing a *cordon sanitaire* of conservative regimes as a buffer to protect white-dominated South Africa. Other elements of this policy are the attempt during the last year by the apartheid regime in South Africa to buy "détente" with Zambia, and the several million dollars channelled by the CIA to the right-wing nationalists in recent months. The 25 September *New York Times* confirmed this widely-rumored fact, noting: "American funds were being used to buy arms for both Mr. [Holden] Roberto [FNLA leader] and Mr. [Jonas] Savimbi [UNITA leader]...." Last week the Ford administration went even further, requesting a tenfold increase in military aid to Zaïre (from $3.8 million to $39.4 million), admitting that this was being used for a "covert supply of rifles, machine guns, vehicles and ammunition to the two anti-Soviet liberation movements in Angola" (*New York Times*, 7 November).

Marxists are uncompromising opponents of colonialism and thus, without muting our struggle against bourgeois nationalism, we would give military support to any of the pro-independence groups against the Portuguese army. However, in a power struggle between right- and left-wing nationalists (such as has occurred in Angola from August 1974 until last month) the working class is not obliged to support the "progressive" aspiring exploiters, although there may be occasions for military blocs with the latter against the ultra-reactionaries.

The MPLA while presently aligned with Moscow could tomorrow become the favorite of Washington, and it is in any case no less hostile to the slightest expression of working-class indepen-

continued on page 9

Maoists Bloc with CIA "Anti-Imperialists" in Angola

SEE PAGE 9

New "McCarthy" Bill Menaces Left, Labor, Blacks

SMASH S-1!

Martha Mitchell peered out her window at a massive demonstration protesting the invasion of Cambodia and said, "It's just like the Russian Revolution." Her husband knew better but was nonetheless enraged by "anti-American criticism" of the government's Vietnam policies. In June 1971 when the *New York Times* began reprinting the "Pentagon Papers," Attorney-General Mitchell went to court waving the flag of "national security" in an attempt to gag the press. But by the end of the month the Supreme Court had turned him down and the Pentagon Papers were rolling off the presses, embarrassing an already exasperated, brittle administration.

Nixon, Mitchell and the gang—soon to become the Watergate conspirators—wanted to shake off the cumbersome legal apparatus and do it their way. Their criminal efforts aimed at satisfying bonapartist appetites are now infamous. What is not always understood is that it was in this political climate and with those intentions that John Mitchell, in 1971, became chief architect of "the Criminal Justice Reform Act of 1975," a legislative house of horrors popularly known by its Senate docket number as "S-1."

Reported into the Senate Judiciary Committee in late October, S-1 began its legislative history in 1966 when Lyndon Johnson appointed a National Commission on Reform of Criminal Laws. Under the guise of streamlining the jumbled, overlapping and often inconsistent federal criminal statutes, S-1 became under Mitchell-Kleindienst the synthesis of the worst of the Nixon-backed crime bill (S-1400) and the Reform Commission's minority law-and-order report—an elaborate license for massive government repression. Its sweeping provisions trample democratic rights in a drive to bring quick and harsh class "justice" against anti-government elements. The bill represents a particular menace to left, labor and black militants.

Legal Police Terror Against the Left

The 753-page S-1 aims its most dangerous and outrageously undemocratic big guns directly at the left. It dispenses with the language of the 1957 Supreme Court decision that "a clear and present danger" must be shown in order to convict for "advocacy" (to overthrow the government), instead finding much broader definitions useful.

- S-1 provides 15-year penalties (three times the Smith Act terms!) for anyone who "organizes, leads, recruits members for, or participates as an active member" of an organization which incites others to actions which "at some future time would facilitate" the destruction of the government "as speedily as circumstances permit."
- The "conspiracy" and "solicitation" sections of S-1 open the prosecutor's door even wider. One could be indicted for agreeing with another person that at some time in the indeterminate future they would "incite," or for attempting to persuade another person to engage at some future time in seditious "incitement."
- Redrafting the 1968 "Rap Brown Act," Section 1831 eliminates the need to prove that a person crossed a state line with the specific intent to incite a riot. S-1 provides three-year/$100,000 penalties for using a telephone or the mails, much less physically crossing a state line, resulting in "promoting" a riot. A riot is defined as "tumultuous conduct" of five or more persons that "creates a grave danger of injury or damage to persons or property." Note that the "*danger*" must be grave, not the injury or damage! Under such conditions, not only would most of the antiwar demonstrations of the 1960's be banned, but also many strikes.
- Loosely redefining sabotage, the bill makes it a crime to delay or obstruct "production, repair, or delivery" of "any property particularly suited for national defense use" that "might impair the ability of the U.S. to prepare for defense activities." While exempting "conduct occuring in the usual course of a lawful labor strike activity," it is clear that not only anti-militarist demonstrations but also political strikes would be banned.
- The bill also provides jail sentences for interfering with recruitment, conscription or induction into the armed forces, and a one-year jail term for the obstruction of *any* government function by "means of noise, by means of violent or tumultuous behaviour or disturbance, or by any other means."
- By the criteria in the bill S-1, every left group in the U.S. would become instantly felonious. To ease the task of prosecution, the bill further relaxes the notoriously vague standards for proving "conspiracy." Whereas now some "overt act" in furtherance of the conspiracy must be proved to establish plotting, Section 1001 would make "any conduct" (defined as including "omissions" and "possession") engaged in to pursue the "conspiracy" sufficient grounds for conviction.
- Several sections of the proposed law include not merely sharp attacks on the left, but a barrage on all civil rights. S-1 encourages entrapment techniques and agents provocateurs by putting the burden of proof on the defendant to show that he was not "predisposed" to commit the crime involved.
- S-1 increases the sentences for most federal crimes, including reinstituting the death penalty for treason, sabotage, espionage and certain cases of murder; allows sentences to be appealed by the prosecution in all sentences of probation or where jail term is less than three fifths of the maximum; and bars virtually all insanity defenses. It expands the definition of "harboring" a federal criminal to include merely telling someone he is being sought. It abridges the right of witnesses before Congress and grand juries to claim the Fifth Amendment—i.e., remaining silent to avoid possible self-incrimination—and provides for stiffened jail terms for refusal to testify. S-1 also increases the penalties on drug possession and bans most post-Victorian sexual material as "obscene."

Making the Country Safe for Watergate

The S-1 bill provides for a legal apparatus which would sanction Watergate-style activities not only against the left, but also against political dissidents of every stripe—even the bourgeois political party out of office. It reaffirms and expands federal wiretapping authority, without the necessity of a court warrant. It would provide for the whitewashing of Watergate-type crimes by giving federal officers, employees or anyone acting at their direction immunity for crimes authorized by a government agency head. (The bill even provides as a legal defense the mere belief by a federal official that his criminal behavior was authorized, even if it was not!) This includes the use of "deadly force" by federal marshals and FBI agents, paving the way for even more indiscriminate terror by gun-toting thugs on the government payroll.

The secrecy provisions of S-1 directly threaten the press. Several major newspapers, including the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times* and even *Wall Street Journal*, along with the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), have been highly critical of those sections aimed at preventing a new "Pentagon Papers" incident. "Official secrets" and espionage are redefined in the broadest terms to include communicating "national defense information." The bill bans giving such information to unauthorized persons and requires the immediate handing over to government agents of such materials by anyone receiving them.

The kicker is the definition of "national defense information": it need not be classified, may be generally known, and need not be proved to have harmed U.S. "interests"! The legal defense that material has been unlawfully classified is prohibited, except when all administrative remedies have been exhausted. Section 1114 also prohibits the communication of any statement "which in fact is false" about "losses, plans, operations or conduct of the military forces of the U.S." or any U.S. ally, or any enemy! An editorial error, or the report of a strike at a defense plant, even during an undeclared war, could land editors and reporters in jail.

It is the Watergate sections of S-1 that are, of course, most under attack in bourgeois circles. It is one thing to use wiretaps and illegal searches against "reds" and black militants (a practice that has been going on for years) and quite another to bring such methods to bear against the capitalist party out of office. S-1 seeks to generalize and bestow legal sanction on policies the FBI, CIA and "red squads" have been following for years against left, labor and black militants: mail openings, surveillance, break-ins, frame-ups, COINTELPRO disruptions and "enemies" lists.

The bill was drafted before Watergate, and there will be considerable pressure in bourgeois circles to change and amend it in the direction of a pure and simple "get tough on crime and reds" bill. As one of S-1's most promi-

CP's Smith Act victims—1949. DAILY WORLD presents them as "the first."

Six of the defendants in the first Smith Act trial: William Z. Foster, Benjamin Davis, Eugene Dennis, Henry Winston, John Williamson and Jack Stachel.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013 Telephone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business) Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 Domestic subscriptions $5.00 per year

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

FIRST SMITH ACT VICTIMS: Trotskyist Leaders—1941

Six of the 18 Trotskyist leaders convicted December, 1941, in the first Smith Act trial: (seated, left to right) Albert Goldman, Grace Carlson, Felix Morrow, (standing) Farrell Dobbs, James P. Cannon and V. R. Dunne.

nent critics, the ACLU, says of its espionage section: "The sole statute we need in this entire area is one designed only to deter good old-fashioned spying." After the Watergate scandal, the bonapartist appetites of Nixon and Company were subordinated to the more normal practice of bourgeois police terror against traditional "troublemakers." After some future process of amendment, S-1 will very likely reflect this development. The bill not only has the support of Republican fundamentalists like Eastland and Hruska, but also of influential Democratic liberals like Mansfield. Birch Baye, who was originally a supporter of the bill, has recently announced he will insist on 11 amendments. California's Alan Cranston has also called for amending S-1 prior to passage.

S-1, the Smith Act and the CP

If the S-1 bill is to get out of committee, get to the floor of the Senate and pass, it will do so as a bi-partisan compromise bill with the Watergate-Pentagon sections sanitized and the anti-red sections strengthened. All the more reason to demand that the S-1 be smashed and not *reformed*! Yet the Communist Party (CP), one of the most prominent propagandists against S-1, has campaigned precisely for a reform of S-1, while formally calling for its defeat. CP General Counsel John Abt writing in the February 1975 *Political Affairs* calls for a "broad based campaign to send the bill back to the drawing board for complete revision and 'reform' by the House and Senate Judiciary Committee."

Angela Davis, co-chairman of the CP-led National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, recently announced that the group's upcoming conference would make the defeat of S-1 a major priority. But the CP's approach to S-1 relies on its bankrupt policy of maneuvering with and pressuring the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. *Daily World* articles suggest the typical "write your Senator a letter" theme, including in its list of suggested addressees the best friends of S-1: Senators Eastland, McLellan and Hruska!

The CP's posture as the number one fighter against repressive legislation is belied by its own history. It decries S-1 as the new Smith Act, while falsifying its own role in the Smith Act prosecutions. The 28 June 1975 *Daily World* sports a picture of six of 12 CP defendants in what it calls "the first Smith Act trials." In fact, the 1940 Smith Act was first used against Trotskyists in the leadership of the then-revolutionary Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters. The CP, engaged in an orgy of super-patriotism in support of the imperialist world war, applauded the prosecution of these "anti-Americans," who were tried and convicted. Needless to say, the government was equally delighted to indict the CP leaders under the same law some seven years later.

On every front the opponents of S-1 have taken the opportunity to line up with the "progressive bourgeoisie" against the reactionaries. The spectre of fascism has called forth popular-front propaganda in its most classic form.

In a representative piece, the Maoist *Guardian* (15 October 1975) calls S-1 "an enabling act to impose fascism on the American people by 'legal' means...." But fascism is not just reactionary legislation. The Maoists completely fail to understand that it is the mass mobilization of the petty bourgeoisie to crush the workers organizations which characterizes fascism as a method of capitalist political rule distinct from parliamentary democracy. Thinking that bourgeois democracy can be transformed into fascism merely through S-1 bills, the Maoists hope to excuse their class-collaborationist popular-front policy of allying with the liberal bourgeoisie.

S-1 does not represent fascism any more than McCarthyism did. It is the logical stepping-up of repression within the bounds of bourgeois legality by a ruling class increasingly pressed on all sides: defeated militarily in Indochina, facing sharp economic competition on the world market, fearful of the restive ghettos and the powerful but misled working class. As such, S-1 is not an isolated phenomenon. The momentum for this bill parallels skyrocketing police budgets, rampant cop terror and rightward-marching Supreme Court decisions. The recent defeat of the ERA in the states of New York and New Jersey and the anti-busing resolutions in Congress indicate a political climate in which proponents of S-1 might try to make it law. With major cities disintegrating and predictions of civil disorders on the lips of Eastern bankers, the ruling class would feel more comfortable with S-1 on the books and ready for use.

However, the bonapartist appetites which produced S-1 received a setback in the outcry of indignation which followed Watergate. Its instigators widely discredited, the bill is vulnerable and could be smashed by a broad counteroffensive by the labor movement. Some labor organizations, including the Steelworkers, Meat Cutters, Auto Workers, West Coast Longshoremen, United Electrical Workers, Newspaper Guild and Coalition of Black Trade Unionists have come out against S-1. But the recent AFL-CIO convention tabled an anti-S-1 resolution to the burying ground of its Executive Council.

The union editorials that have appeared are a cynical bureaucratic substitution for the massive mobilization of workers necessary to smash this reactionary legislation. The perspective of "reforming" this anti-democratic excrescence poses the very real danger that the liberals will be pieced off by amendments which leave militant workers, blacks and the left isolated as the bill's direct target. Mass labor mobilizations must be built, demanding: Smash S-1—Break from the twin capitalist parties of repression!

Only a revolutionary labor movement, unified in struggle for the transitional program, can repel the bourgeoisie's repressive campaign once and for all. The ouster of the pro-capitalist union bureaucracy, which at every turn handcuffs the proletariat to its exploiters, is the condition for victory. The capitalists' witchhunting offensive must be answered by the creation of a workers party to fight for a workers government. ■

SPARTACIST

édition française No. 10
octobre 1975

3,00 F. **$.75 US/Canada**

pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 662-1548
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON ..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765,
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.,
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station,
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON ..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334,
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.,
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601,
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034,
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO . (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

NYC Rally for Puerto Rican Nationalists

Free the Five!

WV Photo

Approximately 350 people demonstrated outside the United Nations on November 1 to demand freedom for five Puerto Rican nationalists imprisoned for more than 20 years because of their armed attacks on bourgeois politicians (U.S. President Truman and the House of Representatives) responsible for maintaining colonial domination of Puerto Rico. While the numerous speakers at the demonstration made purely nationalist appeals (except for Resistencia Puertorriqueña, which vaguely alluded to socialism), the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League carried a banner with the slogan, "Free the Five! Independence for Puerto Rico—For a Socialist Federation of the Caribbean!"

For an Impartial Workers Commission on the Varga Affair!

A "Highly Dubious Figure"

LIRQI Walks Out of Paris Meeting

PARIS—*On November 6 representatives of the international Spartacist tendency (iSt) attended what was to have been the final planning meeting prior to the official formation of a Commission of Inquiry on the Varga affair and distributed a statement (reprinted below) documenting our efforts to work toward the creation of an impartial and authoritative commission, and our strenuous objections to the efforts of Varga's LIRQI to pull individuals and organizations on the left into a cynical cover-up operation.*

At the previous meeting held October 30, the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) had indicated agreement to participate in a commission on the basis of a statement of purpose, drafted by the LIRQI, in which the accused themselves would constitute part of the jury. Apparently willing to bloc with the minuscule Varga tendency on this completely unprincipled basis in order to score factional points against a major competitor—the Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI)—from whom the accusations against Varga originated, the LCR had dismissed our objections to foisting off as an impartial investigative body an already stacked deck. Referring to an article in Workers Vanguard *which had alluded to Varga as a "highly dubious" figure, the LCR had even gone so far as to strengthen the LIRQI's proposed basic statement by adding a clause explicitly designed to exclude Spartacist tendency representatives from the Commission. In the October 30 meeting the Lutte Ouvrière (LO) organization had played a confusionist role and solidarized with the LCR.*

But at the November 6 meeting, representatives of the LCR and LO evidenced some principles, or at least cold feet. After a representative of the iSt read our declaration, the LCR agreed—although only for reasons of "efficacy" and "credibility"—that the LIRQI itself should not be a member of the Commission. LO backed up the LCR, adding that the LIRQI's proposed statement clearly assumed Varga's innocence in advance.

Stunned by the disintegration of their maneuver, LIRQI representatives lost their cool. When a Spartacist tendency supporter suggested that the increasingly disorganized discussion should take place in rounds, rather than permitting the chairman to respond to every speaker, the chairman turned white and replied, "Here all the organizations are not on the same footing of equality." The LO representative pointedly demanded to know what that statement was supposed to mean, and insisted that LO would not participate in a whitewash of Varga. The LIRQI then exposed its real intentions toward the supposedly impartial investigation: "Never will we allow the working-class nature of our organization to be put on trial."

Finally, their cynical operation having blown up in their faces, the Varga supporters slunk out of their own meeting.

Statement to the Commission of Inquiry on the Varga Affair

For almost two years the Spartacist League U.S. and the international Spartacist tendency have systematically attempted to establish the truth behind the OCI's accusations against Varga—as having been in the service of the CIA, acting as a KGB provocateur—and against the International League Reconstructing the Fourth International (LIRQI). We therefore have called for the creation of an impartial Workers Commission of Inquiry to investigate the Varga affair. In February 1974, shortly after the OCI announced that it would make copies of Varga's archives available to any working class organization, the Spartacist League formally requested a complete set of copies. Only after repeated requests did the OCI deliver a small portion of the archives (approximately 20 percent of what their representative said was available) at the end of August 1974. We delayed taking a public position before receiving the archives and even now feel that the conclusions published in the French edition of *Spartacist* (No. 8, February 1975), although the only ones possible given what is presently known to us, must be regarded as tentative pending a fully authoritative Workers Commission of Inquiry.

In June 1974, Spartacist representatives raised the question of a Workers Commission of Inquiry in informal discussions with comrades Patrick and Blanc of the LIRQI. At that time, the LIRQI comrades said that while they were in favor of a commission, they did not consider it a priority! Indeed, the LIRQI letter to the Spartacist League, received in New York on 26 September 1974 (and published in French *Spartacist*, February 1975) did not even mention any proposal for a Commission of Inquiry. Our reply to the LIRQI of 31 October 1974 again raised the question and reiterated that "under certain circumstances the Spartacist tendency would be willing to participate in such a Commission." We did not feel it was necessary to elaborate on the central condition concerning its membership, since it appeared to us self-evident that neither the accused (Varga and the LIRQI) nor the accusers (the OCI) could legitimately be members of the judge/jury, i.e., of the Workers Commission.

This was not, however, self-evident to the LIRQI, and on 21 January 1975 we received an invitation to a meeting in Paris on 12 January (!) and a proposal by Varga, purportedly written on 19 January *1974* (but whose existence had never previously been mentioned by the LIRQI in over six months of contacts between the SL and the LIRQI) suggesting that both Varga and the LIRQI participate in the Workers Commission. Our reply to this proposal, dated 4 February 1975, therefore expanded on the necessary conditions for our participation in a Commission:

> "...under certain conditions we are prepared to participate in a Workers' Commission which would be sufficiently authoritative to come to a definitive verdict on the Varga affair. In particular, that means that such a Commission must function in the best tradition of the international workers movement and that *a priori* any conclusion is possible, including a recommendation that Varga be expelled from the Ligue Révolutionnaire des Socialistes Hongrois and the LIRQI. The character and methods of the Commission of Inquiry into the Moscow Trials, initiated by Trotsky, are the definitive and necessary model for the international Spartacist tendency.
>
> "It also appears to us that the list of organizations to which you wrote is much too narrow. In addition, it would also be desirable to solicit highly respected individuals such as Tamara Deutscher, Daniel Guérin or René Lefeuvre, or others mentioned in our prior letter. In reference to Varga's original proposal of 19 January 1974 (enclosed with your two letters), not only is it too limited, not only were we never informed of it, but Varga proposes (and it appears that the LIRQI agrees) that the LIRQI take part in the Commission's work, which is totally contrary to bolshevik norms and totally unacceptable to us. Under *no* conditions will we take part in a maneuver designed to whitewash Varga."

> "The initial mistake was that neither Sanyi nor you oriented to the State Department. In my opinion, we have to do everything to begin to orient so that normal links can be created with the State Department."
>
> —Balazs Nagy [M. Varga] to Sztaray Zoltan, 19 December 1958

> "About my characterization of Zinner, I'm not an anti-semite either, but let's look things in the face: the Jewish question exists. I don't hate them, but I'm fed up with their trying to act in our name; they are trying to lead Hungarians without understanding what it's about.... Fortunately the young Oxford Jews, *for the time being*, listen to us more than the old Jews, but for how long?"
>
> —Nagy/Varga to Sztaray Zoltan, 4 June 1958

> "In our reply we should give the impression that he is a provocateur... In short, it is time to exclude this dirty yid from the cultural milieu."
>
> —Nagy/Varga to Joska Molnar, 4 March 1959

> "In my opinion the Belgians were wrong to grant independence [to the Congo] with no preparation, after a paternalistic colonialism. They had a policy of treating the Blacks like children and suddenly they want to apply the most liberal of policies. That won't work. But that's no reason for the Blacks to be irresponsible."
>
> —letter by Nagy/Varga, 9 August 1960

Representatives of the international Spartacist tendency subsequently attended *all* of the planning meetings for the Commission of Inquiry to fight for the creation of an impartial Commission. While the LIRQI conceded our position that the Commission should be broadly based, it has maintained its position that the LIRQI should participate in it. For the LIRQI, the only purpose of the Commission is to denounce the OCI.

The LIRQI's resistance to the elementary norm of impartiality is now incorporated into the basic statement of the Commission of Inquiry of 30 October 1975. The Commission's stated basis presupposes that Varga is above reproach:

> "The basis for the formation of the Commission of Inquiry is that within the democratic and workers movement, making public accusations of such seriousness against a revolutionary militant or a working class organization—without proof, or on the basis of possible suspicion—is out of the question. The Commission of Inquiry is being formed because, contrary to what the OCI leadership claims, not only has it not given any proof in the various articles and pamphlets it has published to date, but it has also launched a campaign of physical aggression. Since these accusations and attacks have not been proven, and since it is up to the accuser to furnish evidence, they therefore constitute slanders and provocations."

The task of a Commission should be to determine *whether* the OCI has furnished adequate proof and to draw the appropriate conclusions. If its starting point is that the OCI has adduced *no* evidence, then there is no logical reason for the Commission to exist! Thus the demand that the OCI return Varga's archives to him, which is a possible *conclusion* at which the Commission might arrive, is presented as a *starting point*. It should also be noted that underlying the phrase "or on the basis of possible suspicion"—inserted in the document as the result of a motion by the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire—was a motivation directed explicitly against the international Spartacist tendency, in particular an article which appeared in the 3 October 1975 issue of *Workers Vanguard* and which, drawing on material published in the French edition of *Spartacist* (February 1975), characterizes Varga as "highly dubious." The Commission's statement to the contrary notwithstanding, therefore, part of the basis for the Commission is a political bloc against the international Spartacist tendency.

The international Spartacist tendency has clearly condemned the Stalinist-type methods which the OCI has used in its accusations against Varga. Nor have we ever hidden our serious differences with and severe criticisms of the OCI.

Despite the OCI's methods, however, it must be recognized that in the case of Varga, there are certainly grounds for more than "possible suspicion". The OCI has in fact furnished a certain limited documentation, which has never been disputed by the LIRQI or by Varga. According to the documents quoted by the OCI, during the period from approximately 1957 to 1960 or 1961, Varga actively and consciously sought State Department/CIA funding to carry out anti-Communist activities on behalf of U.S. imperialism. Far from disputing this, or unambiguously repudiating this part of Varga's past, leading members of the LIRQI have maintained that during this period Varga was a "centrist" and "disoriented," and Varga himself unabashedly states:

> "That we misunderstood the '56 revolution at the time and that due to this fact I personally made some errors, is undeniable. For by identifying Marx-
>
> *continued on page 8*

Cop Candidate Re-Elected Mayor

Rizzo Strongarms Philadelphia Elections

PHILADELPHIA, November 6 – Incumbent Democratic mayor Frank Rizzo routed his opposition in this week's city elections, returning to office in one of the biggest victories of his "law and order" career. Salivating over the returns, he pledged a war against his enemies that will "make Attila the Hun look like a faggot" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 November).

Challenging the incumbent were Republican Tom Foglietta and Charles Bowser, a black "independent" running on the "Philadelphia Party" ticket. Having spent $1.2 million to defeat a rival Democratic machine candidate in last May's primary and an equal amount this election, Rizzo took a three-to-two lead over the combined total of his opponents with the voting, as usual, following ethnic lines. Rizzo ran not only as the candidate of the cops but also with the support of the bulk of Philadelphia's organized labor movement. As in 1971 the corrupt and reactionary ex-police chief successfully waged his standard "law and order" campaign, designed to channel the fear and discontent of the beleaguered residents of this rotting metropolis away from the source of their oppression and to turn it against each other.

Racism and Repression

Philadelphia's black and Puerto Rican population have already had a bellyful of Rizzo's racist Gestapo methods during his first term. In the last four years over 200 black youth were slain in gang warfare on the "safe" streets of Philadelphia, where the cops carry out summary executions with impunity. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration said last year that the city's crime rate figures were falsified, with one of every five serious crimes left off police reports, and the Pennsylvania Crime Commission has reported widespread and systematic corruption in the police department. In a period of two weeks in late August, cops killed five "suspects," including an unarmed black youth shot in the back and an epileptic shot during a seizure by a cop who thought he was drunk. The district attorney exonerated the cop on the basis of his mistaken impression.

Neil Benson/LNS

Frank Rizzo with "Labor for Rizzo" supporters in 1971.

Encouraged by the blatant racism of the city administration, reactionary forces have created the same atmosphere of racial polarization and violence that provided the backdrop for elections in Boston, Cleveland and other cities. Court-ordered busing has been met with anti-busing rallies, while the City Council and Board of Education drag their feet to avoid implementing a plan for next fall. Racist attacks are growing more frequent and vicious. This summer, for example, a black family that moved into an all-white section of Upper Darby was terrorized by neighborhood racists.

In the most recent outrage, the home of Radamès Santiago, a Puerto Rican, was firebombed in the predominantly white Feltonville section. At 3 a.m. on Sunday, October 5, a Molotov cocktail was thrown into the house around which gasoline had been poured. Someone reporting the blaze to the fire department gave the wrong address, and the house was almost totally incinerated by the time firemen arrived. Santiago, who worked two jobs and had saved for years to buy the house eight months ago, was partially blinded and his wife, three of his children and a neighbor boy were burned to death. A white youth and a Democratic committeeman were indicted for these racist murders. Ten days previously Santiago's car had been firebombed. He said the cops' response to his report was "to threaten me and search my home when it was I that was the accuser" (*Militant*, 31 October).

Machine Politics

Even the old Democratic Party machine, run by Rizzo's arch-rival, Peter Camiel, has gotten a taste of the Mayor's brand of "law and order." Rizzo operated a 33-member personal police squad during his first term, ostensibly to investigate corruption, but, in fact, primarily to spy on his political enemies. At a May 1974 Democratic banquet, pro-Rizzo toughs crashed the gate, overturned tables and heat up a 60-year old man. After winning the Democratic primary in the spring, Rizzo moved quickly to break Camiel's power and has made it clear that he will use this election victory to complete the party purge. He used the same gangster tactics against Bowser, the black candidate, who complained that his campaign workers were threatened, harassed and beaten by Rizzo's thugs (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 5 November).

Philadelphia Inquirer

Charles Bowser

The self-styled "toughest cop in America" runs an administration riddled with graft and political patronage. Last April a grand jury indicted city managing director Hillel Levinson, who had been Rizzo's candidate for district attorney, on 35 criminal counts stemming from awards of city contracts to architects and engineers who had made large political contributions. The previous August the mayor flunked a lie detector test answering charges by now-deposed Democratic boss Camiel that he had granted city contracts in exchange for political support to Levinson's campaign. A home that Rizzo was having built at a cost to him of $112,000 was found to have an actual value of $400,000, prompting the press to muse over such "unusual largesse by the contractor." Non-plussed by charges of shady deals, during the primary the mayor stalked the city's white ethnic neighborhoods asking his supporters, "Would Frank Rizzo lie to you?" (*New York Times*, 18 May)!

Despite his record of racist bigotry, corruption and strong-arm tactics, Rizzo was able to win a big victory by capitalizing on the garrison mentality of the white ethnic neighborhoods. At a time when nothing short of a working-class assault on capitalism can begin to deal with the problems that immiserate the poor and working people of the cities, the best that the Mayor's bourgeois political opponents could come up with was Charles Bowser, a former vice-mayor under Rizzo's similarly corrupt predecessor. The Philadelphia Party's insipid program for neighborhood "revitalization" seeks only to spread municipal funding into neighborhood business districts, while Rizzo wants to keep the money in the center city.

Bowser's position on busing, typical of black liberal politicians like Detroit mayor Coleman Young, who supported his campaign, was to back off before the racist mobs and leave the issue up to the courts. Endorsed by the local CBS television station and the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Bowser's Philadelphia Party represents no real break from the Democratic Party, but is merely a capitalist third-party pressure group. Bowser ran in the May Democratic primary.

Alongside the names of corporation executives supporting Bowser as a showcase black mayor were the endorsements of Hospital Workers Local 1199. The Retail Clerks and the American Federation of Teachers, bitter after Rizzo's vicious assault during the 1972 teachers strike, also favored Bowser. But lacking even the rudiments of a working-class challenge to the capitalist parties, this tepid populist campaign could not pose a political alternative to Rizzo's demagogic racist appeal to the backwardness of white working-class neighborhoods, once again demonstrating the bankruptcy of the liberal bureaucrats' policy of championing the "lesser evil" among the capitalist parties. The reformists of the Communist Party likewise jumped on the bandwagon of this phony independent, and reportedly even helped write the Philadelphia Party's program.

As in 1971, the majority of the labor bureaucracy backed Rizzo and threw the support of the 225,000-member Philadelphia AFL-CIO behind his campaign. Thus they must bear responsibility for every atrocity he commits in office. Their criminal betrayal fuels the fires of race war. At a time when the working class and black masses desperately need a program and leadership to fight racial division and the continuing erosion of their standard of living, these self-serving bureaucratic fakers represent the major obstacle to the working people taking up political struggle in their own name. Labor must break with the Democratic and Republican parties and with bourgeois "third party" candidates like Bowser. A class-struggle leadership is required to dump the reactionary bureaucrats and build a workers party.■

Revolution

In 1970 Rizzo personally led a raid on Black Panther headquarters, forcing militants to strip and jeering them in front of police and newsmen.

FORUM:

Portugal On The Brink

Speaker:
RICHARD CRAMER
Spartacist League

DETROIT
Sunday, November 16
at 7:30 p.m.
Wayne State University
S.C.B. Hillberry A

ANN ARBOR
Tuesday, November 18
at 7:30 p.m.
University of Michigan
East Quad, Room 124

Maurice Thorez: The Making of a Stalinist

by John Sharpe

REVIEW: *Maurice Thorez, vie secrète et vie publique* by Philippe Robrieux

Joseph Stalin climbed to the summit of the Comintern over a mountain of strangled revolutions and massacred proletarians. Maurice Thorez rose to the top of the French Communist Party by utter prostration before the counterrevolutionary policies of that "great organizer of defeats." Early in his career Thorez demonstrated the gutlessness and pliability demanded by the Comintern in the period of its Stalinization. His moment of glory came in the period immediately following World War II, when he personally led the CP's all-out offensive against the militancy of the French working class, thereby putting a tottering French capitalist system on its feet again.

Thorez rose to prominence in the CP during the early 1920's. Despite having been closely identified with Stalin, which became a political liability after 1953, Thorez lasted through the period of "de-Stalinization" and remained at the helm of the CP until shortly prior to his death in 1964. In the course of these forty years, only once did Thorez wage a determined fight against his Kremlin mentors: his battle against de-Stalinization and the "Khrushchev revelations."

The French CP under Thorez faithfully followed every twist and turn of Kremlin policy: from the sectarian "third period" to the popular-front romance with the bourgeoisie; from the Hitler-Stalin pact to the nauseating French chauvinism of "to each his Kraut" after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union, and the subsequent disarming of the working class which allowed De Gaulle to re-establish bourgeois control after the war; from the post-war "battle of production" during which strikes were declared "the arm of the trusts" to the senseless street confrontations (Ridgeway demonstration) of the 1950's.

The undoubted high point of Thorez's public political career was his participation, as one of the CP ministers of De Gaulle's post-war government, in the restabilization of French capitalism. In France and throughout Western Europe, only the Stalinist and social-democratic parties, in which the masses of the working people placed their confidence, could heat back the militancy and revolutionary aspirations of the advanced workers. Thorez personally intervened as the spearhead of the CP's strikebreaking campaign. In July 1945 he addressed 2,000 striking pro-Communist miners and declared:

> "In the name of the Central Committee, in the name of the entire Party, in the name of all the workers, I say to you: The eyes of all France are upon you. All of France awaits a new and great effort from you. .. The least defiance on your part would assist the campaigns of the enemies of the people against you yourselves, against the working class, against the nationalizations, against democracy, against France.... I am certain that the call of our Party will be heeded. I am certain that we will win the battle of production as we won the battle of the Liberation."

Debunking Stalinist "History"

Thorez's career illustrates the evolution of a Communist militant into a cynical Stalinist hack loyal above all to the preservation of his position as chief of a reformist workers party. Philippe Robrieux's informative biography (Paris: Fayard, 1975) provides a revealing look at the internal mechanisms of a Stalinist party as it seeks to balance between maintaining the loyalty of its working-class base and upholding the line dictated by the bureaucracy of the Russian degenerated workers state.

Philippe Robrieux was the General Secretary of the CP's student organization in 1959-60 when he was caught up in and eliminated in the Casanova-Servin affair, the last of the Stalinist purges directed by Thorez. Casanova and Servin were popular long-time leaders, sympathetic to the Italian CP and Khrushchev's "reforms," who wanted a certain "liberalization" in the CP, and in particular a more militant policy against the Algerian war. Robrieux's "crime" was to have criticized Thorez at a Central Committee meeting on the basis of parallel positions. He subsequently "had his eyes opened" by Pierre Broué, of the ostensibly Trotskyist OCI. Due to his former position and personal contacts with one-time members of the CP's leading committees, Robrieux is in a position to detail the functioning of the Stalinist bureaucratic machine.

The book strips away the layers of prettification which official CP sources apply to even small matters. One indicative anecdote is the story of Thorez's 1929 arrest. For years Thorez was portrayed as a heroic victim of base treachery; the real chain of events was not even hinted at until after Thorez's death. In June 1929 Thorez, subject to arrest since 1927 for his anti-militarist articles, attended a clandestine meeting of the Central Committee at a château on the outskirts of Paris. Because of the danger of a police raid, careful escape preparations had been made in advance for the three "illegals"—Thorez, Ferrat and Duclos. But when the cops arrived, Thorez lost his head. The other two followed instructions and successfully effected their escape according to plan; Thorez was found cowering in the darkness, having locked himself in a closet.

He was duly arrested. The CP—as part of a "third-period" policy of refusing to legitimize bourgeois authority—had a policy that comrades were to stay in jail rather than pay their fines. It was up to the Political Bureau to decide if a comrade's usefulness on the outside justified an exception to this procedure. But in April 1930 Thorez unilaterally secured his release by paying the required sum. (Since he had refused to follow the CP's accepted procedure that functionaries were not entitled to draw their salaries while in prison, it would appear that Thorez even used party money to violate party policy!)

A more important falsification concerns Thorez's wartime history. Thorez was in the army when in late September 1939, as a consequence of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Comintern proclaimed the new policy of "revolutionary defeatism." With breathtaking suddenness, opposition to the imperialist war replaced the old line of "anti-fascism." The CP began to make hasty preparations to preserve its apparatus, which had been swallowed up by the mobilization of the armed forces. It instructed its leaders to desert. Thorez wanted to remain "with the masses" to defend France against Hitler's Germany, but on Dimitrov's insistence he dutifully deserted on October 4, only a month after he had enthusiastically answered the mobilization to defend the French fatherland.

On 25 November Thorez was sentenced in his absence to six years' imprisonment; on 17 February 1940 he was deprived of his French citizenship. He made his way to Moscow, where he seems to have been kept on a rather tight leash; he completely disappeared from the public eye until his signature appeared on the May 1943 proclamation by which Stalin dissolved the Comintern in order to reassure the Soviet Union's nervous imperialist allies.

"Revolutionary defeatism" had been only an episode in the line of the French CP. As soon as Hitler invaded the Soviet Union, the CPs of every country rushed to align themselves with the imperialist "democracies," glorifying this turn in an orgy of sickening patriotic fervor. This made Thorez's Comintern-ordered desertion an embarrassing encumbrance, and so the CP concocted the tale that as late as 1943 Thorez was still hiding in France, hoping to pass him off as some kind of underground resistance hero. After the "liberation" of Paris an amnesty was declared for deserters, but it required considerable haggling between De Gaulle and Moscow before the French government would agree to restore Thorez's citizenship.

Thorez vs. De-Stalinization

A cowardly bureaucrat, the only time in his long career that Thorez fought a sustained political battle was during his ten-year struggle against de-Stalinization, from 1953 to his death.

After Khrushchev's revelations at the 1956 Twentieth Congress, Thorez linked up with the pro-Stalin bloc led by Molotov and Kaganovich in Russia and internationally by the Chinese. Robrieux is certainly correct when he observes that, whereas the Russians could point to historical scapegoats (e.g., Stalin, Beria), Thorez as the "First Stalinist of France" would have had to take responsibility for the role he himself had played in inner-party purges (the Barbé-Celor affair in 1931, the Marty-Tillon affair in 1952) and in enforcing the class-collaborationist policies of the Kremlin which time after time sold out potentially revolutionary opportunities for the French proletariat.

Robrieux captures what must have been Thorez's reasoning—and, with appropriate modifications, that of countless other Stalinist bureaucrats—when he writes:

> "To admit the truth of Khrushchev's diatribe was to admit at the very least that the USSR was far from socialism and that, in a certain sense, everything had to be done over. Then too, didn't Khrushchev go so far as to insinuate that Trotsky, Bukharin and Zinoviev were not guilty of the crimes of which they were accused? Would he go so far as to rehabilitate them? Then we would have to go back to the years of our youth and turn back to the old masters. Souvarine, Monatte and all the other comrades, slandered, dragged through the mire, crushed, expelled, on whom he had spit, and say to them: you were right!"

In February 1956, therefore, Thorez suppressed Khrushchev's secret report. When that had become impossible, he systematically attempted to cushion its impact, for example by criticizing Stalin's "errors" but refusing to let the

continued on page 8

Maurice Thorez

Keystone

Informations Ouvrieres

From Left: Léon Blum, Thorez, Salengro during 1936 French general strike.

Long Live the October Revolution!

"The Provisional Government is overthrown. State power has passed into the hands of the organ of the Petrograd Soviet of Workers and Soldiers Deputies—the Military-Revolutionary Committee, standing at the head of the Petrograd proletariat and garrison.

"The cause for which the people have struggled—immediate declaration of a democratic peace, abolition of landed property, workers control of production, the creation of a Soviet government—this cause is assured."

"Long live the revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!"

—V. I. Lenin, "To the Citizens of Russia!" 7 November 1917

Trotsky and Lenin at Second Congress of Comintern.

Red soldiers in Moscow demonstration, 1917: banner says "COMMUNISM."

Novosti

SAN FRANCISCO, November 8—Last night over 75 people attended a Spartacist League forum celebrating the anniversary of the October Revolution. Speaking on the topic "October 1917" SL speaker George Foster stressed that the October Revolution was unique in that it was a *proletarian* revolution, and that it would not have occurred without the leadership of the Bolshevik party.

In contrast, Foster pointed to the examples of the Yugoslav, Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions, led by petty-bourgeois Stalinist formations standing at the head of peasant-based guerrilla armies. Although these revolutions succeeded in overturning capitalist property relations, the regimes which issued out of them were *deformed*, ruled by bureaucratic castes not qualitatively different from the Stalin regime which issued out of the *degeneration* of the October Revolution.

Despite the overwhelming numerical preponderance of the peasantry in tsarist Russia, the Bolshevik party of Lenin did not for one minute consider basing itself upon the peasantry, as the Maoists later did in China. In fact, the Russian Marxists cut their teeth in a bitter struggle with the populist Narodniks, who looked to the peasantry rather than the proletariat as the agency for the revolutionary transformation of society.

Comrade Foster discussed the 1903 Bolshevik/Menshevik split in the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party. Behind the dispute between Lenin and Martov over the conditions of party membership lay counterposed conceptions of the party. Lenin sought a *programmatically coherent, disciplined* combat party of professional revolutionists; the Mensheviks envisaged a "party of the whole class" where revolutionaries, centrist vacillators and opportunists could peacefully coexist. Martov's view implied a social-democratic minimum/maximum program—i.e., a "lowest common denominator" set of reformist demands plus ritualistic calls for "socialism" trotted out for Sunday speechifying.

The test of the 1903 split came in 1917: "The Bolsheviks brought the Russian working class to victory in October 1917, while the Mensheviks tailed the liberal bourgeoisie and joined the reaction in opposing the revolution."

In closing, Comrade Foster stressed that the task of international proletarian revolution taken up by the Bolsheviks in the construction of the Communist International remains for us to fulfill. He called for restoration of the political rule of the working class in the Soviet Union through *political revolution*. He emphasized the need for an international party of the working class to lead the overturn of imperialist capitalism as the only way to ultimately safeguard and extend the historic gains of the Russian Revolution of October 1917.

Long Live the October Revolution!

For revolutionary defensism of the deformed workers states against imperialism and capitalist restoration!

For political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracies—For the restoration of proletarian democracy and rule through workers' soviets!

Extend the gains of October—For international proletarian revolution!

Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International!

"The October Revolution was accomplished for the sake of the toilers and not for the sake of new parasites. But due to the lag of the world revolution, due to the fatigue and, to a large measure, the backwardness of the Russian workers and especially the Russian peasants, there raised itself over the Soviet Republic and against its peoples a new oppressive and parasitic caste, whose leader is Stalin. The former Bolshevik Party was turned into an apparatus of the caste. The world organization which the Communist International once was is today a pliant tool of the Moscow oligarchy. Soviets of workers and peasants have long perished. They have been replaced by degenerate commissars, secretaries and GPU agents.

"But, fortunately, among the surviving conquests of the October Revolution are the nationalized industry and the collectivized Soviet economy. Upon this foundation workers' soviets can build a new and happier society. This foundation cannot be surrendered by us to the world bourgeoisie under any conditions. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend tooth and nail every position gained by the working class, whether it involves democratic rights, wage scales or so colossal a conquest of mankind as the nationalization of the means of production and planned economy. Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones. Against the imperialist foe we will defend the USSR with all our might."

—L. D. Trotsky, "Letter to the Workers of the USSR," 23 April 1940

Indian Pabloists Apologize for Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi. Keystone

Last July Prime Minister Indira Gandhi posed an acid test for all self-proclaimed socialist organizations in India by decreeing sweeping political repression against her opponents, both on the right and the left. Confronted during the last year with a mushrooming mass anti-corruption movement which was able to topple two state governments, then suddenly faced with possible removal from office after a conviction for election misconduct, Gandhi conjured up the bogey of "rightist conspiracy" as a pretext to abrogate civil liberties. The clear task of a revolutionary vanguard was to denounce her "left" demagogy and fight the draconian "emergency powers."

Predictably the pro-Moscow Communist Party of India (CPI), for years a pillar of political support to the "progressive" Congress Party regime, lined up behind the police-state repression and enthusiastically cheered the government's denunciation of "CIA plots" and "fascists." This situation could have been utilized by the ostensibly Trotskyist Communist League of India (CLI) to aggressively expose the Stalinists. Instead, the CLI gives backhanded support to Gandhi, lending credence to her trumped-up allegations by calling for an even better "anti-fascist" campaign.

Cosmetics for Gandhi's Left Face

Its response to Gandhi's bonapartist crackdown came in a printed Hindi-language statement, entitled "The Danger of the CIA," issued by the CLI Uttar Pradesh state committee. Echoing the chorus of Congress/CPI supporters, the statement goes so far as to express concern for the Prime Minister's personal safety. Nowhere does it indict Gandhi for the brutal government repression which has left thousands of leftist prisoners rotting in jails for years and, while citing the assassination of cabinet minister L. N. Mishra as an example of rightist plotting, neglects to mention the savage anti-working-class repression unleashed by Mishra to break the 1974 rail strike. The declaration does not even suggest the urgent need for working-class-led mass mobilization against the Gandhi regime and its comment on the "emergency powers" was the weak-kneed statement that:

> "We have expressed our views on the danger of fascism, about which the Communist Party of India and Mrs. Gandhi have warned the people. It is our strong belief that only an organized people's force can combat the danger of CIA conspiracies or even fascism and that freedom of speech and unintimidated criticism are necessary for organizing people's power in a vigorous way."

Especially in India, where bourgeois democracy has always been brittle, Trotskyists should always defend and strive to expand democratic rights for the toiling masses, while at every step linking this fight to the class struggle against capitalist dictatorship. This has nothing in common with the CLI's vague and classless call for a "people's force," which is purposely undifferentiated from the "people's movement" of Jaya Prakash Narayan and similar populist rhetoric of Gandhi herself. Thus in spelling out its "anti-fascist" program the CLI demands:

> "Cotton, wool, jute, leather, engineering, chemicals, sugar, cement and other industries should be nationalized, foreign capital should be confiscated and state control over foreign and domestic trade should be established."

At most these policies represent only a quantitative extension of the "socialist" program hypocritically espoused by the Congress Party for the last five years. In contrast, Trotskyists call for the expropriation of industry, trade, landlords' holdings and foreign capital without compensation, as tasks of a workers government which would institute a rationally planned economy. As the run-down economy of neighboring Burma demonstrates, nationalizations and controls by a bourgeois state (even where they are extensive) cannot provide a solution to the brutal exploitation of the masses.

Indian Trotskyists Must Reject Pabloist Revisionism

The CLI, Indian section of the revisionist United Secretariat (USec), is extremely heterogeneous. Issued by one state committee, the "Danger of the CIA" statement may not necessarily represent the majority sentiment in the CLI. (On the other hand, the Uttar Pradesh state committee also publishes the CLI's main press organ, the Hindi-language *Mazdūr Kisān Krānti*, so its declaration is presumably authoritative.) It is also worth noting that although the CLI leadership is under the influence of the reformist minority of the USec led by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the line of this leaflet is counterposed to that of its international mentors. In a major article entitled "Is Democracy Worth Fighting For?" (*Militant*, 15 August 1975), SWP leader Joseph Hansen describes socialism as merely an extension of bourgeois democracy and denounces "such a scandalous action as Moscow's approval of Gandhi's coup."

But behind the contradiction between these two lines—the CLI's critical support to Gandhi's "anti-rightist" campaign and the SWP's opposition to her "coup"—is a common methodology, reformist capitulation each to its own bourgeoisie. The tasks of a revolutionary vanguard in India are staggering, yet the ostensibly Trotskyist forces are pitifully weak and seriously disoriented. Only a struggle among the subjectively revolutionary cadres for the program of authentic Trotskyism, upheld today by the international Spartacist tendency, can resolve the crisis of revolutionary leadership which allows the suffering and degradation of the hundreds of millions of toilers on the Indian subcontinent to continue. Reject the revisionist United Secretariat—Forward to the Rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

Thorez...

(continued from page 6)

CP press use the terms of Khrushchev's report, which referred to Stalin's "crimes." As late as November 1956, Thorez publicly stated that "Stalinism did not exist." Robrieux quotes Thorez's remark to a trusted Italian collaborator that Khrushchev had "dirtied a splendid, shining, heroic past."

Forced to pay lip-service to de-Stalinization, the Thorez regime continued in force, although without some of the more grotesque excesses of the Stalin era. In 1960-61, when the impulse for an Italian-style "liberalization" reared its ugly head in Thorez's personal fiefdom, the Central Committee, he was more than ready to purge Casanova and Servin, whom he held responsible.

Robrieux himself seems to feed illusions in the de-Stalinizers, both Khrushchev and the French "reformers," as honest men unfortunately hemmed in and limited by the pro-Stalin forces. This is also the central flaw in the book's presentation of Thorez's long Stalinist career. Thorez is presented as an "honest militant" with healthy political instincts, drawn into the Stalinist apparatus due to lack of character. Robrieux refuses to characterize Thorez as a full-blown Stalinist until after World War II and refers to him as "cynical" only after 1956.

Lessons in Betrayal

The detailed description of the manner in which Stalin and his agents accustomed Thorez to betrayal in carefully increasing doses is no doubt accurate; it gives weight to the Russian poet Behel's 1937 observation, quoted by Robrieux, that "Stalin doesn't like spotless biographies." Many Communists paralleled Thorez's evolution from a weak, inexperienced and confused militant into a hardened Stalinist. In that sense, Thorez's biography is the history writ large of countless others.

But the key to Thorez's later evolution into the embodiment of French Stalinism is his first capitulation, which was qualitative. In late 1923, as Secretary of the CP in Pas de Calais, an important mining region in the north of France, Thorez supported Trotsky's views on the struggle in the Russian party, as presented in the theoretical journal of the French CP, then edited by Boris Souvarine. In the spring of 1924 Thorez, then an alternate member of the Central Committee, indicated his willingness to sign the opposition statement. He personally contributed money for the publication in France of Trotsky's "New Course." At first Thorez thought he could swing a majority of the Executive Committee of Pas de Calais, but on 25 May 1924 the pro-troika (Stalin) majority motion was passed without opposition. Unable to endure the prospect of isolation in a tiny minority, Thorez took refuge in an abstention.

After this decisive capitulation Thorez hardened rapidly as a rightist element; in fact, he was aligned more with Zinoviev and then Bukharin than with Stalin in the 1925-29 period. His rapid rise in the French party from 1924 on (he was elevated to the Political Bureau in mid-1926) was due largely to his willingness to turn on his former allies—a trait which, combined with his undoubted organizational talents, made him particularly useful to the emerging Kremlin bureaucracy. Whatever hesitations he may subsequently have had, he had already demonstrated to Stalin's Comintern representatives that he could be counted on to capitulate and could be used as a token "oppositionist" to lend credence to the bureaucracy's "good faith." In short, Thorez owed his ascension to his malleability—that is, to his lack of principle.

In the framework of a meticulous empirical account of the career of Maurice Thorez, Robrieux has presented an objectively devastating indictment of Stalinist class treason. As the personification of the French CP, Thorez personally played a heavy role in breaking the 1936 general strike, which swept the country in a wave of militancy punctuated by countless factory occupations. It was in this context that Thorez on 11 June 1936 made his most famous remark, "It is necessary to know how to end a strike." It is perhaps this sentence which best sums up Thorez's "contribution" to the working-class movement. ■

Dubious Figure...

(continued from page 4)

> ism and Communism with Stalinism, I wanted to fight against them. So what?"
> —*Bulletin International*, No. 5, January 1974

Our second major objection to the "basis" of the Commission of Inquiry is that it accepts not only the LIRQI as a member, but also its French section, the OCI-fraction LIRQI. While for tactical reasons the LIRQI would no doubt not want to have *all* its sections on the Workers Commission (that would not look very good), it appears to have no principled objection to establishing a commission some of whose members are already open partisans of one side—their own.

The international Spartacist tendency can take no part in a "Commission of Inquiry" which proclaims Varga's innocence as the "basis" for its deliberations and in which the accused sits in judgment of himself through the inclusion of his political friends among the judges. We cannot take part in a cynical operation totally devoid of the most minimal democratic principles, whose only aim appears to be to whitewash Varga in the hope of factional advantage against the OCI. We are equally against frame-ups and whitewashes.

Interim Secretariat
international Spartacist tendency

New York, 3 November 1975

Maoists Bloc with CIA "Anti-Imperialists" in Angola

Ever since Nixon was feted by Chairman Mao in the Great Hall of the Peoples to the tune of "America the Beautiful," Chinese foreign policy has concentrated on cementing its own version of détente with Western imperialism. China's description of the Soviet Union as "far more dangerous" than the U.S. (*Hsinhua Weekly*, 7 July 1975) and Mao's vituperation against the Soviet Union's "dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie, a dictatorship of the German fascist type" shows the real target of Chinese attacks on the "superpowers." If Peking's barely veiled support to NATO and recent friendly advice to Kissinger against going militarily soft on the Kremlin were not sufficient proof of the necessarily reactionary consequences of this "united front" with U.S. capitalism, then Chinese policy in Angola certainly should be.

Going to any lengths to defeat "Soviet social imperialism," the Chinese have switched from an early flirtation with Jonas Savimbi's UNITA to supplying massive weaponry and advisors to a better military bet, the American-backed FNLA. What UNITA and the FNLA have in common is a far greater hatred for the Russian-supported MPLA than they have for colonialism. Mao's linking of arms with the CIA and Washington's "man-in-Africa," President Mobutu of Zaïre, to prop up the FNLA has been giving American Maoists some extra practice in fast-footwork and shameless bending of the spinal vertebrae.

The October League Parrots Peking

Without a word in the Chinese press to explain the shift, some American adherents of Mao Thought, the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly Revolutionary Union) and the Communist Labor Party, have preferred an embarrassed silence on the red-hot situation in Angola to the unenviable task of explaining China's behavior. Others are more adept.

Always eager to swallow the meager crumbs that fall from the barren table of Chinese-brand Stalinist ideology, the October League (OL) most faithfully follows Peking's maneuvers. When vice-premier Li Hsien-nien disingenuously announced at a banquet on September 13 that, "we have always treated the three organizations for the liberation of Angola with equality and with the same friendly attitude..." and condemned Soviet intervention (while China was arming the FNLA to the teeth!) the OL got the picture. November's *Call* blamed the "superpowers" for "aggravating differences and wrecking moods toward unity among the Angolan liberation movements." The OL declared that "the civil war is not 'necessary' to the Angolan people, but it is necessary to the imperialist superpowers, *especially to the USSR*" (our emphasis), implying that the Soviet Union is mainly interested in an "inside track of the fabulous wealth of Angola." The fact of, and the motives for, Chinese support for the FNLA went unexplained.

UNITA Attracts CAP, CIA

In contrast to the OL's absurd suggestion that the civil war in Angola is caused by Russian profit-lust for diamonds and oil, and its slimy generalities, the Congress of Afrikan Peoples (CAP)

D.R.

Jonas Savimbi, right, head of UNITA, with right winger Fernando Falcão.

loudly declares itself 100 percent behind Savimbi's UNITA, the always-on-the-market recipient of CIA and South African affection. Savimbi, labeled "man of the hour" by the white racist *Johannesburg Star*, is hailed by CAP as the "leader of UNITA, the liberation movement in Angola which is taking the correct political line..." (*Unity and Struggle*, June 1975). Amiri Baraka's subscription to *Peking Review* must have lapsed; CAP seems unaware that China long ago switched its support from UNITA to FNLA.

CAP praises UNITA for its Mao-like policy of "serving the people"—"you could find a soldier with a gun in the right hand and a hoe in the left"—and for its struggle to unify the three opponent armies. In one breath CAP notes with pride UNITA's "leading role in diplomacy that helped form a transitional governing body with MPLA and FNLA," and the next denounces the coalition as "ridden with imperialist instigated conflicts, which are causing MPLA (Soviet Social Imperialists) and FNLA (U.S. Imperialists) to play out the same collusion and contention confrontation as their masters." But if the MPLA and FNLA are both imperialist agents, why was UNITA correct in trying to bring them together and unite them in a coalition government?

In reality, all three groups are petty-bourgeois nationalist movements which, once in power, would strive to become an exploitative bourgeoisie. In praising purported unity attempts among these nationalists, CAP simply reveals its blatant disregard for the interests of the Angolan proletariat.

UNITA's "Anti-Imperialist" History

Baraka's fondness for Jonas Savimbi has a real basis: their common nationalist opportunism. When UNITA was founded in May 1966, its pronouncements were filled to the brim with Maoist catchwords and verbiage, drawn from the banal homilies of the Little Red Book. Baraka discovered these pearls of wisdom somewhat later, but evidently now admires Savimbi's ability to quote The Book.

But UNITA's rhetorical left face was quickly abandoned for a different kind of prose. The 8-21 July 1974 *Afrique-Asie* reproduces 1972 correspondence between Savimbi and various colonial military authorities who were then busy slaughtering nationalist militants. Savimbi offered to General Luz Cunha (commander-in-chief of Portuguese forces in Angola) and Lieutenant Colonel de Oliveira (chief-of-staff of the eastern military zone) information on MPLA positions and deals for gradual decolonization and peace on Portuguese terms.

Savimbi preferred writing the Portuguese to fighting them. As late as April 1974, UNITA counted in its ranks merely "a few hundreds of men, who, with the complicity of the colonial army, had above all combatted the MPLA..." (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 1975). After the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship, Savimbi courted the now fearful Portuguese settlers in Angola, engaging in negotiations in the summer of 1974 with right-wing colon leader Fernando Falcão.

UNITA continued to be a minor military force until it seemed a useful counterbalance to the MPLA. Savimbi was cited in the 30 October *Le Monde* as saying that until his group began to fight against the MPLA on August 5 "we did not have a single cannon. Today, we receive arms from everywhere, with the exception of the Soviet Bloc." The braggart is more honest than his admirers.

Baraka and his Maoist friends shrug off disclosures by the *New York Times* in early September that the growing military strength of UNITA and FNLA coincided with the availability of CIA money and arms. This is not simply because Baraka got his start in Newark organizing with funds from Prudential Insurance Co. Rather, it is because the Maoists and the U.S. government share the same anti-Soviet appetites. Under-secretary of State Joseph Sisco and CIA Director William Colby admitted in testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week that the U.S. was backing the FNLA and UNITA to counter Soviet influence with the MPLA.

The Maoists' anti-Soviet hysteria binds them to an unholy alliance of the CIA, Mobutu, colon mercenaries and South African white supremacists. Should the FNLA, or its bloc partner UNITA, succeed in carrying out threats to massacre "every single communist" in Luanda, the bloodstains will be on the hands of those who cheered China's self-serving treachery. ■

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 10, Fall 1975

- Early Communist Work Among Women: The Bolsheviks
- CLUW's Had It
- The Legend of "Red Emma"
- The Oppression of Muslim Women

Subscription rate:
$2 for 4 issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001

Kleine Bibliothek der
Kommunistischen Korrespondenz
I.

Leo Trotzki

Drei Konzeptionen der Russischen Revolution

herausgegeben von der
Trotzkistischen Liga Deutschlands,
Sektion der internationalen
Spartacist Tendenz

Bestellungen an
1 Berlin 120
Postlagerkarte A 051 429
Postschekkonto Berlin West:
503 57 — 107 (Wolfgang Hohmann)
0,70 DM

Angola...

(continued from page 1)

dence. But under present circumstances the left-nationalist MPLA is fighting not merely against the FNLA and UNITA, but against an imperialist/colonialist-led anti-communist coalition which, if successful, would install a puppet regime in Luanda essentially subordinate to South Africa and the U.S. The correct policy for proletarian revolutionists at this time, therefore, is military support to the MPLA against the Washington-financed, South African-organized offensive. Smash the imperialist power play in Angola!

Balkanization of Angola?

In addition to victory or defeat for the MPLA in this struggle there is a third possibility, namely the disintegration of the country. The FNLA and UNITA in particular are essentially regionalist, tribally-centered movements which could achieve national power only through military conquest. Given the popular support for the MPLA in Luanda and the military weakness of FNLA/UNITA, it is unlikely that the latter could conquer the capital without even more substantial imperialist intervention. If the current mercenary-led drive on Luanda fails, a likely result of the stalemate would be "balkanization"—the breaking up of Angola.

The two rightist nationalist groups have already agreed (in July) to a secret plan for just such a division of the spoils (*Le Monde Diplomatique*, October 1975). Thus the coffee-rich north would be de facto incorporated into Zaïre; while in the south a UNITA regime would in effect be a joint Zambian-South African protectorate. This would give Zaïre a more secure outlet to the sea, provide Zambia a pliant regime controlling its rail link to the Atlantic, and enable South Africa to eliminate the base areas of the MPLA-backed South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas.

In addition to the struggle for Angola proper, there is also a many-sided conflict over the oil-rich Cabinda enclave, part of the former Portuguese colony but separated by a strip of Zaïre territory and the Zaïre (formerly Congo) River. While the enclave is currently held by the MPLA's best troops, Zaïre president Mobutu (brother-in-law of the FNLA's Roberto) has massed some thousands of soldiers on the border preparing to march in and install the Gulf Oil-backed Cabindan secessionist movement as a puppet government.

Unlike the petty-bourgeois Angolan nationalists, Marxists recognize that the existing state boundaries—arbitrarily drawn by the imperialists at Berlin in 1885—divide the Bakongo people in the north from tribal relatives in Zaïre. In addition, given the fact that all three of the nationalist groups have tribal bases (even the non-tribalist MPLA), there is a tremendous potential for genocidal conflict in Angola. That is why Marxists would grant regional autonomy for the different tribes, and why we are not committed to the present state configuration in central Africa. But the balkanization presently posed is the creation of a South African protectorate in the south and a Gulf Oil-controlled Cabindan oil fiefdom in the north. This kind of division of Angola—colonial rule in a thinly disguised form—must be resolutely opposed.

The MPLA

Since the bulk of the European and American left gives either political or unconditional military support to the MPLA, it is useful to look more closely at its history to understand why such a policy is contrary to the interests of the working class. The basis for the wide-

continued on next page

Angola...

(continued from page 9)

spread radical sympathy toward the MPLA is its "revolutionary" nationalist policies, which can be explained by its origin among socialist intellectuals of the small Angolan Communist Party (PCA). As Mario de Andrade, leader of the MPLA until 1962, wrote: "the young Marxists of the former Angolan Communist Party, the leaders of the PLUA [a nationalist group with "an action program similar to that of the PCA"], and other patriots rapidly founded the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) in December 1956" (quoted in John Marcum, *The Angolan Revolution*).

The Portuguese-educated intellectuals who founded the movement began to rapidly extend their influence among the *musseques* (slums) surrounding the capital city, particularly through clandestine mobile schools (according to the 1958 census the literacy rate of Africans in Angola was less that 1 percent, a telling comment on Portugal's "civilizing mission"). In February 1961 the MPLA attempted an uprising, attacking the prisons, the broadcasting station and a military barracks in Luanda. For three days the battle raged, with 5,000 Africans killed on one day alone, but the revolt in the capital was brutally crushed. Despite this defeat, however, the MPLA continued to enjoy widespread support among the detribalized plebian population of the port cities, and among *mestiços* and left-wing whites as well.

The MPLA was also, during the late 1960's and early 1970's, the group which carried the brunt of the guerrilla struggle against the Portuguese, and the only one of the nationalist groups to have a national extension beyond the confines of a single dominant tribe. It alone made a serious effort to politically educate its followers in a left-populist program, including ritual references to the end of "exploitation of man by man." Because of its leftism, militants of the MPLA in the Congo were harassed, suppressed and even murdered by the FNLA with the complicity of successive right-wing regimes in Leopoldville (now Kinshasa).

At the same time, the MPLA is quite

Zones of influence reflect conditions as of early November, 1975. Arrow indicates mercenary-led FNLA/UNITA column.

Camerapix

From left: Agostinho Neto (MPLA), Holden Roberto (FNLA) and Jonas Savimbi (UNITA).

definitely not the "Marxist-Leninist" organization portrayed in the Western bourgeois press. Its long-time leader, Agostinho Neto, has taken great pains to emphasize the nationalist, non-socialist nature of the MPLA. "[I] am not a communist, I am not a socialist, I am first of all a patriot," he told the *New York Times* (21 April 1975). And in this he is entirely correct. The MPLA stands *outside* the workers movement, and while it has a close relationship to the labor federation (UNTA), the relation is that of master to servant.

Thus after the setting up of a "transitional government" early this year, the expectations of independence induced a major strike wave among pro-MPLA workers, notably a dock strike which completely shut down Angola's ports. Predictably the governing MPLA used its authority against the strike. The MPLA-dominated union, SINTAPA, denounced the longshore strike as a wildcat and called upon the government to take adequate measures to restore law and order. In power by itself the MPLA would without a doubt move quickly to subordinate the unions to the state, as similar left-nationalists did in Guinea, Ghana and Tanzania in the early 1960's. Its instrument for doing so would be the peasant guerrilla army which is removed from and uncontrolled by the urban masses.

Nor can we rely on Neto to pursue an "anti-imperialist" foreign policy. Neto has repeatedly asserted that he is not committed to the Soviet bloc (most recently seeking favor with the tin-pot dictator Idi Amin), and tried (with but limited success) to reduce dependency on Russian arms. This year he proved the truth of these promises by the MPLA's close collaboration with the Portuguese government. If Kissinger moves away from the FNLA, Neto is quite capable of pulling an Anwar Sadat-style switch, leaving Brezhnev to sue for breach-of-contract. No doubt that is why the Chinese bureaucracy recently invited an MPLA representative to Peking, along with the currently favored UNITA and FNLA.

There is, however, an important distinction between the MPLA and the other two nationalist groups. Because of the defection of one of its main commanders, Daniel Chipenda, to Roberto in the summer of 1974, the MPLA's support outside the capital has been largely reduced to the Mbundu tribal areas. Despite its non-tribalist program, the unification of Angola under MPLA rule would undoubtedly involve outbreaks of simple tribal warfare and atrocities against the Bakongo people. However, because of the MPLA's plebian support in Luanda, the victory of either of the tribal-centered groups (UNITA or FNLA) would lead directly to the mass murder of the flower of the small working class and the most advanced elements of the urban population.

Thus in the course of defending the working population of Luanda against a tribalist pogrom, an independent working-class organization (union or party) would be forced to conclude temporary military blocs with the MPLA. Yet simply to suggest this possibility emphasizes once again the anti-proletarian character of the petty-bourgeois nationalist movements. In its need for mass popular support the MPLA would find incipient independent class organizations no less threatening than would the FNLA and UNITA, and would therefore rapidly unite with the other nationalists to crush any embryo of proletarian strength.

The FNLA

After being expelled from Luanda in July, the FNLA threatened that it would massacre "every single communist" (*African Development*, November 1975). This statement gives an idea of what rule by the FNLA, the favored instrument of the CIA and Mao, would mean.

The FNLA is essentially a tribal movement. Its leader, Holden Roberto, is the elected heir to the traditional chieftanship of the Bakongos. This tribe has a long history of resistance to the Portuguese, including a major peasant rebellion in 1913-14. (Most of the colony was not actually occupied by the Portuguese until the early 20th century.) The traditions of Bakongo separatism were still alive in the 1950's when the tribal chiefs appealed to Eisenhower and the UN to restore the ancient Kongo kingdom. It is therefore indicative that Holden Roberto's first organization was called the Union of the Populations of *North* Angola. It was only a few years later that he adopted an even ostensibly pan-Angolan perspective.

It is, of course, true that Roberto and the FNLA have been the recipients of CIA funds for years (the *New York Times* spoke of "reactivating" him). But while Roberto and his crew have appealed to tribalist sentiments, have threatened to kill all communists, work hand-in-glove with U.S. imperialism, etc., it would be wrong to dismiss the FNLA as simply CIA puppets. They are nationalists living on handouts.

Thus, while in later years the MPLA evidently did carry out the bulk of the fighting against the Portuguese, in the 1961 uprising it was the UPA (Roberto's group) which bore the brunt of the struggle. After the brief Luanda revolt had been put down, the Bakongo rose up and for a time most of northern Angola was in rebel hands. The Portuguese resorted to limitless terror, killing as many as 50,000 Africans, and the region was deliberately depopulated. More than half a million Bakongos were driven into the Congo (now Zaire). While the MPLA's urban cells were virtually destroyed by the 1961 bloodbath, Roberto simply removed himself a few miles across the border to Leopoldville where he had a solid base among the Bakongo exile population and the prestige of leading a great rebellion against colonial rule. In 1962 he set up the Revolutionary Government of Angola in Exile and two years later was officially recognized by the Organization of African Unity (OAU).

The international recognition accorded Roberto's "government-in-exile" induced some non-Bakongo Angolan politicians to join it, most notably the Ovimbundu leader Jonas Savimbi, who became foreign minister in the phantom regime. However, Savimbi broke with Roberto in 1964, accusing him of one-man rule and tribalism, as well as documenting the CIA connections of the FNLA. And particularly after 1965, when Mobutu came to power in Leopoldville, Roberto's group became increasingly venal, increasingly dependent upon Washington and increasingly uninterested in fighting the Portuguese. Now a wealthy businessman in Kinshasa, he is an anti-communist demagogue of a type to excite the ghosts of Joseph McCarthy and J. Edgar Hoover. "People's power leads to people's dictatorship, and the population of Angola, which is Christian, actively rejects communism," he has been quoted as saying (*Africa Research Bulletin*, 15 May 1975).

The left-nationalist MPLA and its international supporters generally try to make Roberto appear as a simple puppet of Washington, while arguing that he has no base of support. But in fact there is no doubt about the support of the Bakongo peasants to their

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

traditional chief. Thus when Luis Almeida, the MPLA's director of information, proclaimed that his movement was preparing for an "eight-month war" against "Biafra-type secessionists" (*Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 4 October), what he was calling for was mass tribal massacres of the population of northern Angola, a war of annihilation.

The tribal identification of the three contending nationalist groups—the FNLA with the Bakongo, the MPLA with the Mbundu and UNITA with the Ovimbundu—poses the threat of massive, even genocidal tribal conflict in Angola. Marxists, of course, see no national legitimacy in the colonial state boundaries in Africa and no historically progressive character in their preservation; nor, on the other hand, do we support the further balkanization of Africa along tribal lines. But in this context it is vital to emphasize that nationalist pan-Africanist slogans or even "socialist" slogans must not be allowed to cover for the oppression of tribal or national minorities. Thus while pan-Africanists saw the Biafran secession as a threat to the Nigerian nation, we supported the Ibos' struggle against genocidal attack and thus gave military support to Biafra in its war of independence. In the more backward Angolan situation a revolutionary workers state in southern Africa would grant regional autonomy to the principal tribes as the Soviets did in tribal regions of Siberia.

Neither China nor Katanga

In the Chinese civil war in the 1920's, the nationalist Kuomintang sought to unify the country against the northern warlords. Trotsky, while vehemently opposing Stalin's liquidationist policies and the Comintern's political support to Chiang Kai-shek, nonetheless advocated military support to the Kuomintang against the warlords, who represented feudal reaction and were the clients of the various imperialist powers. The imperialist penetration of China had divided the pre-capitalist nation-state

D. R

Demonstration of MPLA supporters.

into spheres of influence; regional warlordism was in the 1920's the principal method of imperialist domination over China. Thus the unification of the country, even under bourgeois rule, was historically progressive.

The same could not be said of Angola after the de facto ceasefire with the Portuguese forces was achieved in August of last year. All three contending movements were petty-bourgeois nationalists, some aided by the U.S. and South Africa, others aided by the USSR. But military aid alone is not the decisive question. A policy of military support is called for only in the case of a qualitative difference between the contending sides, as now episodically exists in Angola where the petty-bourgeois nationalist MPLA faces the imperialist-led coalition.

In Katanga, Moïse Tshombe headed an "independent" secessionist regime which was in fact nothing more than a puppet of the Belgian mining company, the Union Minière. In contrast, the FNLA is a genuine, although fairly tawdry, nationalist group with some history of struggle against Portuguese colonial domination. It has its own ethnic peasant base, and if Kissinger decides to dump Roberto the FNLA will continue to exist and will seek international support elsewhere.

There is, however, a situation analogous to Katanga in the Angolan situation and that is Cabinda. As Katanga was prized by the imperialists for its copper and other minerals, so Cabinda is coveted for its oil. And the so-called Cabinda Liberation Front (FLEC) is essentially a creation of U.S. imperialism designed to preserve a particularly valuable piece of real estate. It amounts to a black mercenary force in the pay of Gulf Oil Co. There is no tradition of nor basis for Cabindan independence: its people are ethnically related to those in both Zaïre and Congo (Brazzaville). FLEC was founded in 1963 as a U.S. counter to Angolan nationalism. Its main leader was/is Ranque Franque, a businessman formerly employed by Gulf and today comfortably installed in Kinshasa. Needless to say the FLEC never fired so much as one bullet at a Portuguese soldier; its real enemy was Angolan nationalism. An "independent Cabinda" would be and could only be the property of Gulf Oil. In any armed conflict between the Cabindan secessionists and the MPLA (which currently occupies the enclave), Marxists would give military support to the latter.

Marxists uncompromisingly oppose colonial rule and support the right of self-determination of nations. But we give no support to the anti-proletarian ideology of nationalism. National oppression in the epoch of imperialist decay cannot be eliminated without overturning capitalism, which maintains the scarcity and exploitative relations of production that lie at the heart of national wars.

Only the taking of power by the proletariat, supported by the peasantry, can wrest the African masses from the domination of imperialism. The key to breaking the back of capitalism in southern Africa is above all the revolutionary victory of the industrial and mining proletariat of South Africa, under the leadership of a Leninist vanguard party, which combats imperialism and its lackeys from the standpoint of an internationalist program.■

MAC...

(continued from page 12)

fate would have the pension funds invest about $2 billion in new MAC bonds while accepting lower interest rates and extended payment dates on the securities they already hold. This brainchild of MAC chairman Felix Rohatyn simply amounts to selective default on the outstanding debt obligations: full payment to the banks and outright robbery of the unions. Similar plans are being floated to protect four state agencies threatened with default as a direct result of the city crisis. The bureaucrats' scandalous gambling with retirement money must be resisted by municipal workers.

The potentially explosive nature of this issue is evident to anyone who recalls the powerful two-day strike in June 1971, when members of the Teamsters union and DC 37 nearly brought the city to a standstill in order to prevent the state legislature from vetoing a new pension agreement negotiated with the city. Increased pension benefits, with their deferred costs, have long been used by both unions and the city as a source of compromise settlements. Now they are a prime target for bourgeois politicians from Ford on down. *Hands off the pension funds!*

New York labor must wage a unified struggle against all the union-busters. *A city-wide general strike* is necessary to stop these attacks on the working people and their defensive organizations. *Smash the capitalists' austerity plans! Cancel the debt—Expropriate the banks! Break with the Democratic and Republican parties—Build a workers party! Forward to a workers government and a planned economy!*■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- For Workers' Revolution in Spain!
- Eldridge Cleaver: A Political Obituary
- SYL Campaigns Against Chilean Junta's Collaborators
- NSCAR Demands More Cops in Boston
- China Withholds Support for Puerto Rican Independence
- Peking Promotes Ethiopian Junta
- New Left Antiques at Berkeley Bazaar
- SYP/YSA and Cops Assault Leftists to Protect Platform for Racists

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
$2/11 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

85

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

85

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)
☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

Letters

27 October 1975

Comrades,

My belated congratulations on your move to a weekly *WV*. Your insightful and concise analysis of national and world events is a unique and refreshing departure (and needed intervention) from the usual Maoist dogma and reformist commentary that abounds in leftist reading material. As I follow your reporting of class-struggle trade union activities and movements of the world proletariat I know, too, that I am receiving a rare and valid account of the progressing world socialist revolution!

Onward to the 4th International!

A.B.

New York
9 November 1975

Comrade Editor,

In the article "Hundreds Demonstrate Against Nazi Swine in Pasadena" (*WV* No. 84) you correctly stated that the "Communist Labor Party (CLP)...carries the SWP's policy to its logical conclusion by calling on the capitalist government to ban the fascist organizations." At the same time it is important to note some important differences between the two, even though their programs converge on the question of pressuring the racist capitalist state into "fighting fascism."

The arch-Stalinists of the CLP have demonstrated an impulse, though inevitably deformed in practice, to struggle against fascism. Last month the CLP, despite its virulent anti-Trotskyism, participated in a united-front rally along with the SL/SYL and other radical and black organizations to stop the Nazis from holding a "White Power" march in a black community in Chicago. The SWP chose not to engage in such an "undemocratic" action which would deny "free speech" to fascists!

Contrary to its more radical impulses, the CLP's utter confusion on the nature of the bourgeois state leads it to advocate policies absolutely contrary to the interests of black and working people. Not only does the CLP call on the capitalist state to outlaw fascism, but in a recent leaflet distributed in Boston in support of busing the CLP demands "that the federal and state governments make it a capital crime to willfully harm either a schoolchild or parent involved in a busing and integration program at public schools."

Since when do so-called Marxists credit the ruling-class exploiters with the ability to dispense "justice" through their courts and penal codes?! Since when do they endorse the class enemy's power to mete out death as a punishment? Capital punishment in the hands of the capitalists means institutionalized murder, with black people the principal victims!

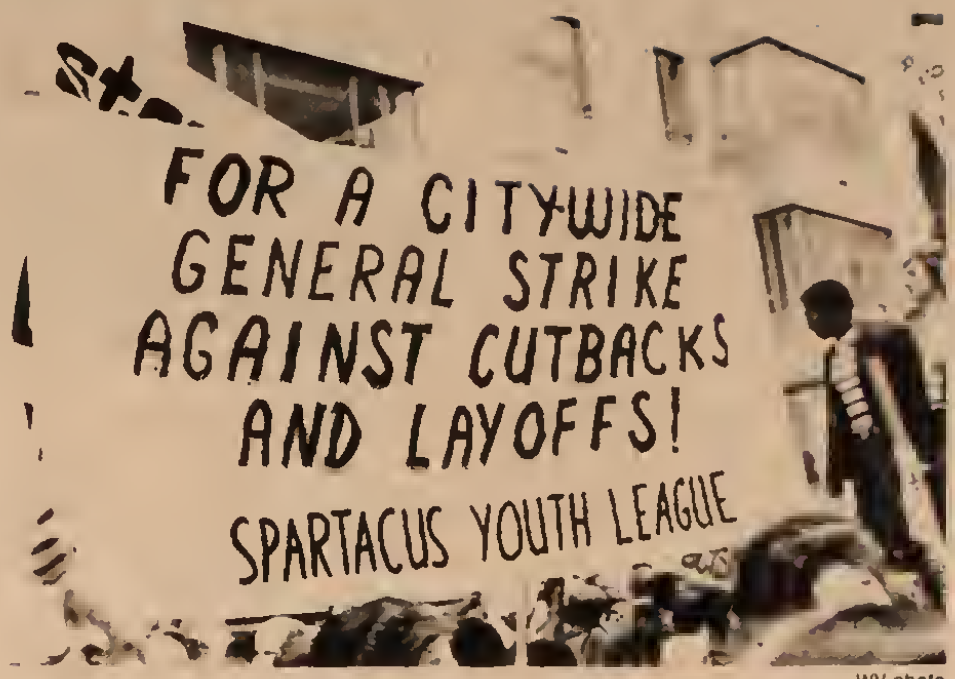
Given organization and militant class-struggle leadership, the labor movement is uniquely capable of protecting school children and pro-busing supporters. Labor/black defense guards are also the best possible guarantee against misdirected acts of violence on the part of the oppressed. The task is not to grant the state and its kangaroo courts increased repressive powers but to prepare the day when the racist attackers of school children will be dealt with by a class-conscious proletariat.

Comradely,

Gerald Smith

WORKERS VANGUARD

MAC Goes After Pension Funds, CUNY



WV photo

NOVEMBER 9—As New York City, the financial capital of U.S. imperialism, daily lurches closer to bankruptcy, Congressional Democratic leaders are conducting eleventh-hour negotiations to persuade Gerald Ford that the national and international repercussions likely to follow default are grave enough to warrant revising his demagogic anti-urban campaign pitched to the "Middle America" vote. The ideological intransigence behind Ford's opposition to the Democrats' proposals for a federal "bail-out" flows from his efforts to pull the rug out from under the Reagan wing of the Republican Party. The severance of former N.Y. governor Nelson Rockefeller, deeply implicated in the city's fiscal deficit, from Ford's '76 ticket is another step toward bolstering the latter's claim to the Republican nomination.

To back up Congressional proponents of federal guarantees for New York securities, spokesmen for "sin city" are now taking turns promising ever more drastic fiscal austerity measures in order to retire the municipal budget deficit over three years. Since the bourgeois politicos are all agreed that the city must remain chained to its mountainous debt to the banks and other major investors, "trimming the fat" spells increased misery, and in many cases, literal destitution, malnutrition and even death for the city's poor and working people. The victims of capitalist exploitation inevitably bear the brunt of job losses, cuts in welfare and other subsistence payments. To this must be added the lack of public health care, higher rents and prices, curtailment of public education at all levels and deepening social decay and disorganization—from fires that destroy entire neighborhoods to skyrocketing crime rates.

Closing the Colleges and Clinics

Every day the city's ravaged population is jolted by announcements of new budget cuts. City College president Robert Marshak grabbed the front pages last week with his announcement that the City University system (CUNY) was considering closing six colleges. While heatedly denying Marshak's statement, CUNY chancellor Robert Kibbee suggested other ways the university will save the $60 million cut from its spring budget. Layoffs of 1,500 full-time faculty members are in the works along with the destruction of remedial programs, stricter admissions standards and uniform "rates of progress" that add up to the end of the five-year-old "open admissions" program.

The mounting assault on the last vestiges of free higher education coincides with increased class sizes and massive teacher and staff cuts, which ensure that students coming from the city's public schools will be unable to meet the stricter CUNY standards. Liberals and conservatives are joining hands to sound the death knell of public education in New York City, for generations the main glimmer of hope for impoverished immigrants and minorities pursuing the "American dream" bred in capitalism's epoch of growth and progress.

The depths of misery to which the city's working-class and poor population is sinking were indicated by the projected closings of 50 health-care clinics offering pediatric care, family planning, dental care and treatment for venereal disease to the indigent. A spokesman for the Health and Hospitals Corporation (HHC) explained that "The reason why we chose to cut the clinics is that they provide services which are not life-saving." While the city's Health Department is supposed to provide minimal preventive medicine no longer available at HHC clinics, the health commissioner announced that it was curtailing the very same services and additionally closing several chest and cardiac clinics (*New York Times*, 6 November). In its determined efforts to protect its investments, the bourgeoisie callously forswears even the most minimal concern for human life.

Labor Skates Take a Dive

Rather than lead a fight to restore jobs and social services, cancel the usurious city debt and rip the banks out of the hands of profit-hungry capitalists, the labor bureaucracy has scurried for cover. Since late June when the first wave of layoffs began, the misleaders of the municipal unions have blustered and threatened, repeatedly capitulating so as to avoid a real conflict with their liberal buddies in City Hall and the State House. Faced with pressures from below, these labor skates have maneuvered and temporized, allowing blow after blow to weaken and demoralize the ranks, who have shown the will to struggle but lack a determined class-struggle leadership.

After sanitationmen wildcatted in early July, union president John DeLury briefly appeared to back the solid walkout and then ordered his membership back to work without obtaining the slightest guarantee against layoffs. Like DeLury, Albert Shanker, president of the United Federation of Teachers (UFT), felt compelled to allow a short strike, not to defeat the attacks on city labor but merely to provide a tightly orchestrated outlet for the membership's militancy and to save his own face.

The same craven approach was obvious in the AFL-CIO's pro forma opposition to a Congressional bill that would "bail-out" New York while placing the city under a federal trusteeship with the authority to unilaterally rip up union contracts and take away pension benefits. Even this flaccid legislative stand was made public not by the labor federation itself but by House Speaker Carl Albert. And just in case anyone on Capitol Hill should take the old labor faker seriously, George Meany's spokesman Albert Zack hastened to make it clear that the AFL-CIO had not committed itself even to much of a lobbying effort against this frontal offensive against New York labor (*New York Times*, 8 November).

Labor's "Friends" Crack the Whip

Liberal union-busting mayor "Abe" Beame graphically described the bureaucracy's treacherous complicity in the bourgeoisie's anti-labor offensive:

> "And I was the first one that fired thousands of employees and I was the first Mayor—and I think I may be the only Mayor in this country—who got the unions to give up out of their contracts benefits so that it would equal the amount of civil servants dollarwise that we were going to lay off. In other words, they opposed the laying off of civil servants, we said now we've got to have the money. You got any better way?
>
> "They came back and they'd given up parts of contracts. And we're going to take more of these parts of contracts out. We think there are abuses in these areas and we're working to do that, we're going to continue that."
>
> —*New York Times*, 6 November

Another so-called "friend of labor," N.Y. governor Hugh Carey, recently called for the elimination of 70,000 city workers' jobs over the next three years.

One aspect of the tactical dispute between Ford, who advocates default as economic shock therapy in retaliation for New York's "years of higher spending, higher deficits, more inflation and more borrowing," and his liberal critics, who fear that default will severely shake the securities market and destroy the last vestige of their much publicized "economic upturn," is whether to allow the labor bureaucracy the slightest opportunity to maintain some shred of credibility with its own ranks. In preparing new municipal bankruptcy legislation as requested by Ford, a House judiciary subcommittee last week agreed to amend the bill by providing hearings for unions whose hard-won gains are thrown out the window by federal courts.

The Congressional liberals' concerns are obvious. Bronx Democrat Herman Badillo explained that "if a judge could just notify Al Shanker that a contract is cancelled, you'd have serious problems in the city" (*New York Times*, 5 November). Badillo is well aware that Shanker's ability to keep the UFT in line rests on an elaborate charade of backroom deals, legislative lobbying and court suits. The Democrats are afraid that without such pressure valves the labor lieutenants of capital may be overwhelmed in an elemental mass upsurge against the bourgeoisie's attack.

Hands Off the Pension Funds!

The grand finale of bureaucratic belly-crawling is the willful plunder of union pension funds to purchase Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC) bonds, while the city teeters on the brink of bankruptcy. Already MAC's financial buccaneers have gone to the well three times in the last three months, extracting a total of nearly $400 million from the retirement funds in order to avert default. Looting these funds is central to all the desperate eleventh-hour plans drafted by city and state politicos to avoid default. One such proposal would have committed the municipal union pension funds' entire $8.5 billion in assets as collateral to back $4 billion in loans. With those loans the pension funds would then purchase $4 billion in MAC bonds. Thus if the city defaulted, as appears likely, the unions' MAC bond holdings could be drastically devalued and interest payments postponed for years, while the remaining solid assets of the pension funds would be drained to pay off the $4 billion borrowed from more prudent investors. One of the "architects" of this outrageous giveaway scheme was Victor Gotbaum, president of District Council 37 of AFSCME. It also got implicit backing from Shanker and from Michael Maye of the Uniformed Firefighters Association (*New York Times*, 31 October).

The current scheme to mortgage city workers' financial security to the city's

continued on page 11

Demonstrate Against CUNY Cutbacks!

Thursday, November 13
at 12 Noon
in front of the Administration Building, CCNY
138th St. & Convent Ave.

sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League
for more information call:
(212) 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 86 — 21 November 1975

Racist Reaction on the Rise

'75 Elections: Politicians Move Right

ERA Defeated in NY, NJ

Anti-Labor Propositions Pass in S.F.

NOVEMBER 16 —The week before this year's November elections, leading opinion pollsters testified before Congress that, as a UPI dispatch (30 October) put it: "Americans are so glum over the economy that eight out of every ten think the recession is still thriving, seven think their leaders are lying, and six think neither political party cares about people...."

The widespread distrust of bourgeois politicians and frustration over the economic situation indicated by such reports is real. But although the U.S. has been in the deepest depression since the 1930's, with unemployment running well over 8 percent month after month and employed workers faced with drastic cuts in their wages and benefits, the labor movement remains generally quiescent with only sporadic outbursts of militancy.

Due above all to the key role of the race question in the U.S.—the systematic discrimination against minorities and scramble for jobs among black and white workers—and the union bureaucracy's bitter-end opposition to militant labor action, the economic downturn, rather than leading to sharply increased working-class radicalism, has produced a noticeable *rightward* political shift nationally.

A general upsurge of racist demagogy, fiscal conservatism and social reaction was evident in the recent local elections, a development that was not missed by various right-wing presidential hopefuls. Significantly, several days after the voting George Wallace formally announced his bid for the Democratic nomination. Calling for a return to the "old moralities," Wallace denounced "forced busing" and declared war on "the ultra liberals who have gotten us into this mess." He added that "the social and economic issue on the domestic scene is whether the great mass of middle-class Americans is able to survive economically in this country." Wallace's call for a "political revolution" comes at the same time that conservative Republican Ronald Reagan, also perceiving the new opportunities for the right, states that this is a "watershed moment...in which government must be turned around...."

Mayoral Campaigns

Broad discontent in traditional leaders and parties has historically been the breeding ground for both labor radicalism and for the reactionary right. But the United States today is marked by the near-total absence of any mass expression of militant political working-class discontent. Instead, the political vacuum has generally been filled by reactionary demagogues beating the drums for "law and order," a thinly coded appeal to white racism.

People

Alabama governor George Wallace

AP

Philadelphia mayor Frank Rizzo

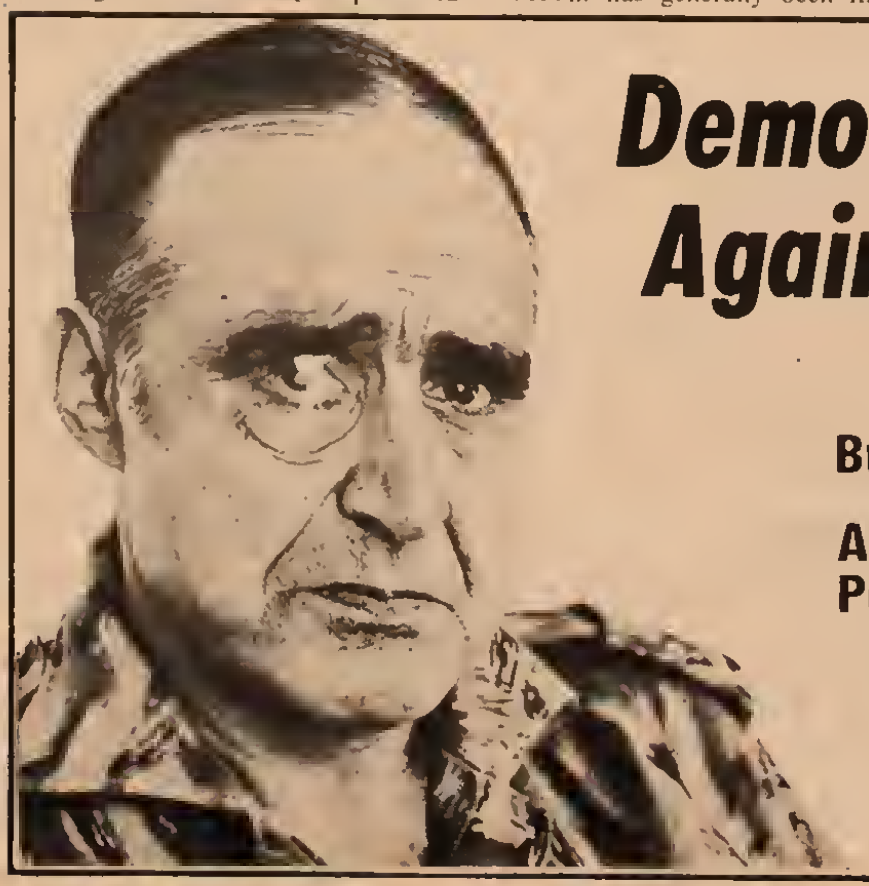
During the last year there has been a reemergence of various ultra-right groups, emboldened by the passivity of the unions. In Chicago candidates of the National Socialist White People's Party for alderman won 16 percent of the votes in two districts while in Houston the Ku Klux Klan ran an "imperial wizard" for mayor on a program of racial genocide. But more significant is the general rightward drift of mainstream bourgeois politicians.

Mayoral campaigns in Cleveland, Philadelphia and Boston reflected a deepening racial polarization conditioned by the economic crisis. In cities where black candidates faced whites, the voting followed racial lines in a far more rigid pattern than in previous years, and white candidates showed little restraint in playing on the racial fears of their constituencies.

In Philadelphia Frank Rizzo, the incumbent mayor and former police chief who likes to call himself the "toughest cop in America," won reelection in a blatantly racist campaign (see "Rizzo Strongarms Philadelphia Elections," *WV* No. 85, 14 November). While denouncing "crime in the streets," Rizzo had his own goons in the streets beating up campaign workers for his major opponent Charles Bowser, the black candidate of the "Philadelphia Party." Aside from a minimal number of votes that went to the third-place Republican candidate, voting divided strictly along color lines between racist bully-boy Rizzo and lackluster liberal Bowser. A measure of the corruption of the encrusted labor bureaucracy was the Philadelphia AFL-CIO's endorsement of Rizzo, who viciously smashed the 1972 teachers strike in that city.

The Cleveland election followed much the same pattern. Incumbent Republican Ralph Perk, marshalling a heavy turnout of the city's white voting wards, easily won a third term over black Democrat Arnold Pinkney. Perk sought to discredit Pinkney by linking him to Carl Stokes, the city's black mayor from 1967 to 1971. Perk's administration, like Rizzo's, has been riddled with public scandals, from a city contract for inferior grade coal awarded

continued on page 9



Demonstrate Against Spínola!

Butcher of Angola—

Aspiring Pinochet of Portugal

SEE PAGE 3

Whitlam Ousted in Australia:

For a General Strike to Restore Labor Government!

SEE PAGE 8

Liberals, Conservatives Unite Against Busing

Jim Crow Bills in Congress

The vicious mob attacks on school buses carrying black children in Boston and Louisville are not isolated incidents but merely the most spectacular expression of a broad assault on integration and the democratic rights of oppressed minorities. The President, the House Democratic leader, the mayors of most big cities and virtually every major politician are now on record in opposition to "forced busing." Further testimony on the hardening of bourgeois opinion against further efforts to desegregate the country's school systems is provided by the mass of anti-busing bills presently flooding Congress.

It is the duty of Marxists to wage a political struggle within the working class to win support for busing as a minimal step toward integration, at the same time making clear the totally hypocritical, treacherous nature of the bourgeoisie's occasional espousal of "civil rights." But, as usual, various fake socialists are totally unable to draw a class line on this question and demonstrate utter confusion about the government's present strategy toward the democratic demands of black people.

For instance, according to the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), formerly the Revolutionary Union, and some other allegedly "Marxist-Leninist" organizations, busing is nothing but a capitalist plot to divide the working class. According to the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and assorted other reformists, the bourgeois state, which initiated the school busing programs, can be pressured to eliminate de facto school segregation. In addition, the SWP would have black people believe that the very same racist cops who murder ghetto youth at will can be trusted to defend the school buses.

There is a certain symmetry to these views. Both assume that the American ruling class is conducting an "offensive" against de facto school segregation. Both see the bourgeois state as fundamentally committed to enforcing desegregation orders. And both are wrong.

Retreat on Busing

Neither group recognizes that the bourgeoisie is no longer interested in integrating schools. Since 1964 anti-busing legislation has been introduced in every session of Congress, and at least eight federal legislative acts now on the books contain anti-busing provisions. At present some 20 bills and more than 50 constitutional amendment proposals aimed at depriving federal courts and agencies of jurisdiction over school busing cases are pending before the House and Senate. In September, for example, the Senate passed measures prohibiting the Department of Health, Education and Welfare from threatening a cut-off of federal funds to compel school districts to carry out desegregation programs and from ordering the busing of students beyond the schools nearest their homes. At the same time, the House tacked onto an omnibus energy bill an amendment to prevent the use "of any vehicle using gasoline or diesel fuel to transport pupils beyond the schools nearest their homes." According to its author, Representative James Collins of Texas, this amendment was aimed at "more energy conservation" (*New York Times*, 24 September).

Most important, the federal courts, which have been the bourgeois "vanguard" in attacking public school segregation, are now in full retreat. The Boston and Louisville court decisions were not the first shot in a new battle to extend the democratic rights of black children outside the deep South. They were actually rearguard actions, essentially announcing the end of the liberal bourgeoisie's willingness to extend civil rights for blacks.

It is now clear that the high-water mark of court action against school segregation was the Supreme Court's decision in 1971 to desegregate the Charlotte, North Carolina, school system (the Swann case). There the Court held that even though the Charlotte system was not segregated by virtue of any specific state law, a *pattern* of state laws regarding school locations, district lines, transfer policies and the like violated the 14th Amendment's ban on legal segregation. As a result of the Swann and several similar cases, desegregation plans calling for busing of students across district lines were adopted in a few states with the result that, at present, somewhat less than 3 percent of the 20 million American school children are now bused to school under court orders.

Three percent! And that was the beginning of the end of the so-called "civil rights revolution." For in 1973 the Supreme Court held that federal judges in Richmond and San Antonio were wrong to order "metro busing"—the busing of school children across city-suburb lines. Although several lower courts had held that de facto segregation violates the Constitution, these rulings have been regularly overturned on appeal. A plaintiff must now show that a state has passed a law or pattern of laws with the intention of keeping the schools segregated. Even then, he will probably lose in the courts.

In 1974, in *Bradley v. Milliken*, the Court outlawed "metro busing" in Detroit even though the Detroit schools are two-thirds black and the surrounding school districts more than 80 percent white. The Court ruled that no evidence of willful discrimination on the part of the suburbs had been produced. As if this hypocrisy weren't enough, the Detroit case was remanded to District Judge Robert DeMascio, who initially ruled, in effect, that it was not even worth trying to desegregate the Detroit schools since this would have the effect of creating a black majority in every school.

This month DeMascio approved a plan effective in January to bus about 8 percent of the city's public school students, almost all of them black, while leaving about half the city's 300 schools all black. This tokenism, which puts the burden of busing entirely on black students, is consistent with the general pattern of judicial retreat. It means that in predominantly black school systems like those of Chicago, Wilmington and Indianapolis, and a growing list of cities, not only will a "metro solution" be out of the question, but few inner-city black students will even get a chance to attend the "better" city schools.

The Bourgeoisie and Integration

Those like the RCP and SWP who believe that the government is pushing school desegregation fail to see the contradictions in the bourgeoisie's actions on the democratic rights of minorities. They do not view social phenomena dialectically. Thus beginning in the Eisenhower administration (the Brown case ordering an end to *de jure* school segregation throughout the South was decided in 1954), the bourgeoisie showed a greater responsiveness to the increased militancy and social weight of black people, who flocked to urban centers North and South as mechanization struck a death blow to the sharecropping system. Young blacks moving from rural backwardness to industrial jobs joined black college students in challenging the "Jim Crow" system of legally enforced social and economic discrimination. Furthermore, the bourgeoisie had a stake in the development of a Southern workforce capable of exploitation by industries moving South, and in furthering the creation of a mass consumer market in this relatively underdeveloped region.

School buses in South Boston, September 1974. Boston Globe

The socialization of production is obviously inconsistent with Southern-style segregation, which makes it impossible for workers to ride the same bus to work, toil on the same assembly line, etc. It is also inconsistent with Northern-style segregation which creates a large pool of undereducated "unemployables" at the heart of the industrial system. But here is the fundamental contradiction of capitalism between an increasingly socialized mode of production and an increasingly privatized (through monopoly ownership) mode of appropriation. The bourgeoisie cannot fully integrate the industrial proletariat without greatly weakening the major obstacle to the development of revolutionary class consciousness by American workers—racism. Nor can it function without an industrial reserve army of unemployed, the semi-lumpenized black and Latin youth trapped in ghettos and barrios across the country.

Thus, the socialization of production creates conditions which compel the bourgeoisie to take a few steps down the road toward racial integration, especially in the schools, which turn out the workers of tomorrow. But the need to suppress the development of an "integrated" class consciousness among working people and the shrinking demand for black labor in a period of depression force the bourgeois state to draw back—to retreat from steps which attack the racial barriers which the capitalist system has created. The shift to the right among dominant sections of the bourgeoisie is soon communicated to their kept judges and politicians. And now they are in full flight.

This wavering ruling class, whose general program for the black masses is deprivation combined with brutal cop terror, is seen by the RCP as the instigator of an integrationist plot against the white workers of South Boston and Louisville. This bourgeois state, which will not even defend the judicial gains of the 1960's, is seen by the SWP as the guarantor of minorities' democratic rights.

The Spartacist League fights for the integration of public schools and all social institutions. We demand that busing be extended to the privileged suburban schools. We raise a program to lead the struggle for jobs, decent housing and education for oppressed minorities and for all working people. And at all times we counsel the exploited and oppressed to rely only on their own forces, never on the bosses' state. ■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Demonstrate Against Spínola!

Butcher of Angola–Aspiring Pinochet of Portugal

General António de Spínola Der Spiegel

The aspiring Pinochet of Portugal and butcher of Angola and Guinea-Bissau, General António de Spínola, is touring the United States and Canada. His purpose is ominously clear: he is speaking in centers of Portuguese immigration and talking to influential circles of American policy-makers to win backing for his plans to drown the Portuguese workers movement in blood! This organizer of counterrevolutionary plots and imperialist intervention must not be allowed to freely peddle his terrorist intrigues! We call on the entire labor and socialist movement to protest his tour.

Who is Spínola? Best known as head of the military junta after the overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship in April 1974, his earlier exploits as Portuguese High Commissioner in the colony of Guinea-Bissau are seldom mentioned by the capitalist media. In that capacity he ordered the assassination of nationalist leader Amilcar Cabral and supervised the extermination of thousands of independence fighters. He was also armed forces chief of staff for a time under Caetano. Placed in power following the "Revolution of the Carnations," Spínola immediately began intriguing to crush the combative workers movement. In September 1974 he was deposed after attempting to rally a "silent majority" for a coup against the Communist Party and the more left-wing officers of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA). Spínola's next move was to join a takeover attempt by reactionary officers last March 11. Having thoroughly botched the putsch, he joined Caetano in exile in Brazil. There Spínola continued his plotting, having found a congenial milieu among the wealthy Portuguese industrialists and ultra-right former generals.

In recent months Spínola has traveled to various European capitals seeking money and assistance for his bloody schemes. The Lisbon newspaper *Diario de Lisboa* recently reported that international monopolies have created a $250 million slush fund to finance a rightist coup in Portugal which would have as its goal the restoration of Spínola to power and the crushing of the labor movement. In connection with this conspiracy, John McCone, formerly head of the CIA and now vice-president of ITT, met with the general in Lausanne, Switzerland, earlier this year. Another Spínola backer is the notorious German monopoly of Krupp Steel.

Today the general with the monocle is head of the "Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal" (MDLP). The MDLP's Madrid representative and actual operations chief is one Captain Alpoïm Calvão, another of the the March 11 plotters. Calvão has a record of atrocities to equal Spínola's: it was he who in 1971 led the operation which resulted in the murder of Cabral in Conakry, Guinea. In an interview published in Portugal, Calvão has admitted that the MDLP works with the "Portuguese Liberation Army" (ELP), a terrorist group run by former agents of the PIDE, the despised Salazarist secret police (*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, 30 October 1975).

Having organized and trained for months inside Franco's Spain, representing a constantly poised threat of bloody counterrevolution in Portugal, the ELP is now marching at the head of the white mercenary column organized in South African held territories in Angola. They are attempting to seize the capital from the Moscow-backed MPLA and install an imperialist-controlled puppet regime or, failing that, to set up a South African protectorate in the south and a Gulf Oil fiefdom in Cabinda. With the MDLP/ELP doing the organizing and providing the mercenaries, the CIA is footing the bill. Now Spínola has arrived in the U.S. to collect his reward for helping Ford and Kissinger's power play in Angola.

Meanwhile in Lisbon the treacherous Socialist Party continues to demand a crackdown against the rebellious workers and soldiers. The reformist Communist Party, while organizing mass demonstrations, simply tries to exert pressure in order to get more cabinet posts for itself. These reformist workers parties and most of the smaller leftist groups as well—continue to tie the workers to the class enemy, talking of an "MFA-People Alliance." As was the case in Chile, this support for the "progressive" officers and "democratic" sectors of the bourgeoisie leaves the exploited masses unprepared for the proletarian uprising which alone can save them from the bloodbath being prepared for them by Spínola and his ilk. Portugal must not become another Chile!

There should be no illusions about what a Spínolist coup would mean. "I cannot let myself be paralysed by the spectre of fascism," the general told a western correspondent in Rio de Janeiro (*Le Monde*, 10 October). True to his murderous convictions this executioner of the Portuguese proletariat will unleash every sinister force that longs to behead the workers movement with the methods of Pinochet-style "law and order": torture, assassination and concentration camps.

It is above all by struggling to construct a Trotskyist vanguard party in Portugal, in North America and throughout the world—that class-conscious militants must prepare to crush the plans of Spínola and his backers for a nightmare of unrelenting terror against the exploited and oppressed.

—Arm the Workers—Split the Army!
—Workers to Power in Portugal!
—Smash the Imperialist Power Play in Angola!
—Abolish the CIA!
—Stop Spínola's Terrorist Intrigues!

U of Connecticut, Storrs
Tuesday, 18 November
at 4 p.m.

New York City
Council on Foreign Relations
58 E. 68th Street
Thursday, 20 November
at 5 p.m.

Boston
Boston Committee on Foreign Relations
40 Mt. Vernon Street
Friday, 21 November
at 4: 30 p.m.

Toronto
Sunday, 23 November
Time and place to be announced

San Francisco
Wednesday, 26 November
Time and place to be announced

Demonstrate against Spínola, Aspiring Pinochet of Portugal and Butcher of Angola and Guinea-Bissau!

Spartacist League U.S./
Spartacus Youth League
Trotskyist League of Canada

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR Jan Norden
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen
CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley
EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013 Telephone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business) Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001 Domestic subscriptions $5.00 per year

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

CORRECTIONS

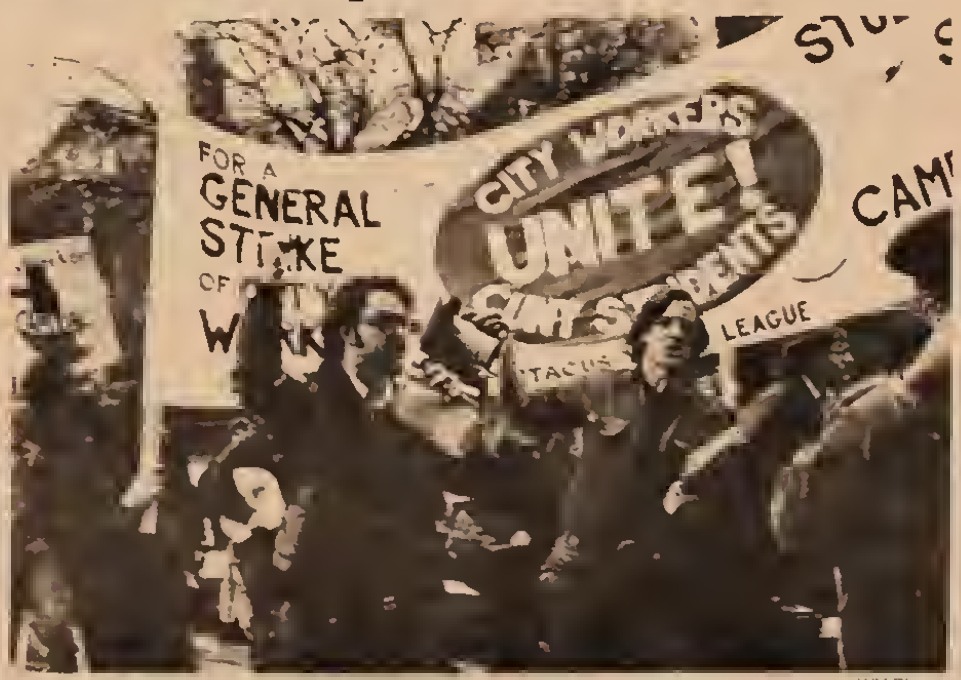
In *WV* No. 83 (31 October) the article entitled "Vote No on Anti-Labor S.F. Charter Amendments" incorrectly mentions Roland Sheppard as the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for lieutenant governor of California. Although originally announced for that post, Sheppard actually appeared on the ballot as SWP candidate for San Francisco mayor.

A confusing typographical error appeared in the lead article, "NYC Faces Default," of *WV* No. 84 (7 November). One sentence referred to "advocates both of bankruptcy and of default." It should have read "advocates both of bail-out and default."

Also, a back-page ad in *WV* No. 85 (14 November) lists a demonstration against CUNY cutbacks as being sponsored by the Spartacus Youth League. The rally was actually co-sponsored by the SYL and the Emergency Committee for CUNY.

CUNY Students Fight Cutbacks

SYL Demands, "Seize the Campuses"



WV Photo

A rally was held November 13 at the City College of New York (CCNY) to protest educational cutbacks in NYC. The demonstration drew about 80 people, including members of the Spartacus Youth League, Revolutionary Student Brigade, the Young Socialist Alliance and the YSA-led National Student Coalition Against Racism. The SYL made a significant impact with a substantial contingent and a banner demanding: "For a General Strike of City Workers! Students Seize the Campuses!" Following the rally a contingent led by the SYL militantly marched across the campus to attract students to a planning meeting for a demonstration at CCNY preceding a November 20 anti-cutbacks Wall Street rally. The planning meeting voted to build the campus action around the demands: No tuition! Open admissions! No cuts in SEEK and special programs! No cuts in staff and services! Expand educational programs for all New Yorkers! Rehire dismissed faculty and staff! Decent salaries, class size and teaching load!

Judge Reviews Fairfield Decision

Courts No Answer to Discrimination Against Black Steel Workers

FACT: 75 percent of the coke oven work in American steel plants is done by black and other minority workers.
FACT: Long-standing discrimination in hiring and a system of "departmental seniority" has kept blacks in the hottest, dirtiest and lowest paying jobs in the steel industry.
FACT: A multitude of judicial "remedies" based on the 1965 Civil Rights Act have not alleviated the pervasive discrimination suffered by blacks, other minorities and women in steel and throughout the economy.

In the most recent decision in a drawn-out court battle, the U.S. Appeals Court in New Orleans last month reversed an earlier decision concerning back pay for 2,700 black workers at U.S. Steel's Fairfield works near Birmingham, Alabama. The appellate court ordered Alabama judge Samuel Pointer, who originally heard the case, to reconsider the workers' claims, with the presumption that they had been damaged by discrimination and were due compensation. But how long this new review will take, and how many of the workers will actually receive money, is open to question. With the deadening slowness typical of U.S. "justice" for the victims of racial oppression, the courts have already taken nearly five years on this case, only to return it now to Judge Pointer for "further consideration."

The Fairfield saga began with a series of cases filed against U.S. Steel and the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) by the NAACP and private attorneys in 1970. Six cases were consolidated for trial in late 1972 before Judge Pointer in the U.S. District Court for Northern Alabama. Hundreds of witnesses were heard as the trial dragged on for over six months. Finally, in May 1973, Pointer rendered what has become known as the "Fairfield decision." While not denying discrimination against nearly 3,000 black workers, Pointer awarded only 61 of them back pay, on the grounds that "choice and chance" had played such a role in each individual's fate that compensation could not be determined "within the physical and fiscal limitations of the court" (*New York Times*, 12 October 1975).

This miserly result was hailed as a "historic milestone" by liberals and the reformist Communist Party. The decision additionally ordered changes in hiring, upgrading and transfer practices to give preferences to black workers, as well as partial implementation of plant-wide seniority instead of departmental seniority. However, these provisions were not enough to mollify the plaintiffs, who (joined by the Justice Department) continued to appeal, resulting in the latest decision throwing the ball back to Judge Pointer.

Enter the Consent Decree

The Justice Department's commitment to the appeal proved shallow and short-lived. Eager to avoid a mushrooming of black workers' claims, it arranged a package deal "consent decree" between nine major steel companies, the USWA and the federal government. The Justice Department subsequently dropped out of the Fairfield appeal.

WV Photo

The April 1974 consent decree ordered industry-wide concessions similar to those Judge Pointer had ordered, but as at Fairfield limited so as to make them a mockery of equality. The granting of plant-wide seniority was largely gutted by acceptance of company "lines of progression," which partially continued the old policy of forcing those wishing to transfer to a new department to begin at lower-paying jobs before having access to better positions. It also locked black workers into giving up further court claims by making token back pay awards—a meager few hundred dollars for each worker—conditional on signing a waiver against any further legal action! Like the Fairfield decision the consent decree made white workers financially liable for past company discrimination, ordering part of the back pay to come from a levy on the union. And by putting whole sections of the union contract under its control, the government set itself a useful precedent for further dictation and manipulation of labor-management agreements.

Even the stingy palliatives of the consent decree continue to be withheld from black steel workers. The "audit and review committee" composed of company, union and government representatives charged with implementing the decree has used every possible excuse to stall on the back-pay awards for over a year. As a result, the allotted monies continue to collect interest for the companies in various bank accounts.

Now further delay of the payments is expected in the wake of the appellate court's recent action. The possible conflict of legal principles between its ruling and the consent decree has been seized upon by audit and review committee lawyers as grounds for further haggling and procrastination. While the court held that Fairfield works employees are not covered by back-pay sections of the consent decree, estimates of the exact impact of the latest ruling vary widely.

The general counsel of the USWA, Mike Gottsman, argues that the decision will be limited entirely to the Fairfield workers, that it will produce less money than the consent decree and that, quoting the company, some 90 percent of the workers involved will end up with nothing. The NAACP, however, suggests just the opposite. One spokesman told a *WV* reporter that the appeals court ruling would mean thousands of dollars more in back pay and, although refusing to be quoted, clearly expected a challenge of the consent decree's back-pay provisions in many other steel mills. Implicit in his remarks was that the NAACP would wage a major campaign against signing the waiver stipulation in the consent decree. But in any case, black steel workers are slated to remain ensnarled in months and perhaps years of hapless litigation.

Capitalist Courts Will Not End Racial Oppression

The dismal spectacle of these endless courtroom shenanigans underscores the hopelessly utopian character of the liberal view that viciously racist capitalism can significantly reform itself "with a little pressure." Taking the companies (*not the unions*) to court can be a correct tactic if pursued without illusions as part of a broader class-struggle offensive against capital. But the courts cannot and will not remove their masters, the capitalist class, from power. So long as the latter remain, they will always find ways to avoid episodic inconveniences handed to them by the courts. A good example is the current practice of many steel mills in hiring skilled tradesmen off the street to evade the upgrading provisions of the consent decree.

Moreover, the efficacy of the court-suit tactic is sharply reduced in depressed economic periods, such as at present with a quarter million steel workers on layoff. Judges will not force the companies to provide full employment; instead, at best they can only make partial redistributions of the existing pie such as "preferential layoffs," a reformist scheme currently in vogue that accepts capitalist cutbacks, pits white against black, and sabotages seniority for all workers. Such "solutions" ensure that white workers will easily fall victim to the racists' arguments that all gains for blacks must necessarily come at their expense. Instead of such hoaxes which set one section of the working class against another, it is vitally necessary to unite black and white workers in struggle to strike down such discrimination and to provide jobs for all.

Faced with discrimination that is both degrading and costly—one estimate calculated that black workers with comparable seniority to whites, when calculated on a plant-wide basis, were actually paid about $1,750 a year less (*Militant*, 18 May 1973)—some black workers have turned to the NAACP's dead-end legalism only because of the seeming absence of a class-struggle alternative. Neither the incumbent union leadership nor its ostensible "opposition" has pointed toward another path.

The Steelworkers union, led by "no-strike" I.W. Abel, has sanctioned the industry's racist departmental divisions for years, turning a deaf ear to the legitimate complaints of its black members. The USWA also consistently defends the companies' practices in court. But suing the union along with the companies is joining the class enemy to destroy the only organ for defensive struggle that the workers have! And it will not protect the interests of minority workers any more than the present sell-out, racist union leadership has done. While the bureaucrats conspired with the companies and government lawyers to produce such legal straitjackets as the

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

86

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)

☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

consent decree, token payments and court-imposed penalties would come out of the membership's pocket with the union forced to further surrender its independence to control by a strike-breaking, union-busting capitalist government which is racist to the core. It is precisely this independence from the bourgeoisie that is vital for a class-struggle fight against racial oppression.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

Betrayed by the union officialdom, black steel workers could find no militant alternative in the policies of the pseudo-radical opposition formations within the union, none of which rejects the practice of suing the unions in the capitalist courts. Most prominent and brazen in its intentions is the National Steel Workers Rank and File Committee (NSWRFC), a liberal-reformist group politically endorsed by the Communist Party. Upholding the Fairfield decision as a sterling model, the NSWRFC offers alternating mild and militant criticism of the consent decree, while defending its implementation.

Never objecting to suing the union, the entire orientation of the NSWRFC is toward getting improved legal decisions and better government enforcement. Refusing to mobilize the rank and file in a fight against bureaucracy and racism, the NSWRFC goes so far as to demand that the USWA in effect be put under government trusteeship through "an independent representative of the federal court," who would be appointed to enforce the consent decree, instead of

Village Voice

USWA president I.W. Abel

"leaving it up to the 'good faith' of those who have been found guilty of bias in the past" (NSWRFC *Report*, June 1974). As if the federal government had not "been found guilty of bias in the past"!

Black steel workers will not find justice through the offices of the USWA fat cats, nor through NSWRFC-pushed illusions in "government impartiality." Steel workers must take up a program demanding full back pay from the companies for victims of discrimination, as well as repudiation of the consent decree, a struggle against layoffs and for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to make jobs for all, and full plant-wide seniority with union control of all hiring and upgrading to end racist practices. Basic to this program is the principle of working-class independence from the bosses' state: Hands off the union! Only on this road can the steel workers weld the anti-racist class-struggle unity necessary to throw out the present treacherous bureaucracy and eliminate discrimination. The workers themselves, not the bosses' courts, will settle accounts with the corporations and the union leaders who serve as their henchmen within the labor movement!■

USec on Angola and Algeria

They Never Learn

The fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat of the Fourth International (USec) over the past several years has been factionally polarized by a "two-line struggle" between its European-based centrist majority and a reformist minority grouped around the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP). But the cosmetic "unity" precariously preserved by the feuding factions in this so-called "United" Secretariat has become acutely strained by developments in the tumultuous class struggle in Portugal.

While Ernest Mandel and the other Pabloist patriarchs leading the centrist USec majority have been tailing the Portuguese "far left," the Communist Party and "revolutionary officers" of the Armed Forces Movement, the ultra-legalist SWP has rushed to the defense of "democracy" and...the CIA-financed Portuguese Socialist Party. The political appetites expressed in these counterposed positions would place the two wings of the USec on opposite sides of the barricades with an outbreak of civil war in Portugal. Some "International" this is!

The inability of the USec to present a coherent revolutionary policy in Portugal is characteristic of its response to every major political event. Thus, naturally enough, the factional dispute has spilled over to the civil war in Angola where once again two contradictory lines are presented. The USec majority cheers the radical-nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), while the SWP plies its pen to whitewash the anti-communist National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and, less brazenly, the neo-colonialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA).

Communists extend *military* support to such petty-bourgeois nationalist movements when they are engaged in actual struggles against imperialism. But Leninists remain sharply politically opposed to nationalism, even when cloaked in "socialist" rhetoric and commanding a mass plebeian following. At every step Marxists uncompromisingly struggle for the political independence of the proletariat, expressed through the vanguard party fighting for the leadership of the national-social revolution. In the civil war presently raging in Angola, with Portugal out and the FNLA/UNITA forces having been effectively subordinated to U.S. imperialism and its South African ally, we call for military support to the MPLA against the CIA-financed South African-organized military offensive (see "Smash Imperialist Power Play in Angola!" *WV* No. 85, 14 November).

The Pabloist epigones of Trotskyism, however, long ago discarded the Leninist-Trotskyist program. Regarding Angola, both camps of the USec are "united" today by their common refusal to expose the Angolan nationalists—the MPLA no less than FNLA/UNITA—as *bourgeois* formations and to fight for working-class independence in Angola.

Apologists for MPLA and FNLA

As vociferous enthusiasts for petty-bourgeois-led "armed struggle," the USec majority expresses its unqualified political support to the MPLA, raising the slogan "all power to the MPLA" (*Inprecor*, 11 September 1975). While grudgingly acknowledging simply the most glaring betrayals of the MPLA, these revisionists contend that the MPLA is only "partially controlled by a petty-bourgeois nationalist leadership." For Mandel & Co. "the only alternative to the present MPLA leadership" is the development of a so-called "vanguard" within the MPLA, *not* the struggle for a Trotskyist party.

In an earlier article, entitled "In the Whirlwind of Permanent Revolution" (*Inprecor*, 17 July 1975), the USec hails the MPLA's alleged "real break with reformist nationalism" and its "empirical revolutionary approach with a socialist dynamic." When the dust from this "whirlwind" of revisionist claptrap settles, the call for a Trotskyist party and for the political independence of the working masses from all the treacherous nationalists is buried.

Eager to make use of another opportunity for thinly veiled public factional polemic against the pro-MPLA USec majority, the SWP last summer cranked out a three-part series on Angola (*Intercontinental Press*, 7 July, 14 July and 21 July 1975) marshalling the evidence to demonstrate—quite correctly—the anti-proletarian character and past opportunism of the MPLA. But while seeking to cut the demagogically leftist MPLA to ribbons, the SWP wields its polemical rapier against the openly rightist FNLA far less aggressively. The SWP either ignores or disingenuously questions all the well-established facts documenting the FNLA's sordid anti-communist and pro-imperialist record.

While typically refraining from any hard programmatic statements, the SWP, like the USec majority, never so much as obliquely hints at the need for a Trotskyist party in its articles on Angola. On the contrary, despite its occasional pseudo-orthodox posturing, the SWP, too, suggests that the Angolan nationalist groups may be caught up in a "revolutionary dynamic": "In a tumultuous situation marked by the sudden collapse of a centuries-old empire and a steady rise of the colonial revolution, the nationalist forces may yet be pushed further than they are now willing to go."

Although each now apologizes for different hostile nationalist forces engaged in bloody combat, the two wings of the United Secretariat stand on the same revisionist methodology and tradition. Prior to their present falling out, USec leaders in the past unanimously hacked whichever was the most popular and active Angolan nationalist force of the moment, while denying the need for a revolutionary communist party and calling for revolutionaries to work under the leadership of the nationalists.

A USec declaration on Angola issued in 1964—at a time when the MPLA had been all but shattered by repression and when the FNLA was leading guerrilla actions based on the Bakongo secessionist revolt in northern Angola—stated:

> "The FNLA leadership is being forced to turn more and more towards revolutionary sources for aid including workers states, above all China. That this leadership has given indications of being willing to turn in this direction is an encouraging sign.... The most effective way in which the revolutionary Marxists can help the Angolan freedom fighters find their way to the program of socialism is to participate actively in the struggle led by the FNLA."
>
> *Fourth International*, June 1964

Algeria Revisited

The approach toward the nationalists in Angola shared by both factions of the USec today is simply a repetition of the Pabloist liquidationism followed during the nationalist-led struggle in Algeria against the French colonial regime. The Pabloists for years gave uncritical

J.P. Laffont/Sygma

political support to the petty-bourgeois National Liberation Front (FLN) in Algeria with the rationale that radical nationalist formations can provide a "possible substitution in the role which traditionally is played by the revolutionary Marxist party, of a more restricted [!] leadership of a different [!!] ideological origin" (Michel Pablo, "The Colonial Revolution and the Theory of the Permanent Revolution").

The revisionists cynically trampled on the fundamental Marxist principle of the political independence of the proletariat from all alien classes, rejecting the perspective of struggling for a Trotskyist party politically counterposed to the bourgeois nationalists, with the twaddle that "the FLN will transform itself into a political party which will have a programme with a clear socialist orientation" (*Quatrième Internationale*, July 1962). As early as September 1962 the Pabloists claimed that the FLN could establish a healthy workers state: "the Algerian revolution already has a programme, the one adopted unanimously at Tripoli, which, if it is carried out, will make Algeria a society belonging to the Algerian peasant and worker masses, and the Algerian state into a workers state building socialism" (Pablo, "Impressions and Problems of the Algerian Revolution").

This illusion-mongering was not limited to Pablo. The United Secretariat, shortly after its formation, referred to "the socialist revolution as it spreads from Algeria to Morocco and throughout the Maghreb [northwest Africa]" (*World Outlook*, 23 October 1963). By 1964 the USec declared that Ben Bella's Algeria had become a "workers' and peasants' government," a regime capable of evolving into a workers state without the intervention of a Trotskyist party and without a civil war, similar, it said, to Cuba under Castro (*World Outlook*, 21 February 1964). Both the SWP and the Pabloists in Europe had embraced Castro as an "unconscious Marxist" able to establish a "workers state" in Cuba without the intervention of a revolutionary vanguard party. Agreement on this anti-Trotskyist perspective was, in fact, a key element in bringing about the 1963 reunification which produced the USec. But what Castro consolidated was a *bureaucratically deformed* workers state which excluded the proletariat from direct political power and which has consistently pursued policies fundamentally no different from the degenerated/deformed workers states of Russia and China. The Pabloists hoped that Algeria's Ben Bella would be "forced" to take the same road as Castro. They were to be sadly disappointed.

While the Pabloists could only vicariously cheer Castro from afar, in Algeria the USec was able to at last

continued on page 11

Bureaucracts Squabble in UMW Executive

Keep the Labor Department Out of the Mine Workers Union!

Besmirched by its record of bringing in the federal government to run the last union election, selling out on the right to strike and crushing wildcats such as the massive, month-long work stoppage in West Virginia and other states in August, the top leadership of the United Mine Workers (UMW) is now having a public falling out over which of two officials will be the next president of the union. The dispute revolves around Vice-President Mike Trbovich's challenge to President Arnold Miller for the top spot, although elections are not scheduled to be held until 1977.

No differences of any consequence to the ranks of coal miners can be discerned in this long-simmering squabble, and the dispute has a tone of macabre childishness, with Trbovich accusing Miller of "intimidating" his secretary, and a pro-Miller official accusing the majority of the UMW's International Executive Board (IEB) of being "functional morons." A more serious and ominous note, however, was introduced by Trbovich when he wrote a letter to the Labor Department suggesting possible violations of federal law in Miller's record-keeping. Ironically, it is the victim of this implied attack, Miller, whose name is most associated with bringing in the Labor Department to run union affairs, in the 1972 UMW election which brought him into office. Trbovich's act contains a new threat of government intervention, perhaps including seizure of the union's files or other harassment, which must be resisted by miners and all workers as a danger to the entire labor movement by the bosses' state. No new "investigations"! Let Trbovich submit his charges to the membership!

Bureaucrats Unite to Smash Strike

Although the personal rivalry has caused a deep split at the top of the union, it was only two months ago that the entire leadership—national and local—was firmly united. The issue then was a wildcat strike which at its height embraced nearly two thirds of the union's membership of 120,000, extended to six states, and touched on issues of fundamental importance to the entire working class. Beginning over the firing of a local union official, the strike rapidly turned into a broad protest against the failure of the grievance system to stop company abrogation of the contract, and chiefly against the use of court injunctions by the companies to crush the strike. This strike for the right to strike was led by local unions and groups such as the Miners Committee to Defend the Right to Strike, while all factions of the union leadership moved might and main to break it.

Although forced to flee from the angry ranks at one meeting during the strike, Miller mobilized local leaders and finally succeeded in getting miners to cross picket lines maintained by roving militants, thus breaking a 50-year UMW tradition of respecting pickets. The defeat of the strike placed the union in grave jeopardy. While the employers' Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA) filed a suit to require more strenuous "union" efforts to crush "illegal" strikes, the U.S. Steel Corporation filed for $10,000 in damages to be made payable through seizure of all union dues monies, and Judge K.K. Hall of Charleston levied a $700,000 fine on the union to be paid directly to the coal operators!

Following on the heels of these vicious company and government actions, the UMW bureaucracy remained united in its determination to prevent any repetition of the membership's taking matters into its own hands. The IEB passed an omnibus resolution by a 22 to 2 majority against wildcat strikes, which included invalidating the union's long-standing "24-hour rule" (under which all shifts strike if any one goes out), forbidding the use of union funds to defend victimized militants who spread strikes or locals that lead wildcats, and providing IEB authority to bring charges against members who "jeopardize the integrity of the union" by "willful and deliberate defiance of International directives" (*UMW Journal*, 16-30 September).

Now that the ranks have been smashed and driven back to work in defeat, the self-satisfied officials are feuding over the spoils of office. In a recent series of IEB meetings, supporters of Trbovich slipped through a resolution tacked onto a routine report, requiring that a special convention be called to oust Miller from office. Although the resolution passed by a 14 to 6 majority, Miller ignored it, calling it "unconstitutional," and apparently secured a decision not to implement it at a later meeting (without, however, repealing the resolution).

AP

Arnold Miller and Mike Trbovich

Striking miners in Charleston, West Virginia, August 25. WV Photo

While firing off his "charges" to the government, Trbovich failed to make any explanation to the members for this clumsy attack on Miller other than the accusation of "intimidation" reported in the press. Miller and Secretary-Treasurer Harry Patrick called a press conference attended by rank-and-file members in which they denounced Trbovich and the IEB majority as "morons" and "14 dictators." Miller called on members to file recall petitions against the 14 (most of whom are district directors), and threatened that if Trbovich didn't get in line with his administration, "I can suspend him, and I will" (*New York Times*, 7 November). Thus collapsed what had remained of the "reform" administration of 1972, with Trbovich, naturally, lining up both former Miller supporters and backers of the previous Boyle regime.

Left Apologists for Sellout Bureaucrats

Reacting empirically to the particularly venal character of the UMW bureaucracy under W.A. "Tony" Boyle, most supposedly "revolutionary" groups had fallen, more or less "critically," into the trap of supporting the "union democracy" campaign in 1972 in which Miller and Trbovich ran together on the Miners for Democracy (MFD) slate. The International Socialists, for example, supported Miller because it was under the illusion that Miller would be a step forward over Boyle. The Revolutionary Socialist League, claiming to have no such illusions, supported Miller because the *workers* have illusions. The *Guardian*, reflecting Maoist double-think, supported Miller because he was a step forward *and* a step backward.

As pointed out by the Spartacist League, the MFD was founded, built and run by liberal Democratic Party politicians and lawyers, such as Congressman Kenneth Hechler and former ADA head Joseph Rauh, Jr. Rather than building a democratic movement of rank-and-file miners, the MFD relied on the courts and was run through behind-the-scenes deals and bureaucratic suppression of opposition. In one such deal, the lackluster Miller was picked over Trbovich (who had been a more prominent MFD spokesman) to be the group's candidate for the presidency after Trbovich had apparently understood that he would get the top spot—thus causing the resentment that has now risen to the surface.

The MFD's main tactic was to get the Labor Department to order a re-run of the 1969 election, which "Tony" Boyle stole from the subsequently murdered "Jock" Yablonski. During the 1972 re-run, Boyle consciously played on Miller's known association with liberal bourgeois politicians, lawyers and government intervention in the union. So hated is the bosses' government in the mine fields that 40 percent of the miners responded to this and opted for the nakedly corrupt Boyle rather than the "reformer" Miller. Although Miller has ended most of Boyle's bureaucratic trusteeships over the districts, the district directors on the IEB still include many former Boyle supporters.

Squirming through various contortions as Miller presents the miners with betrayal after betrayal, "left" pundits have made much of the fact that the presence of Boyle forces on the IEB has led to a never-ending series of top-level squabbles over secondary issues, with the latest bickerings merely their continuation in a new guise. In the battle over the last contract in late 1974, the bargaining council twice rejected Miller's draft offers, only to capitulate to Miller under the pressure of a federal mediator brought in—no surprise—by Miller.

The final deal was little changed from the first package—its main distinguishing characteristic being sellout of the right to strike promised by Miller—but the Communist Party (CP) came to Miller's defense against the bogeymen anyway. "Attack on Mine Pact Seen Plot by Old Boyle Clique," ranted the *Daily World* (4 December 1974), which tried to smear opposition to the deal with the brush of "agents at work."

Others, such as the Maoist Revolutionary Union (now Revolutionary Communist Party), tended to get off the bandwagon at the time of the contract betrayal. Said the RU's *Revolution* (November 1974), Miller "may not be a staunch defender of the strike"! They noticed! The IS, too, took this opportunity to note that the UMW ranks were no longer with Miller and to conclude that "the Miller Administration begins to look more and more like its predecessor rather than a 'reform' leadership" (*Workers' Power*, 28 November-11 December 1974). Though less blatant—and less consistent—than the Communist Party, the IS and RU/RCP lack the Marxist program which could have told them long before that Miller represented no fundamental break with the pro-capitalist bureaucracy and thus would *inevitably* betray the Mine Workers' ranks. The task of explaining this

truth—the need to break with *all* wings of the union bureaucracy in order to put forward a class-struggle opposition was left to the Spartacist League.

The Socialist Workers Party, which saw the Miller leaders at the time of the last contract as "coal miners not long out of the pits," now apes the CP in its defense of Miller against the leaders of the August wildcat:

> "[Miller's] refusal to champion the demands of the strike permitted enemies of the reform movement—remnants of the Boyle regime—to pose as the 'most militant' strikers and attempt to turn the entire struggle around, focusing it on the demand to oust Miller from office, instead of demands against the companies."
> *Militant*, 17 October

To suggest that the strike leaders were tied to the "Boyle clique" is a gross smear. Several militants went to jail for principled refusal to cross picket lines, others paid fines and strike leaders were heavily red-baited. Former Boyle supporters on the IEB had no fondness for the mass wildcat, and the miners were correct to direct their wrath for the betrayal of the strike against the Miller-controlled administration. Thus the SWP reveals the depths of its descent into reformism: no better than the CP, it still apologizes for Miller the "reformer" in the middle of the latter's efforts—fully in league with the "Boyle gang"—to suppress a massive rank-and-file strike over a fundamental union issue.

The interests of the rank and file in the August strike could have been fulfilled, not by a "reformer" with a program of government intervention, but by a class-struggle leadership which knew the class nature of the government and pointed out that calling on the government to interfere in union affairs is a fundamental betrayal of the working class. This is why opportunists like the RU/RCP, which was for fighting government intervention in August 1974 but not in the 1972 election, will never be able to build real class struggle leadership in the unions.

For a Class-Struggle Opposition

The Boyle gang and the Miller clique—and now the separated Miller and Trbovich cliques—are qualitatively indistinguishable from one another, and becoming more so as Trbovich builds his wagon out of driftwood from both "Miller" and "Boyle" swamps. There is no real choice for miners between Miller and Trbovich just as there was none between Miller and the Boyle regime. Miller was the example *par excellence* of the trade union "reformer" of the early 1970's, and his "alternative" has been so fully revealed as just another wing of the same reformist bureaucracy that even some (but not all!) of his opportunist "left" backers have deserted him. The only possible "reform" of trade-union leadership that would be a qualitative step forward is the transformation of the trade unions into instruments of the struggle for workers power. This requires throwing out all factions of the present bureaucracy, "reformers" included, and their replacement with a principled, consistent and militant class-struggle leadership. ■

PUBLIC MEETING

Stop Racist Terror!

Speakers:

JOYCE CALHOUN
Committee for Justice for the Calhoun Family

MATTIE SHEPHERD
Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton

ELLERY ALLEN
Philip L. Allen Defense Committee

Friday, December 5 at 7:30 p.m.
Laney College Room D-200
OAKLAND, California

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

From Hansen to Healy to Hansen

Wolforth Crawls Back

"Then [Jack] Stachel, the inveterate and most unscrupulous factionalist, suddenly got a twinge of conscience—or maybe it was something he had eaten...."

James P. Cannon,
The First Ten Years of American Communism

Less than a year ago Tim Wohlforth—for over a decade top dog in the American satellite operation of Gerry Healy's English-based "International Committee"—found himself unceremoniously deposed from leadership of his own creation, the Workers League (WL). Smarting from the blow, he treated the radical public to a lurid accurate 39-page account of his removal ("The Workers League and the International Committee," 11 January 1975). This document was so devastating a portrait of internal life among the Healyites that it was reprinted in its entirety in four installments of *Intercontinental Press*, the organ of the reformist Socialist Workers Party, edited by Joseph Hansen. In recent months Wohlforth has been observed lurking around public functions of the SWP/YSA, which had expelled him in 1964.

Now it appears that this homeless petty despot has come full circle. The 10 November 1975 issue of *IP* publishes without comment a document dated 19 October by Wohlforth and his close collaborator Nancy Fields which purports to demonstrate that the SWP has turned toward the working class and is putting forward basically correct politics in opposition to the sectarian, cultist WL. This fulsome application for SWP membership concludes:

> "Those like the Socialist Workers party who turn toward these struggles, and are willing to learn from them, will reach the best fighters of our generation. It will be these fighters who will build the revolutionary movement to lead the American Socialist Revolution. We intend to be with those real fighters of our day!"

The document strings together a few correct criticisms of the Healy tendency, obviously cribbed from the pages of *WV* over the years (the timeless, ritualistic Healyite warnings of "the crisis," the sectarianism analogous to Stalin's "third period") with grovelling praise tacked on for some of the worst aspects of the SWP's reformist line (Portugal, the reliance on federal troops to protect blacks in Boston). The document also includes the requisite section on "philosophy" without which no Healyite or ex-Healyite literary venture would be complete.

Tim Wohlforth — WV Photo

> "The Toad saw at once how wrongly and foolishly he had acted. He admitted his errors and wrong-headedness and made a full apology to Rat.... And he wound up by saying, with that frank self-surrender which always disarmed his friends' criticism and won them back to his side, 'Ratty! I see that I have been a headstrong and a willful Toad! Henceforth, believe me, I will be humble and submissive, and will take no action without your kind advice and full approval!'"
> —Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows*

Of the years preceding this conversion, Wohlforth has little of importance to say. After more than a decade in which his only rationale for political existence has been denunciation of the revisionism of the SWP as a cover for the more "leftist" Healyite brand of cynical opportunist zig-zags, Wohlforth now wants to crawl back into the fold. The SWP is certainly no less revisionist than it was when Wohlforth departed; in fact, it has locked onto a grossly reformist course. It is, however, bigger, and Wohlforth's tendency is considerably smaller—two people, to be exact.

At the time of his ouster from the WL, Wohlforth declared with typical modesty that although his service to the Healyites was apparently terminated, "we have left a priceless heritage...." It has not taken very long for Wohlforth's imperishable contribution to perish. With consummate cynicism, Wohlforth styles his reconciliation with the SWP "In Defense of a Revolutionary Perspective"—the same title, word for word, as the basic statement which codified the positions of the Revolutionary Tendency (which included Wohlforth as well as the founding leaders of the Spartacist group) in opposition to the SWP leadership some thirteen years ago!

The SWP is rapidly becoming adept at changing bloc partners in midstream. The marriage of convenience between the SWP-led rightist faction and the centrist majority of the so-called "United Secretariat" continues to come unstuck. The SWP wing and the French OCI increasingly gravitate into parallel orbits, concretized above all over the issue of Portugal (where the centrist USec majority backs the CP and the "progressive officers" of the MFA, while the SWP and OCI apologize for the CIA-financed SP as it fronts for the massing reaction). The bureaucratic SWP, which continues to hold at arm's length the supporters of the international majority expelled from its ranks, may have a use for Wohlforth. A totally discredited element incapable ever of mounting any threat to the regime, his spectacular capitulation can be utilized to bolster the SWP's democratic pretensions as it seeks to become the all-inclusive party of revamped American social democracy.

Still, the "reintegration" of Wohlforth would pose certain tactical problems. He is uniquely the individual whose record of sectarianism, violence and slander has been exploited by the SWP over the years to discredit left critics. Wohlforth, more than anyone else among the political bandits of the Healy tendency, has been Hansen's incarnate horrible example of the ignominious fate awaiting anyone who opposes the SWP from the left. In Hansen's long gloating comment on the original Wohlforth defection ("The Secret of Healy's 'Dialectics'," *IP*, 31 March 1975), he characterized the Healyite organizational method as using people like Wohlforth "until the last drop is squeezed out and they are dropped into the bin marked 'Vaporized Lemons'." We would be remiss if we failed to protest this amalgam of a rotten renegade and cynic with lemons, which after all serve useful purposes.

While we wait for the predictable howls of indignation from the Workers League/Healy cabal, let us observe that Wohlforth is only following out the counsels of his mentor, Healy, who some years ago dictated to the WL the opportunist strategy for the future: "the road to the American working class lies through the YSA."

But what is Hansen going to do with a super-cynical squeezed lemon?■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 995-9245
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO . (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

Whitlam Ousted in Australia

For A General Strike to Restore Labor Government!

On November 11 the Australian Governor-General ousted the Labor Party government and invited Liberal Party leader Malcolm Fraser to form a minority government for the purpose of holding elections, now scheduled for December 13. The pretext for this high-handed removal of the majority party from the government (by the official representative of the British queen) was the refusal of the Senate, dominated by the bourgeois parties, to vote for the budget. Immediately after Fraser was installed as prime minister the Senate voted for the Labor budget it had previously held up.

The dramatic sacking of the Labor government produced a wave of workers protests. In Sydney 3,000 dock workers and students marched on the Stock Exchange and battled police. In another action, an angry crowd reportedly broke into the offices of an anti-Labor publisher and burned large bundles of papers. Union demonstrations against the new government drew over 10,000 participants each in the federal capital of Canberra and in Melbourne. There were also several political protest strikes, including a one-day walkout by Sydney dock workers and a four-hour strike by all Melbourne unions on November 14.

We reprint below an Australasian Spartacist *supplement (13 November), published by the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand.*

Sir John Kerr, the right-wing ex-grouper[1] appointed Governor-General by [Australian Labor Party (ALP) Prime Minister] Gough Whitlam himself, has thrown out the elected Labor Government in [favour] of the bosses' parties, the Liberal/National Country Party (L/NCP) alliance—the coup de grâce in their year-long manoeuvres to get into position for a vicious attack on the working class.

The capitalists are solidly behind the move. After it was announced there were cheers on the floors of the stock exchanges and the Sydney Stock Exchange index shot up more than 17 points in a few hours. It received universal acclaim from the daily papers, owned and controlled by tycoons like Fairfax and Murdoch. The bosses want to dump the burden of the recession caused by their system of production for profit onto the backs of the workers, and they don't trust the Labor Party to do it well enough, no matter how much it has tried. That is the class conflict behind the constitutional crisis.

Fraser, the rich [rancher]-aristocrat, is a notorious union-basher like the rest of the reactionary L/NCP crew. It was they who tried to shackle the unions with the penal powers in 1969. That time they were defeated by massive national strike action which freed Clarrie O'Shea[2] from jail. Now the ruling-class plot to put them back in office must also be smashed. The working class must use its industrial power to veto the Governor-General's appointment of Fraser, an act undemocratic even by the standards of bourgeois parliaments. *The ACTU* [Australian Council of Trade Unions] *must immediately call a general strike to kick Fraser out and restore the Labor Government!*

Workers voted for a Labor Government because the ALP is the mass party of the working class tied to the trade unions and because they believed it represented their interests. Whitlam and the rest of the ALP tops have betrayed workers' true interests at every turn. The best way this can be proved is to keep the Labor Government in. But in order for the working class to go forward, the labour movement must be rid of class traitors like Hawke and Whitlam.

Whitlam's Capitalist Government

Whitlam's government has been and can only be strictly a capitalist government, dedicated to the efficient running of the capitalist system. Its few paltry reforms have been largely thrown out

UPI

Demonstrators in Sydney protest ouster of Labor government.

the window with the economic recession. It has not lifted a finger to stop the growth of massive unemployment. It has attempted to impose a wage freeze on the unions in the guise of "wage indexation." Its budget was completely pro-capitalist, with heavy indirect taxes on consumer goods, sharp cuts in social service expenditure, cuts in company taxes and other concessions to "private enterprise."

It is not enough to stop Fraser. The ACTU must include in the demands of a general strike immediate measures to halt the recession's attacks on working-class living standards and defeat the former Labor Government's anti-working-class policies: *Smash the indexation wage freeze and Labor budget cuts! For an immediate 35-hour week at full pay for all workers and a full, unconditional cost-of-living adjustment to all wages!*

These measures can only be a temporary defence of working-class interests. *A sliding scale of hours* is needed to maintain full employment with no loss in pay by sharing the available work. The "capital strike" by the bosses who refuse to invest because their ill-gotten profits are not high enough, the "right" of the bosses to sack or speed up anyone they see fit, cannot be accepted. Their stranglehold on society must be broken by taking industry out of their hands. *Open the books of the corporations! Workers control of hiring! Nationalise all basic industry and financial institutions under workers' control—no compensation!*

These measures—*expropriating* the capitalist class and opening the road of planned production for social needs to build a socialist society without the exploitation, misery, war, bloody repression, racial and sexual oppression, and degrading servitude on which capitalism thrives—can only be carried out by a workers government, only if workers have their own state power based on their own organisations. The bosses will not give up their riches without a fight! *For an ALP/ACTU government pledged to expropriate the capitalist class!*

Parliament is the Bosses' Tool

Whitlam, in opposing Kerr's actions, is only interested in upholding the capitalist system—and the [perquisites] it offers him as one of its political servants. He says that if he is not re-elected "there can be very great apprehensions that people in Australia will believe that Parliament is not a vehicle for reform. They'll try to go outside the system." Thus Whitlam threatens the ruling class: keep me in power or there might be a revolution. Whitlam is a counterrevolutionary to the core. He knows that the great deceit of Parliament is one of the best means of preventing the working class from throwing out the bosses once and for all.

Parliament is not democratic. It is forbidden to tamper with the foundations of capitalism. Corrupted by capitalist bribes and influence, it is rotten from top to bottom, useful only to a capitalist system in its historical decay, unable even to grant any substantial reforms. And when its class rule is directly threatened, capital will cast aside parliamentary niceties and attempt to drown workers in blood with naked armed force. By creating illusions in Parliament Whitlam is helping to prepare such a fate for Australian workers, just as Salvador Allende led the Chilean masses down the "peaceful road" to slaughter.

But deferring the budget is not quite the same as a fascist or military bloodbath. Whitlam has not been shot, but sacked, through a slight stretching of bourgeois legality—by exploiting a constitutional contradiction. Fraser is no Hitler or Pinochet—he is at worst just another Menzies.[1]

Even in bourgeois terms, the dismissal of Whitlam was undemocratic. The existence of the Governor-General and the Senate are not even in line with consistent *bourgeois* democracy, and they should be abolished. But not because that will fundamentally change the character of Parliament—on the contrary. Workers must support consistent bourgeois democracy only in order to obtain the best conditions for fighting to overthrow the entire capitalist system, and only to expose to the masses that even the purest bourgeois democracy is only the best political shell for the dictatorship of capital, completely impotent to satisfy their needs.

ACTU leader Hawke, pleading with workers to "trust me," immediately called for "restraint" from unionists. Along with Whitlam he knows that a massive working-class response will completely undermine their attempts to prove to the bourgeoisie their ability to better impose the cost of economic recession on the working class. The "left wing" of the trade-union bureaucracy—the Communist Party of Australia [CPA] and the Moscow-line and Maoist Stalinists, from John Halfpenny[4] to Pat Clancy[5] to Ted Bull[6]—are channelling strike agitation into demands for "saving democracy." Their calls for weak 24-hour "protest" stoppages and the black banning of elections are not only inadequate or misdirected but totally ignore the immediately necessary fight against Labor's anti-working-class policies.

The labor bureaucracy will inevitably try to sabotage a general strike. Immediate steps must be taken such as the calling of a national meeting of all shop stewards and job delegates. General strike committees must be established at all plant and job sites. A general strike cannot at this point directly challenge bourgeois rule without an overwhelming likelihood of defeat. But by successfully defending the working class, by beginning the organisation of its ranks and preparing the way for factory committees and workers' councils as an alternative to the bourgeois state, it will create better conditions for successful struggle.

What is needed above all is an alternative leadership to the treacherous bunch of misleaders now at the head of the workers movement. Oppositional caucuses, firmly based on a class struggle program, must be built in the unions in order to fight to build a mass revolutionary workers party that can lead the working class to victory. ■

• • • • •

[1] Member of Catholic-dominated anti-communist "Industrial Groups" in the Australian Labor Party during the 1950's, most of whom later split from the ALP to form the Democratic Labor Party.

[2] Maoist leader of Melbourne Tramway Workers Union arrested in 1969 for refusing to pay fines imposed as punitive measure against a strike.

[3] Long-time Liberal Prime Minister

[4] Victoria state secretary of the Amalgamated Metal Workers Union, leader of the CPA.

[5] Federal secretary of the Building Workers Industrial Union, national president of the pro-Moscow Socialist Party of Australia.

[6] Victoria state secretary of the Waterside Workers Federation, leader of the pro-Peking Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist).

SUBSCRIBE

Australasian SPARTACIST

a monthly organ of revolutionary Marxism for the rebirth of the Fourth International published by Spartacist Publications for the Central Committee of the Spartacist League of Australia and New Zealand, section of the international Spartacist tendency

U.S. $5—12 issues (airmail)

U.S. $2—12 issues (surface mail)

order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publications
GPO Box 3473
Sydney, NSW 2001
Australia

'75 Elections...

(continued from page 1)

to a firm with close ties to Perk to the appointment of a convicted killer and a convicted child molester to high city posts. But despite this, and despite last year's massive layoff of municipal employees, Perk was able to translate the garrison mentality of the city's white working-class neighborhoods into a victory at the polls. White voters who backed Stokes as "fire insurance," i.e., to contain ghetto rebellion, were now solidly behind a hard-line approach. And so this traditionally Democratic city voted for a Republican mayor simply to keep black candidates out of local office. Pinkney, who ran on a moderate platform, summed it up after the election: "Basically, white folks are scared of black folks in this community" (*The Cleveland Press*, 5 November).

In Boston there was a complementary pattern of liberals conciliating white racism. With black people a small minority and endangered by racist vigilantes, both mayoral candidates, incumbent Kevin White (who was re-elected) and challenger Joseph Timilty, simultaneously opposed busing and courted black and liberal votes. ROAR, the right-wing anti-busing group, did not endorse either candidate, in part because liberal mayor White and the ROAR leaders in city posts have a long history of behind-the-scenes sharing of political patronage. It was widely reported in the Boston press that ROAR leader Louise Day Hicks did not enter this year's race because it would endanger her cozy working relationship with White. However, ROAR leader Pixie Palladino, the racist zealot from East Boston, won election to the School Committee, joining the ROAR sympathizers who already dominate the Committee and City Council.

ERA Defeated in N.Y./N.J.—Anti-Labor Bills Win in S.F.

A general trend to the right was similarly evident in the vote on a number of ballot propositions across the country. State equal rights amendments were rejected in New York and New Jersey, despite their broad support from state politicos. In Washington state the death penalty was reinstated, and a corporate income tax was voted down. In San Francisco, a series of anti-labor propositions was approved by a petty-bourgeois electorate out-

Bernard Gotfryd/Newsweek

Ronald Reagan

raged over higher property taxes and blaming them on the wage settlement of municipal employees negotiated by outgoing mayor Joseph Alioto. Voters rejected 93 percent (in dollar value) of all new proposed bond issues (compared with 54 percent in 1974). These votes outline the trend toward fiscal conservatism and "law and order," a trend Wallace and Reagan hope to benefit from.

The defeat of the state equal rights amendments in New York and New Jersey—states which three years ago were among the first to ratify the federal ERA, a supportable, if somewhat innocuous, statement of equality before the law, was one of the sharpest indicators of this rightward political drift. With rejection of the amendments, conservatives in the two state legislatures are already pushing to reverse their support to the national proposal, a move which could kill ratification. Reactionary outfits like the Conservative Party, American Legion and the Daughters of the American Revolution spearheaded the opposition, peddling irrelevancies about unisex toilets and homosexual marriages. But fundamentally the vote reflected a resurgence of backward social attitudes and opposition to extending even the most basic democratic rights.

In San Francisco a number of disastrous anti-labor propositions sponsored by city supervisors were approved by an overwhelming two-to-one vote in a heavy turnout. A "craft pay formula," pegging the wages of city tradesmen to the level prevailing in San Francisco's highly unionized private sector, was eliminated, opening the way for the city to slash the wages of the 16,000 municipal workers affected. A similar bill, "Proposition L" which would have tied craft wages to a much lower statewide average, was defeated only last year.

A proposition requiring dismissal of striking police and firemen was passed in S.F., as were others intended to cut police and firemen's wages and to increase the number of workdays per month for firemen. Revolutionaries oppose these propositions not out of sympathy for the cops, the enemies of the working class, but in order to defend the wages and working conditions of firemen and other city workers. The vote, described by Alioto as "an incredible revulsion of the police and fire strike," marks a shift from political collaboration with the labor fakers, as practiced by Alioto and his cronies, to direct state repression favored by the Board of Supervisors. It is notable that every supervisor was re-elected.

This defeat for the Bay Area working class is the direct responsibility of the venal labor bureaucrats, whose temporizing policies stand in the way of a militant defense of the unions and allow the petty bourgeoisie to be mobilized by reactionary demagogues. A determined use of labor's enormous social power is the only weapon which can decisively defeat union-busting and right-wing political threats posed in this period of capitalist austerity. Ousting from the unions the racist, gun-wielding cops—who only pretend to side with labor until they are called upon to smash strikes by real municipal unions—is the first step. A class-struggle union leadership would present a program of transitional demands which demonstrate to the economically hard-pressed lower levels of the petty bourgeoisie that it is the capitalists, not the working class, who are the real enemies, and that a workers government is the only solution to the price/tax/debt spiral. Defensive political strikes would quickly dispel the reactionaries' hopes that the working class can be tamed by a few anti-labor laws or right-wing politicians. But the San Francisco labor bureaucrats continue their no-win policies and now support their latest "friend of labor" George Moscone in the mayoral run-offs.

Race and Class

In Europe, the capitalists have met the current depression simply by exporting their reserve army of unemployed back to their countries of origin. Hundreds of thousands of foreign workers from Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey, who were brought to the central and north European industrial countries after the war, are now being uprooted and deported, as competition for jobs becomes sharper. In the United States, similar policies have been implemented by governmental authorities, which last year expelled over a million "illegal aliens" from the country. But there is an important difference between the U.S. and Europe. Despite numerous newspaper stories of Detroit auto workers returning to Kentucky on Trailways' half-fare plans, the black industrial reserve army is internal to the country and cannot simply be sent "back to the farm." This situation will have an important impact on the future socialist revolution, in which black workers will play a central role, but there is also a dangerous potential to channel the economic insecurity of a divided working class into racial confrontation rather than class struggle against the capitalists.

For example, in the summer of 1919, during the economic dislocation following the end of World War I and the fierce job competition between newly industrialized blacks and returning white veterans, bloody race riots swept 26 cities. The revolutionary wing of the Socialist Party, deeply embroiled in the faction fight that led to the formation of the Communist Party, was mainly confined to groups of recent immigrant workers. They were as much the victims of the xenophobic frenzy whipped up among the petty bourgeoisie and native-born workers as were the black workers murdered in Chicago, Washington, D.C. and other attempted pogroms.

Major obstacles to a united working-class offensive against capital (in place of race war) in that period were the Gompersite bureaucrats, who demanded jobs for whites first, and the lack of unions that went beyond narrow job-trusting craft organizing.

In contrast, during the latter half of the 1930's and in the immediate post-World War II period, heightened class struggle—expressed in industrial union organizing, mass strike waves and demands for independent labor political action—muted racial divisions and shifted the national political climate dramatically to the left. A key factor was the broad support for left-wing and revolutionary militants in wide sections of the labor movement.

Now the economic decline of U.S. imperialism in the world market (codified in Nixon's 1971 New Economic Policy), the Watergate scandal and subsequent government shake-up, the imperialist defeat in Indochina and the onset of a world depression have created conditions for a similar upsurge in the class struggle. But the question of leadership is key. The same generation of pro-capitalist union bureaucrats who presided over the "cold war" purge of radicals from the ranks of labor today continue to hold back the workers' struggles, allowing the bourgeois parties to orchestrate the cut-throat competition of white and black workers for a declining pool of jobs, housing and social services.

Without the independent class political mobilization of the proletariat in a workers party and the ousting of the present sellout, parochialist labor bureaucracy, the tremendous potential social power of the working masses will be dissipated in fratricidal racial conflict (as well as in escalating national chauvinism as the labor fakers promote protectionism as the "solution" to depression). The class traitors who channel white workers' discontent into votes for bourgeois "friend-of-labor" politicians—who promise lower taxes and a hard line against blacks—must be dumped. This can come about only through the emergence of a class-struggle union leadership to fight against the bureaucracy and for a workers party and a workers government that would lay the basis for eliminating forever the pervasive oppression of racial and national minorities intrinsic to capitalist rule. ■

200 at LACC Rally in Support of Philip Allen

LOS ANGELES, November 14 A united-front rally to free Philip Allen drew 200 today at L.A. City College. The fight against the frame-up of Allen, an LACC student sentenced to five-years-to-life in prison for allegedly killing a cop, has mobilized many students on campus in the last few months as the viciously racist nature of the state's frame-up campaign against Allen becomes increasingly obvious. The rally, initiated by the Associated Student Body and Executive Council, was supported by and included speakers from MECHA, a Chicano student organization; the Black Student Union; the Students Political Organization for Tom Hayden's Election; the United Farm Workers Support Committee and the Spartacus Youth League (SYL).

Philip Allen

Several of the speakers addressed the need to broaden the defense struggle—to make Allen's case as familiar on the streets of L.A.'s black districts and beyond as it is on campus. Referring to Judge Rittenband's revocation of Allen's bail the day after an October 1 rally at LACC where the defendant reaffirmed his innocence, SYL spokesman Don Cane said that if it wasn't clear before, the bail revocation should have "dispelled any illusions that anything but a united mass movement could bring justice to Philip Allen." Under capitalist class "justice," Cane pointed out, "For black and other working people you're born guilty till you're proven innocent." Now behind bars at Chino state prison, Allen finds his life in danger as a "convicted cop killer" in the hands of cops.

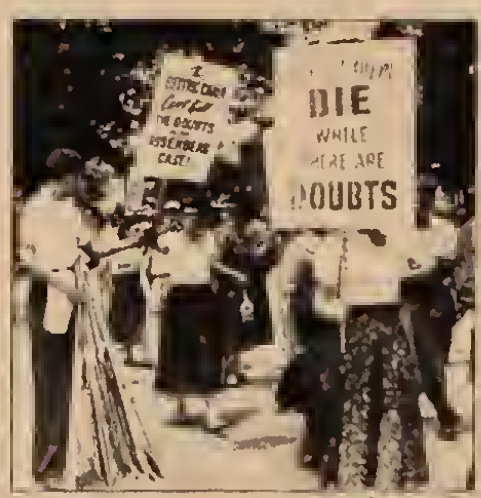
Today's successful demonstration in support of Philip Allen was also a ringing repudiation of the recent attempt to split such united efforts with vicious red-baiting. The LACC administration, supported by a small circle of campus red-baiters, suspended the SYL from campus in response to the sizeable October 1 demonstration initiated by the SYL. However the anti-communist campaign aimed at destroying the unity and effectiveness of the Philip Allen defense barely got off the ground before its sponsors retreated in the face of overwhelming campus support for a united defense and condemnation of administration victimization and sectarian anti-communism. *For a United Defense of Philip Allen! Free Allen Now!*

Rosenbergs...

(continued from page 12)

eighteen years was supplied by two witnesses, Ethel Rosenberg's brother David Greenglass and a Philadelphia chemist, Harry Gold. Greenglass testified that, after being recruited to a spy ring by Julius Rosenberg, he had handed sketches of the atomic bomb – whose "secret" he had overheard from the conversations of scientists passing through the machine shop at Los Alamos where he worked –to Soviet spy courier Harry Gold.

The weakness of the prosecution's charge regarding an A-bomb sketch was pointed out by J. Robert Oppenheimer, the American physicist in charge of designing the first atomic bomb, when he said that "there are no unpublished secrets concerning atomic weapons, and no secrets of nature available to a few."



Paris Match

CP and liberals ignored political character of Rosenberg witchhunt.

Gold, the story goes, identified himself in the classic conspiratorial manner with the password "I come from Julius" and the torn side of a Jello box whose matching part Rosenberg supposedly had given to Greenglass. The prosecution's two key pieces of material "evidence" were the sketch of the "A-bomb secret" and the torn Jello box top. But the sketch was done in jail by Greenglass a month before the trial and the only Jello box ever produced was one torn in court!

Gold provided the only major corroborative testimony to the Greenglass story. The credibility of the prosecution's case, at least in strictly legal terms, rested solely on whether the jury believed these two witnesses. The Rosenbergs, of course, denied everything Gold and Greenglass had said.

The role of Greenglass and Gold in helping railroad the Rosenbergs makes these two characters interesting as case studies of how the FBI molded unstable personalities, devastated by the terror of the witchhunt years, into the witnesses that "cracked" the "Soviet spy ring." By the time of the Rosenberg trial Harry Gold already had named himself the American accomplice to convicted British spy Klaus Fuchs and had appeared as the principal prosecution witness in the Brothman-Moskowitz trial. Here Gold described not only his spy activities but also how for years he maintained the fantasy of a non-existent wife and their twin children, fooling even his close friends. Apparently awed by his powers of fabrication, Gold exclaimed that "it was a wonder steam didn't come out of my ears." Although Gold could not remember either Greenglass or their supposed rendezvous in New Mexico when first questioned about it by the FBI, his almost infinite suggestibility fastened on a few timely hints and, guided by the FBI, elaborated the full story.

FBI coaching similarly informed Greenglass' account. At the trial Greenglass testified that agents "*told me* about a man who came to see me" and told him when and where the meeting took place. Gold and Greenglass spent months together, working with the FBI and U.S. attorneys, on the eleventh floor of the Tombs Prison in New York City, known as the "singing quarters." There they ironed out any inconsistencies in their story. The *pre-trial record* thus contains the record of government conspiracy, and the key to reopening the Rosenberg case. We demand these secret prosecution and government files, so hard to pry loose from the FBI, be made public now!

Elizabeth Bentley, the repulsive ex-Communist who claimed seven years on the Russian spy circuit, applied the finishing touches to the prosecution's case. Although she admittedly never met either of the Rosenbergs and told only a vague, if darkly conspiratorial story about midnight phone calls from a man named "Julius," her testimony as an "expert" on Communism was important to the government's case. Denying a defense motion against such a line of testimony, Judge Irving Kauffman made clear to the jury the purpose of Bentley's testimony, namely to show "the causal connection between the membership in the party and intending to give an advantage to...the USSR"—i.e., CP membership equals espionage. Bentley had already built a sensationalistic (and lucrative) career as an informer. Congressional hearings and federal grand juries thrilled to her tales of a vast "underground" carrying out "orders from Moscow."

A good deal of criticism has been directed at the defense lawyers, most recently by Sobel in his book *On Doing Time*. There is no question that the four lawyers, three of whom had little experience in criminal cases, made serious errors of legal judgment. But the most important error was adaptation to the witchhunt political atmosphere. Defense lawyer Emanuel Bloch demonstrated his patriotism by requesting that a replica of the alleged sketch of the bomb drawn by Greenglass be impounded, to ensure that it not "be used to the advantage of a foreign power."

And when Judge Kauffman sentenced the Rosenbergs it was "national security" that demanded their deaths. "I believe your conduct," Kauffman intoned, "has already caused...the Communist aggression in Korea, with the resultant casualties exceeding 50,000, and who knows but that millions more may pay the price for your treason."

Who Were the Rosenbergs?

The witchhunters depicted their prey as arch-fiends of an international conspiracy, but the Rosenbergs were, until their arrest, a rather undistinguished part of a generation drawn to radical politics during the late 1930's. Inspired by the authority and achievements of the Russian Revolution, they looked for political leadership to American Stalinism, product of the revolution's degeneration. In a letter begun 45 days before his execution Julius Rosenberg described how as a teenager he became determined to help free Tom Mooney, and later as a college freshman protested against fascist students from Italy visiting CCNY. He recalled Ethel singing *No Pasarán* in Times Square to raise money for Spanish refugees, and how they had advocated the allies' opening a second front in World War II to relieve the bleeding of the Soviet Union by Hitler. Both were active trade unionists, Ethel in the clerical workers union and Julius as an organizer for the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians until he was fired from his job for CP membership in 1945.

Ardent believers in the disastrous Stalinist popular front against fascism, the Rosenbergs liked to consider themselves typical of the "progressives" who hoped for a U.S.-Soviet alliance continuing into peacetime in a worldwide New Deal. Yet it is clear enough that the Rosenbergs were deeply committed to support of the Soviet Union. Thus they were the right sort in the right spot and at just the right time to become sacrificial victims to the frenzied anti-communist frustration of an American imperialism denied total global domination. The Rosenberg couple faced their martyrdom with fortitude and bravery. The great Soviet spy Kim Philby in his book, *My Secret War*, rightly calls them the "heroic Rosenbergs."

Throughout the McCarthy era the FBI relied on "fishing expeditions," poking around for someone who might break under the strain and "cooperate" with the government. Loyalty oath perjury was a useful lever in FBI hands to extort "confessions," particularly when coupled with promises of light sentences or immunity. Above all the state hoped to set off a chain reaction of FBI-authored "confessions," with the Rosenbergs and Sobel playing along, to finger the real "masterminds." During the trial and right up to the executions the Rosenbergs were promised time and again that the state would be lenient if only they would "cooperate" and name names. But in a political atmosphere fouled by stool pigeons like Whittaker Chambers talking for immunity, by finks like director/novelist Elia Kazan taking out "I-was-a-Communist-dupe" ads in the *New York Times*, and by pathetic creeps like Harry Gold, the Rosenbergs, with their lives at stake, never swayed.

Cast by an accident of history as martyrs of the anti-communist repression, the Rosenbergs refused to renounce the Soviet Union. Their political training, however, as CPers during the New Deal heyday of class collaboration, had provided them little experience in swimming against the stream. Julius Rosenberg's *Death House Letters* are ample evidence of political naïveté, as he describes his "hope that as time passes my faith in the American people and American Justice will be reaffirmed." But the Rosenbergs' courageous stand is a testament to their unflinching personal integrity.

Joseph McCarthy

Paris Match

Class-Struggle Defense Needed

A revolutionary defense policy seeking to mobilize the working class was the necessary response to the continuing onslaught of reactionary repression whose main target was the CP. The Rosenberg case was not merely one of many espionage prosecutions. The arrest and show-trial became a focus for the mobilization of anti-communism as a section of the ruling class sought to gear up the country for a war against the Soviet Union. The central political nature of the case became evident when the Rosenbergs whose alleged crime was providing information to an *ally* of the U.S. were given the death sentence.

The failure to defend the Rosenbergs rests squarely with the Communist Party, which first mentioned the case after the trial was over and the death sentence had already been handed down. The CP neither denounced the political frame-up nor defended the Rosenbergs as victims of the capitalist state but merely accused the government of "bad faith," similar to its refusal "to negotiate peace in Korea" (*Daily Worker*, 6 April 1951). In turn, the cowering liberal American Civil Liberties Union announced that the case "raised no civil liberties issues." It fell to the *National Guardian*, in a series of articles in the summer of 1951, to protest the Rosenbergs' persecution, incorrectly focusing on anti-Semitism (which was certainly a factor) as the main issue.

In late 1951 the CP and its Progressive Party periphery, organized in the National Committee to Secure Justice, started a defense campaign. But it did not attract much in the way of support until the winter of 1952, after the Supreme Court had refused to review the case. The treacherous policies of the Stalinists in the previous years had closed off the possibility of effectively mobilizing the labor movement against repression. Through its no-strike pledges and its policy of seabbing on strikes during the war, the CP had isolated itself in the far right wing of the unions. The McCarthy period purges of CPers and all "reds" ruthlessly cleaned out the best militants from the ranks of labor and laid the basis for the unions' absolute domination by the reactionary bureaucracy which to this day maintains control of the AFL-CIO.

During an analogous red scare following World War I, the pioneer Communist movement had lasted out the Palmer Raids (in which as many as 2,000 people were arrested in one night). But the degenerated CP's class collaborationism made it vulnerable to the McCarthyite onslaught. Under the pressure of the national chauvinist hysteria which provided the backdrop for the Rosenberg trial, most of the U.S. left followed the CP's cringing example. Max Shachtman's Independent Socialist League, weathervane of the Stalinophobic left, pretended not to notice the witchhunt character of the Rosenberg trial, using as a dodge the statement: "socialists have traditionally refrained from involving themselves in controversies in which espionage is involved" (*Labor Action*, 19 January 1953).

But indignation spread as the execution date approached. In France CP-led demonstrations drew tens of thousands, focusing on anti-Semitism as the motive for the conviction.

Contrasting with the Stalinists' vapid talk of "bad faith" on the part of the U.S. government, in its first editorial statement on the case, the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party correctly recognized the central political thrust of the Rosenberg trial: "The

SPARTACIST
edition française No. 10
octobre 1975
3,00 F. $.75 US/Canada
pour toute commande s'adresser à:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

Rosenberg decision above all else was an act of ruling class terror by a state that is preparing a war of world conquest, a war directed primarily against the Soviet Union" (*Militant*, 27 October 1952). The SWP hailed the USSR's nuclear capacity—an important act demonstrating considerable political courage in that period. It was a victory for the gains of the October Revolution that the Dr. Strangeloves were thwarted in maintaining a monopoly on nuclear weapons. The SWP was guided by the Trotskyist principle of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism (which must be coupled with a program of political revolution to bring down the class-collaborationist Kremlin bureaucracy).

Developing factions in the SWP (Marcy, Cochran-Clarke-Bartell) seized on the case in 1953 to claim that the SWP majority had failed to adequately defend the Rosenbergs. As their rapid evolution showed, the appetite of these critics was toward liquidation into the Stalinist milieu.

However one can find errors in the SWP's work during this period. The SWP could have recognized the political character of the Rosenberg case sooner and sounded the alarm earlier and louder. Nonetheless the defense record of the SWP was generally excellent. When the Smith Act was used against the CP in 1949, the SWP campaigned vigorously in the CP's defense, correctly recognizing the ominous threat of a concerted drive to "sanitize" the unions by obliterating all radical influence. The SWP denounced the Smith Act prosecution of CPers, undeterred by the vicious sectarianism which had led the CP to applaud the first use of the Smith Act—against the Trotskyists in 1941. Nor did the SWP allow its bitter first-hand experiences with GPU espionage (the GPU's assassination of revolutionists in Spain, the murder of Trotsky in Mexico in 1940, the Soblen network of spies and provocateurs which carried out anti-SWP activities throughout the war) to obscure the need to defend the Rosenbergs.

The prosecution and execution of the Rosenbergs was a graphic symbol of the anti-communist frenzy of arrogant American imperialism. One of the important tasks in constructing an international Trotskyist vanguard party will be to construct mass class-struggle defense organizations capable of freeing the Rosenbergs of the future. ■

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- For Workers' Revolution in Spain!
- Eldridge Cleaver: A Political Obituary
- SYL Campaigns Against Chilean Junta's Collaborators
- NSCAR Demands More Cops in Boston
- China Withholds Support for Puerto Rican Independence
- Peking Promotes Ethiopian Junta
- New Left Antiques at Berkeley Bazaar
- SWP/YSA and Cops Assault Leftists to Protect Platform for Racists

SUBSCRIBE NOW! $2/11 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

86

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

USec on Angola, Algeria...

(continued from page 5)

implement its perspective of actively pressuring the nationalist formations to the left. While still a titular international leader of the USec, Michel Pablo entered the bourgeois Ben Bella government, serving as a top economic advisor. According to his pamphlet "World in Revolution," Pablo "helped codify and institutionalize self-management in Algeria, and draft the Algerian Reform Law and economic and social policy in the country between 1962 and 1965."

Pablo "Institutionalizes" Algeria's Unions

Having crossed the class line by entering a bourgeois government, Pablo, with the tacit support of the entire USec, proceeded to braintrust the "social and economic policy" which was aimed at strangling the independent organizations of the working class by incorporating them into the bourgeois state apparatus. The "institutionalization of self-management" pushed by Pablo led directly to the state regimentation of the Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens (UGTA) labor federation, whose leaders had sought to preserve at least a semblance of independence of the workers organizations from the post-independence Algerian state (Ian Clegg, *Workers Self Management in Algeria*).

The UGTA organized independent workers self-management committees in the factories and on the agricultural estates abandoned by the departing French. In July 1962 it called for factory occupations to prevent a consolidation of power by the nascent Algerian bourgeoisie. Such independent mobilizations of the working masses posed a direct threat to the bonapartist bourgeois regime of Ahmed Ben Bella. Thus when the first UGTA congress, convened in January 1963, opposed the regime's policy that "allows the exploiters to profit from the situation in reinforcing their privileges and consolidating their political power," the Ben Bella government packed the congress with FLN cadres who proceeded to elect a new "leadership" pledged to upholding and enforcing the policies of the government. Such was the "institutionalization of self-management" forced upon the Algerian masses by Pablo & Co.!

The successful putsch by Houari Boumedienne in June 1965 delivered a crushing blow to the Pabloists' illusion-mongering. This palace coup was accomplished with only minimal purges in the state apparatus and certainly nothing approaching mass armed resistance, much less civil war. Such was the dismal end of the USec's fabled "workers and peasants government."

Faced with the debacle in Algeria, the USec began an elaborate cover-up seeking to excuse its treachery with a halting "self-criticism" and liberal doses of falsification and demagogy. Shortly after the Boumedienne coup, SWP "theoretician" Joseph Hansen attempted to answer a scathing denunciation by the Socialist Labour League of Britain of the USec's capitulation to the petty-bourgeois Algerian nationalists (reprinted in *Spartacist*, November-December 1965). Hansen wrote sarcastically:

> "We are told about the need for a Trotskyist party in Algeria. Wonderful! We are told that the national bourgeoisie cannot carry out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Superb!"
>
> *World Outlook*, 23 July 1965

Anyone can "call for" a vanguard party, you see. But the USec occupied itself with the "new," more "profound" objective "dynamic" in Algeria. To simply insist on the need for the political independence of the proletariat from the exploiters, according to Pabloist pundit Hansen, is a "barren ultraleft approach." Although Hansen ridicules the affirmation of the need for a Leninist vanguard party as though this were an undisputed question, he dares not suggest that the USec upheld the need for a party and warned against any illusions in the national bourgeoisie. Moreover, Hansen stressed the possibility of a resurgence of the "left" forces still intact in the Boumedienne regime, which could transform the Algerian government once again into a "workers and peasants government."

Years later—indeed, four years later!—the USec, unable to any longer promote the fiction of an FLN "left," finally brought forth a "balance sheet" on Algeria, "The Algerian Revolution from 1962 to 1969" (*Intercontinental Press*, 16 March 1970). The Pabloists, after years of reflection, seem to have been seized with an insight. Listen: "The victory of the socialist revolution in Algeria was possible. But a decisive factor was lacking: the revolutionary party."

We might congratulate the USec for paying homage to at least one fundamental principle of Marxism, but this entire "self-criticism" is spurious from beginning to end. Thus the draft resolution, a classic model of circumlocution and evasion, asserts that the Boumedienne coup was a "qualitative expression of the erosion and the molecular changes occurring both in the state personnel and the organization and consciousness of the classes...which the revolutionary party had not been able to counteract." What "revolutionary party"?! Such cynical falsification was evidently more than Mandel thought he could get away with, so an amendment (by Germain and Charlier) was offered conceding that the absence of a party did make some difference after all: "a revolutionary party would have been able to quickly attempt to reestablish contact with the masses." The final version, however, only admits to the necessity of a revolutionary party because Ben Bella, unlike Castro, allegedly lacked broad support among the peasantry! Judging by Lenin's criterion—"The seriousness of a revolutionary party is measured by the attitude it takes toward its own errors"—the USec is revealed as totally unserious and fundamentally unprincipled.

The purpose of the "balance sheet" on Algeria was not to achieve Marxist clarity regarding the communists' attitude toward petty-bourgeois nationalist movements in the colonial and ex-colonial countries, but rather to cover up the USec's despicable role with a few drops of pseudo-orthodox verbiage and tons of obfuscation. Consequently, after years of "re-evaluating" their Algerian positions, the revisionists of both wings of the "United" Secretariat now end up repeating the exact same capitulation before the Angolan nationalists.

The USec tries to draw a parallel with Cuba, hoping that everyone will forget Algeria. But the lessons of both Cuba and Algeria are that petty-bourgeois nationalists coming to power through guerrilla warfare can establish nothing more than an anti-working-class bonapartist regime: a bourgeois regime oscillating between "progressive" and outright reactionary coloration, as in Algeria, or—even in the best case, and only under highly atypical circumstances—a bureaucratically deformed workers state, as in Cuba.

While episodic military blocs with nationalist forces may be necessary, the proletariat of the backward countries must maintain its class independence from the bourgeoisie and all petty-bourgeois formations. Organized independently and under the leadership of a Trotskyist vanguard party, the proletariat must mobilize behind its banner the peasantry and urban poor, thereby assuming hegemony in the anti-imperialist struggle. The Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution rests upon the principle of the independence of the proletarian vanguard. ■

AP

MPLA troops marching in Luanda.

WOMEN AND REVOLUTION

No. 10, Fall 1975

- Early Communist Work Among Women: The Bolsheviks
- CLUW's Had It
- The Legend of "Red Emma"
- The Oppression of Muslim Women

Subscription rate:
$2 for 4 Issues

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377, GPO
New York, NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

Victims of Cold War Witchhunt and Stalinist Betrayal

In Defense of the Rosenbergs!

Julius and Ethel Rosenberg

AP

Like specters, the victims of the post-war anti-communist witchhunt continue to haunt the United States. In one of the outstanding show-trials of that period, Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were convicted of conspiring to pass the "secret of the atomic bomb" to the Russians. They were executed on 20 June 1953. The next day the papers ran lurid photo stories of the "red spies"—defenseless, heads shaved, strapped into the electric chair. Of all the terrifying images of cold war reaction it was that one which most seared the consciousness and scarred the memory of a generation.

The Rosenberg cause is now being revived for U.S. leftists as demonstrations called by the National Committee to Reopen the Rosenberg Case are scheduled for November 21. Once again attention is focused on the Rosenbergs as sons Robert and Michael Meeropol demand reopening of the closed files. The Partisan Defense Committee, class-struggle legal defense organization which stands in the tradition of Spartacist League anti-sectarian defense work, joins in the demand to turn over the files and reopen the case. Unseal the crypt of McCarthyism to expose the real story: the mobilization of hysterical anti-communism in the service of imperialist war preparations. For those who came to intellectual maturity and to the left in the poisoned anti-communist atmosphere of the fifties, as well as for a new generation of revolutionaries not yet fully assembled, knowledge of this case and its historical setting can help to prepare the revolutionary future.

The Background

McCarthyism did not simply fall from the skies one day in 1950 with the Wisconsin senator waving his list of 205 names of alleged Communists "right here in my hand." It was prepared by several years of extensive witchhunting emanating from the highest levels of the U.S. government. Nor does Churchill's declaration of "cold war" at Fulton, Missouri, offer much more than a convenient historical fix on policies generated much earlier. Since October 1917 the imperialists have been at war against history's first successful proletarian revolution. Sometimes that war ran hot as when the "Fourteen Nations" invaded Russia after the revolution in an attempt to restore capitalism. But the threat of imperialist war against the Russian workers state, and later against all the deformed workers states, has been constant—reflected in bullets as well as diplomacy.

What is usually considered the "cold war" really began near the end of World War II when the U.S. realized that with its industrial base intact, its monopoly on nuclear weapons could assure it imperialist hegemony, challenged only by the potential of the Soviet Union. The conference at Yalta demonstrated the contradictory Russian position as Stalin tried to reach a global accommodation with imperialism while simultaneously trying to defend Soviet war gains.

As the predominant capitalist power, the U.S., planning for an "American century," tore apart the U.S.-Soviet alliance and prepared the ground for a nationwide anti-red scare. When the Soviet Union exploded its first nuclear bomb in 1949 and later that same year Mao's Red Army overthrew capitalism in China, politicians like Richard Nixon and Joseph McCarthy were building their political careers through a crusade to exorcise "Communism" from American life.

Republicans charged Democrats with "coddling" Communists, and made their determination to "ferret out" unreliable elements in government into a campaign issue. Truman set up a loyalty board as early as 1947 to screen all government employees, and the purge of left-wing militants from the CIO began. The witchhunt took on an added dimension in the summer of 1948 when "Red Spy Queen" Elizabeth Bentley and Whittaker Chambers, both former CPers, testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and accused various New Deal officials, most notably Alger Hiss, of giving information to the Soviet Union. In a political climate already heated by the mutual recriminations between Democrats and Republicans about who was "soft on Communism," the charges of Soviet spy rings in Washington emboldened the witchhunters to step up their attacks on the left.

McCarthy orchestrated the theme of "Communism in government." He played it for all it was worth, encouraging local chambers of commerce and American Legion posts to join the fight to root Communists out of government, Hollywood, the schools and the trade unions. McCarthy's victims were often liberals, with only the most marginal connections to the left. The hysteria he fueled tended toward indiscriminate snooping for any unconventional attitude or behavior. The results are well known: the black-listings, the strangling of political and cultural dissidence. Covered by this anti-communist reign of terror the witchhunters accomplished their main work, driving "reds" out of the CIO, curbing the left and promoting a political atmosphere virulently hostile to the Soviet Union.

In 1950, with the Korean war heating up and the bourgeoisie preparing the public for an "arms race" and possible war with the Russians, American "weakness" and the failure to "get tough" with Communist "infiltration" was held responsible for the Soviet bomb. Until the launching of the first Sputnik in 1957 the American public believed that the Russian economic system was incapable of anything beyond a primitive technological level. The charges against the Rosenbergs—stealing the A-bomb "secret"—created a scapegoat to blame for the Soviets' developing a nuclear capacity.

This paranoid demonology was also used to "explain" the Chinese revolution, which McCarthy and the right-wing "China lobby" blamed on scholars and "pinks" in the State Department. This major blow to the bourgeoisie's post-war plans, they reasoned, must have been engineered in Washington, in McCarthy's words, by the "Communists and queers" who sold China into "atheistic slavery."

Paris Match

2,500 people massed in New York's Union Square demanding clemency for the Rosenbergs.

The Trial

Against this backdrop the Rosenbergs were arrested and hauled into court. Beginning with the prosecution's inflammatory opening statement that the Rosenbergs' "loyalty and allegiance were not to our country, but...to Communism, Communism in this country, and Communism throughout the world," it was the "Soviet threat" that went on trial: Federal prosecutor Irving Saypol hit the note of delirium from which the trial never departed as he accused the Rosenbergs of stealing "the key to the survival of this nation and... the peace of the world, the atomic bomb."

The "evidence" that sent the Rosenbergs to the electric chair and co-defendant Morton Sobel to jail for

(continued on page 10)

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 87 28 November 1975

Leftist Paratroops Seize Air Bases

Lisbon: Split in Army

NOVEMBER 25—A major left-wing military revolt broke out in Portugal today. Approximately 1,500 paratroopers took over the four main air force bases of the Lisbon district—Tancos, Monsanto, Montijo and Monte Real. They were said to have captured senior officers and called on units around the country to join them. Simultaneously rebel soldiers occupied the government radio and television stations and civilian leftists surrounded the main arsenal. As the revolt spread, Lisbon-area unions called a general strike and urged the takeover of public services.

In response to the parachutists' uprising, General Costa Gomes, who is both president of the country and head of the Supreme Revolutionary Council, declared a state of emergency. All "loyalist troops" were placed on war alert under his personal command. Demonstrations were banned and press and broadcast censorship imposed. The northern region commander Pires Veloso responded by sending war planes into the air as a show of support to the beleaguered sixth provisional government of Admiral Pinheiro de Azevedo.

Initial news dispatches reported general support to the rebels from other units in the Lisbon region. The light artillery regiment, RALIS, set up self-propelled cannons to guard the northern approaches to the capital. UPI said that soldiers had begun handing out arms to civilian leftists and *República* newspaper stated that the revolt had the backing of General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, head of the Lisbon military region and of the COPCON security forces. A spokesman for workers at Lisnave shipyards, the largest and most militant industrial establishment in the country, declared solidarity with the paratroopers.

(Late reports announce that all of the bases have been occupied by troops backing Costa Gomes. At air force headquarters in the suburb of Monsanto, the parachutists surrendered when faced with a force of 20 armored cars. In addition, soon after the broadcasting stations were seized by leftists their power was cut off and the wave lengths immediately occupied by a pro-government station in Porto.)

Construction workers demonstrate in Lisbon this month. Expresso

Among the demands raised by the rebellious units were a purge of the air force high command and replacement of the Socialist Party-dominated sixth provisional government with a left-wing regime. A UPI spokesman quoted a "rebel spokesman" as saying, "We want true socialism and a government of people's power." Two other factors which are undoubtedly involved were the attempt by the Supreme Revolutionary Council to dismiss Carvalho as military governor on Friday, and an order by air force chief of staff General Morais e Silva closing the Tancos training school and disbanding the unit.

The events of the last week represent the culmination of two and a half months of the Azevedo government. Having failed to silence left-wing opposition with the occupation of radio stations in late September, the Revolutionary Council ordered the transmitters of Rádio Renascença blown up. Morais e Silva frankly admitted "that the council was afraid to have troops occupy the station—rather than destroy it—because they might have been won over by leftist demonstrators" (*International Herald Tribune*, 8-9 November). In another test of strength, in October the cabinet was forced to accede to the wage demands of the metalworkers after a massive demonstration. This month Azevedo determined to make a stand against the construction workers; but after being trapped for a day and a half in government buildings besieged by tens of thousands of building tradesmen, he gave in.

Then came the demands for "guarantees of security." The Constituent Assembly threatened to leave for the conservative north unless the military provided it protection. The cabinet demanded law and order or it would "suspend its activities," which it did, with little noticeable effect. The attempted ouster of Carvalho from his key operational command on November 19 was the Revolutionary Council's answer to these demands. As sops they offered to bury the ill-fated Military Intervention Group (AMI), which had been rejected by virtually every Lisbon unit and could not bring together more than a couple of hundred commandos; and to reinstate the CP-dominated agit-prop "Fifth Division." But immediately after the MFA leaders ordered the replacement of Carvalho their orders were turned down by the 25 units in the Lisbon district.

The dispute with the paratroopers has a long gestation. Less politicized at first than the ground troops, who had been badly mauled in the African colonial wars, the elite parachutist units were used in the abortive March 11 Spinolist coup attempt earlier this year, and in the dynamiting of Rádio Renascença. In

continued on page 9

PART 2 OF 2

Soviets and the Struggle for Workers Power in Portugal...6

SL Calls Actions Against Spínola Tour

"Spínola Assassino!"

In city after city, demonstrations initiated by the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Trotskyist League of Canada have confronted General António de Spínola, the aspiring butcher of Portugal's militant working class, as he tours North America speaking to influential bourgeois policy-making circles and seeking to rally Portuguese immigrants here behind his bloodthirsty plans.

Deposed as Portuguese president in September 1974 after intriguing for a right-wing coup, this former armed forces chief of staff of the despised Caetano dictatorship went into exile following an abortive reactionary officers' putsch last March 11. His dream is to return to Portugal at the head of an anti-communist mobilization to smash the combative proletariat and institute a reign of terror.

Spínola launched his crusade on November 17 in Washington, D.C., where he denounced impending "sovietization of Europe," called for the so-called "Western democracies" to back the "political liberation" of Portugal and appealed for financial aid to his ultra-rightist Movement for the Democratic Liberation of Portugal (MDLP) and for the imperialist-backed FNLA/UNITA forces in Angola.

The tour has not received much coverage in the bourgeois press, no doubt due in part to Spínola's penchant for the conspiratorial (this fall he travelled to Paris incognito). The demonstrations have been organized on short notice, but hundreds of left-wing militants have come forward to protest Spínola's plot to drown the Portuguese workers movement in blood.

Connecticut

Chanting "Smash Spínola—No More Chiles," 35 demonstrators at the University of Connecticut in Storrs entered the student union building and delayed Spínola's November 18 speech for twenty minutes. With stomping, heckling and shouts of "Spinochet—Assassino!" the protesters repeatedly disrupted the talk. The united-front call for the demonstration, initiated by the Spartacist League (SL), was also signed by numerous individual faculty members and students, as well as by the Revolutionary Student Brigade and the youth group of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. The participants also included members of the Portuguese Committee for Democratic Action.

In a J. Edgar Hoover-style anti-Communist tirade, Spínola wailed that the Russians had been outsmarting the West since Yalta and that the policy of détente jeopardizes the very survival of the capitalist world. Exhorting the U.S. to "do something" about the Communist Party in Portugal and the Soviet-backed MPLA in Angola, he claimed the Russians were engaged in "political penetration" inside the U.S., pointing to the students' disruption as "one of the examples of Soviet strategy"! His fixation on the supposed Russian menace was received with incredulous amusement and open hostility: at one point the audience took up the taunting chant, "The Russians are coming, the Russians are coming...."

When Spínola declared, "I'm neither a Communist nor a fascist," someone indignantly shouted back, "You're a Nazi!" Indeed, this butcher fought (as part of Franco's "Blue Division") alongside the Nazis at the battle of Stalingrad. Spínola evinced a predilection for double-talking evasion but his nakedly reactionary appetites emerged nonetheless; one student's direct question, "Does your organization aim to overthrow the present Portuguese regime?" elicited the ominous reply, "It might have that objective."

A speaker for the SL received tumultuous applause when he charged, "there is no chance of returning to 'democracy,' as you call it, in Portugal today. The working class is so militant today that there is only one of two solutions—either the workers seize the industries and nationalize them, or the right wing will substitute a military dictatorship to crush the workers." He added, "you are in the U.S. today to prove to the American ruling class that you are the one capable of organizing reaction in Portugal just like Pinochet did in Chile!"

Newark

To the students at Storrs, Spínola had attempted to portray himself as a "moderate" and the MDLP as the alternative to the "twin dangers" of Communism and fascism. The following evening before a right-wing crowd at Newark Symphony Hall he paraded in his true colors. At this rally of over 4,000 predominantly Portuguese supporters, Spínola vowed he would soon return to Lisbon to match the Communists "bullet for bullet." About fifteen members of the black nationalist Congress of Afrikan People (CAP) picketed outside.

The meeting had been built on the basis that, as one introductory speaker put it, "we are all Portuguese," but was quickly turned into an organizing drive for the MDLP. A Captain Ramos was introduced as the man who was at Spínola's side during the March 11 putsch attempt and the current head of MDLP activities in the United States. Preparing the physical liquidation of the workers movement in Portugal, in Angola the MDLP is openly linked with the "Portuguese Liberation Army" (ELP) of reactionaries and mercenaries which, after training for months in Franco's Spain, is now attempting to install an imperialist puppet regime.

Whipped up to a frenzy, the crowd repeatedly rose to its feet to applaud Spínola's calls for a "dignified" and "honorable" Portugal and smashing the Communists. An ugly air of violence permeated the meeting, and several people overheard uttering remarks which might have been interpreted as mildly leftist were beaten up and dragged out of the meeting. When asked how Portugal could be made a better place, someone yelled out "Kill the Communists!" and the hall rang with cheers as Spínola looked on approvingly.

New York

Spínola was greeted by a spirited protest by some 90 demonstrators as he entered the Council on Foreign Relations in New York on November 20. This address to the members of this nefarious National Security Council think-tank was preceded earlier this year by a meeting in Switzerland with John McCone, former head of the CIA and now vice-president of ITT. (Earlier in the day, Spínola had been observed wandering around Pace College in lower Manhattan; after descending from a white Cadillac, this aspiring Pinochet rained verbal abuse on his hapless entourage as they ineffectually tried for twenty minutes to determine which of two buildings he was supposed to enter.)

For two hours, throughout his speech to the Council, an effusive mood of militancy was maintained on the picket line with chants of "No More Chiles—Workers to Power!", "CIA, NATO—Out of Portugal!" and "Arm the Workers—Split the Army!" Coming the day after the death of Spanish dictator Franco, the demonstration enthusiastically shouted out, "Hooray, Franco's Dead—Too Bad He Died in Bed—The Workers Must Rule Instead!" The crowd also took up a Portuguese chant, "Si a burguesia quer a guerra, sta bem" ("If the bourgeoisie wants war, all right"), and once again "Spinochet—Assassino!" The demonstrators had the satisfaction of jeering the decrepit ruling-class moguls who hobbled out after the meeting. But the general did not emerge; he either sneaked out a back door or hid inside the building until the picketers had left. One foreign policy expert emerging from the Council and passing by the picket line paused to remark, "I didn't agree with you till I heard this guy speak. He just went off the deep end." Even to the braintrusters for the monopolies, Spínola's anti-Communist fanaticism is somewhat embarrassing.

The protest, called by the SL, also included contingents from the Revolutionary Socialist League and International Workers Party. Members of the former Internationalist Tendency expelled from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and representatives of Progressive Labor also were present. CAP set up a small picket around the corner, saying they could not join a united action with "Trotskyites." Notable by their absence were the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly RU), Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and the SWP. Especially scandalous was the non-participation of the International Socialists (I.S.), represented by a lone (and embarrassed) *Workers' Power* salesman. The I.S.' fanfare about solidarity with Portuguese revolutionaries, expressed in a maximum-effort series of public meetings featuring speakers from its favorite Portuguese group, is thus revealed as nothing but a sectarian publicity stunt. They couldn't be bothered to demonstrate against Spínola! (We wonder how the I.S.' friends in Lisbon will react to this pitiful abstentionism!)

The SL spokesman noted that it is not surprising that the SWP was not moved to protest Spínola's tour; the SWP is fronting for the SOCIALIST Party in Portugal, whose head, Mario Soares, met secretly with Spínola in Paris last

continued on page 9

WV photo

António de Spínola on U.S. tour.

Picket This Butcher!

WV photo

WV photo

Letter

Toronto
22 October 1975

To the Editor:

In your recent article on wage controls and the Canadian postal strike ("Break Trudeau's Wage Controls," *WV* No. 83, 31 October) you point out the betrayals of the postal union leadership and of the would-be militant union oppositionists who have consistently failed to provide a class-struggle alternative. During the current strike supporters of the economist Postal Action Committee and the fake-Trotskyist Revolutionary Marxist Group in particular have borne out this analysis by continuing to act as a left pressure group on the CUPW [Canadian Union of Postal Workers] bureaucracy.

The article pointed to another example of the RMG's capitulation to the sellout union leadership, in the April 1974 national wildcat against the effects (wage-cutting, speed-up, layoffs, victimizations) of the P.O. management's automation scheme. On that occasion RMG supporters in Toronto blocked with the CUPW bureaucrats in voting to end the strike on the basis of a totally inadequate settlement. The article states that the strike was still solid at the time. Since RMG supporters here contest this, I think it would be useful to expand on the point. I was a postal worker during this period and am familiar with both the events of the April 1974 strike and the RMG's supporters' maneuvering at the Toronto ratification meeting.

On Friday, April 26, the CUPW national executive agreed to end the strike and shove the major disputed question (the downward reclassification of certain employees) on to a government-appointed mediator and a do-nothing union/management body, the "Manpower Negotiating Committee." Following this decision confusion was rampant across the country and most locals returned to work, including the two large militant locals of Vancouver and Montreal. But in Toronto, although pickets broke down briefly on Friday morning they were re-established by afternoon and maintained until the Sunday ratification meeting.

At this April 28 meeting an RMG supporter moved to split the bureaucrats' ratification motion, intending to vote against the settlement while supporting a return to work on the basis that the strike had already been defeated. When this motion failed, RMG supporters voted for the original motion to return to work by accepting the settlement!

This position was doubly criminal, representing capitulation both to the bureaucrats' abandonment of the fight against management automation plans and to the massive red-baiting which the bourgeois press had whipped up against CUPW militants over the previous week. A class-struggle union opposition would have opposed the settlement for the sellout that it was, by calling upon the Toronto local to stay out and attempt to revive the national strike by setting up a democratically elected strike committee and dispatching union members to the major locals to explain the situation and win their support. As Toronto handles nearly 50 percent of Canada's mail it was strategically located to serve as a springboard for a re-organizing drive. This battle was decisive, as it could have turned the tables on the Post Office and prepared the way for a militant showdown over management's plan to automate at the expense of postal workers. But the RMG flunked the test.

S.L.

"Two-Line" Squabble in National Black Assembly

NOVEMBER 20 Last weekend's meeting of the National Black Political Assembly (NBA) in Dayton, Ohio, was a disaster for its organizers. The attendance of less than 200 fell far short of the expectations of NBA leaders. In addition, a "two-line struggle" between left and right nationalists emerged as bluster, name-calling and bureaucratic maneuvers. Amiri Baraka, chairman of the Congress of Afrikan People (CAP), the left wing of the Assembly, resigned his post as NBA secretary-general, while flinging down the gauntlet to the "new reactionaries," who support NBA president Ron Daniels. With Baraka out as number two, Daniels proceeded with adoption of a new charter which makes the NBA even more respectable by dropping the post of secretary-general and making himself "chairperson."

Every single agenda point at the Dayton meeting was hotly disputed, and on every single point Baraka's bloc of some 50 votes was defeated by roughly twice that number of Daniels votes. CAP supporters repeatedly challenged the credentials of Daniels' backers on the grounds that they were not involved in local NBA activities. CAP also opposed the rules which virtually eliminated speaking rights for observers (it had about another 50 non-voting observers present). CAP supporters protested an amended agenda which eliminated the secretary-general's report. They put forward motions that those responsible for altering a statement of principles accepted at an earlier conference should step forward and that xerox copies of the statement as originally written be distributed. But CAP lost every vote, leading to heated protests and, at one point, a brief fight involving Walter Stewart, anti-Baraka chairman of the New York State Black Assembly.

The stage for this confrontation between Daniels and Baraka had been set by the NBA president's campaign of public red-baiting against the CAP chairman. Daniels also has collaborated closely with Gary mayor Richard Hatcher and other "Black Elected Officials" (BEO's) who have deserted the NBA since Baraka's turn last year to "Mao Tse-tung Thought." Baraka weathered Daniels' attempts to force him out of leadership earlier this year and succeeded in winning NBA approval of "Strategy '76," the CAP plan for an "independent" black presidential candidate.

What was perhaps the high-water mark of Baraka's victories over Daniels

Black World

Imamu Amiri Baraka

occurred at the August NBA Economic Conference in Atlanta. Blocking with Fightback, Black Economic Survival and the Revolutionary Workers Congress, CAP supporters pushed through a number of resolutions supporting their projects (a Black Workers Conference, "Strategy '76," organizing against the "S-1" omnibus crime bill, etc.). When Daniels consigned a proposal for greater representation by the CAP-supported Women's Caucus to the end of the agenda, Baraka's forces protested the ruling by chanting him down. Unable to complete a roll-call vote, Daniels called for adjournment and stalked out of the meeting, taking his supporters with him. Baraka, however, stayed and, claiming support from more than half the registered attendance, chaired the rest of the conference (*Unity and Struggle*, October 1975 [2nd edition]).

But Daniels had the support of the majority of state assembly chairmen and successfully outmaneuvered Baraka in building for the Dayton conference and preventing implementation of the more radical motions passed at national gatherings. One of Daniels' more effective tactics was to set high registration fees for conferences, thereby cutting down the number of CAPers who could register. At a state meeting in Ohio, Cleveland CAP members refused to pay a $20 fee and were thus disqualified from becoming delegates to the Dayton conference.

Incensed at Daniels' continued sniping and underhanded tricks, and facing the prospect of being soundly outvoted at Dayton, Baraka came with a prepared statement announcing his resignation as secretary-general, a post he has held since the NBA was founded at Gary in 1972. The statement ended with several slogans, including "Let the two line struggle in the NBA emerge clearly!", "Unite the many to defeat the few!" and "Build the NBA into a progressive anti-imperialist black united front!"

It is precisely the popular-frontist Stalinist politics expressed in Baraka's adaptation of Mao's inane homilies that ensure that the NBA can never be anything more than a class-collaborationist dead end. CAP's "revolutionary" nationalism is not qualitatively different from Daniels' "pork-chop" nationalism. Both Daniels and Baraka have consistently courted the "BEO's," for example. At Gary in 1972 Baraka was key in preventing young black militants, dissatisfied with the endless speeches of Democratic Party politicians and "black capitalist" hucksters, from overturning the bureaucratic rigging of the NBA's founding convention. On the other hand, Daniels proved in the October 1975 *Black World* that, if necessary, he can turn a few "anti-capitalist" phrases himself when called upon. *Both* NBA leaders would let black bourgeois politicians use the NBA as nationalist camouflage to hide their fundamental loyalties to the ruling class.

The two nationalists diverge over the

Black World

Ron Daniels

particular tactical recipes for gaining influence with black politicos. Daniels knows that few "BEO's" can afford to be politically associated with an ostensibly revolutionary group like CAP. Baraka, who took his rhetorical left turn after his years of faithful service to black Democratic Newark mayor Kenneth Gibson had netted him only betrayal and repeated atrocities against the city's black and Puerto Rican communities, counts on the depression-intensified suffering of the black masses and the rightward lurchings of the capitalist parties to create a conjuncture where certain black bourgeois politicians will need a left face in order to retain their base of support in the ghetto.

Neither Daniels nor Baraka can hold out any hope of fundamental change to the exploited and oppressed. Even the most left nationalist perspective writes off the white workers as a necessarily reactionary force, and thus lines up with the bourgeoisie—from Gibson to Rockefeller. Whether this is expressed in strikebreaking (Baraka's specialty) or virulent red-baiting (Daniels' forté) the effect is to leave the minority workers isolated from their class allies in the face of a united class enemy. Not separatism and nationalism, but proletarian revolution under a united vanguard Trotskyist party is the road to liberation of the black masses. ■

Demonstrate

Protest the Butcher Ky!

Friday, December 5
at 11:30 a.m.
City Club
Downtown Cleveland

Initiated by Spartacus Youth League — (216) 371-3643

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER: Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER: Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telephone: 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions $5.00 per year.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

SWP and the Senator from Boeing

Anti-Communism at Cutbacks Rally

WV photo

Spartacus Youth League banner at Washington, D.C., demonstration against cutbacks, November 19.

NOVEMBER 22—The ruling-class offensive against the New York City labor movement is now centering around a broad assault on social services available to the poor and working people. In recent weeks this assault has focused in particular on the City University system (CUNY) and wiping out major educational gains won over years of struggle. The free tuition and open admissions (for graduates of New York high schools) policies of CUNY are a major target for the tirades of right-wing politicians from Gerald Ford on down. Some $55 million has already been cut from the City University budget by New York's rulers.

The cutbacks already implemented—and the wholesale axing of entire programs, colleges and every significant advance toward free higher education which is now being threatened—have provoked demonstrations, rallies and teach-ins. While the Spartacus Youth League (SYL) has been in the forefront of the fight against cutbacks, calling for militant united action by NYC workers and students, various reformist forces have sought to divert the struggle into more respectable channels. Never tiring in its efforts to find a niche as a social-democratic brake on the "mass movement," the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party (SWP) has jumped into the fray with its bottomless grab bag of schemes for class collaboration.

The SWP is currently employing the National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR) as its vehicle to cozy up to student government careerists and the leadership of the Professional Staff Congress, CUNY's faculty union. Recently NSCAR pulled out all the stops in building a November 19 demonstration in Washington to pressure Congress into providing federal assistance to New York. Although it was billed as the biggest thing since the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) peace crawls of the late 1960's and the University Student Senate provided free bus transportation, the march drew only a few thousand students.

This liberal protest rally was dominated by bourgeois politicians and student government leaders. In one of the most unsavory combinations in a decade of SWP-led popular frontist formations, NSCAR honcho Sam Manuel found himself sharing the platform with veteran cold war sabre-rattler Senator Henry Jackson, in an orgy of anti-communist patriotism. Always eager for an opportunity to stump for the Democratic presidential nomination, Jackson decried budget cuts while attacking Ford's "détente" maneuvers from the right. "Ford," said the senator from Boeing, "is more concerned with Red Square than with Times Square."

The SWP's favored representative of student power, Jay Hershenson (head of CUNY's student senate), announced at the Washington demonstration that "there are 25,000 veterans in CUNY. They fought for their country... we will stand behind them." Manuel, the ostensible leftist from NSCAR, did not raise a single criticism of the vile reactionary Jackson. Instead he attempted to compete in social-patriotic rhetoric: "Over 12,000 blacks... 50,000 Americans died in Vietnam... and *we didn't get anything for it.*"

The SWP consciously builds protest rallies as *substitutes* for militant struggle. In the fight against CUNY cutbacks, the SWP-dominated NSCAR has consistently opposed attempts to win student support for campus occupations and sit-ins. While hobnobbing with cold warriors and lobbying Congressmen in Washington, they have boycotted militant demonstrations in New York like last Thursday's 2,000-strong Wall Street march sponsored by the November 20 Committee (which included the SYL). On the CUNY campuses NSCAR representatives harped on the fact that rallies and sound systems are not permitted in Wall Street by the authorities, and therefore the

New York Times

Senator Henry Jackson

proposed demonstrations would be potential confrontations with the cops. The reformists promise that they will only participate in strictly peaceful and legal "mass actions."

At rallies, NSCAR speakers have related the cutbacks only to the racist anti-busing drive, deliberately ignoring the bourgeoisie's union-busting and cuts in social services for *all* working people. While racism is indeed a factor in Ford's anti-urban campaign, this "single-issue" liberal criticism is, in this case, a clear diversion from linking the defense of CUNY and the social services needed by the poor and oppressed minorities to the mobilization of the NYC labor movement in a city-wide general strike.

This hard opposition to militant union action is proof positive that the SWP's "turn" to the labor movement is in no sense a turn to the left. Rather, they offer themselves to the liberal labor leaders as specialists in keeping the pressure of the ranks confined to blowing off steam. In order to establish their credentials as reliable bootlickers of the bourgeoisie and lackeys of the union bureaucracy, a *pas de deux* with "Scoop" Jackson serves a purpose. Leading militant demonstrations and fighting for a general strike doesn't.

The SWP's reformism is not simply a question of tactics. In the NYC cutbacks fight these seasoned class collaborators have pushed the same type of gimmicks as the labor bureaucrats, who have gone from token protest rallies to a short-lived bank boycott, court suits, lobbying for federal aid and now requesting a seat on the Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC), a cabal of financiers and corporate tycoons which has taken direct control of New York City government in recent months. Instead of fighting for a city-wide general strike against layoffs and cutbacks, and to cancel the debt and expropriate the banks, the SWP tries to pressure liberal politicians to declare a moratorium on bank debts and cut the military budget in order to provide money for the city.

The state legislature has, in fact, now acceded to just such a moratorium. Last week it authorized MAC to postpone principal payments on its debts for three years. The swap of $1.6 billion in outstanding city notes for long-term MAC bonds is another aspect of this moratorium which, according to MAC officials, could be extended as long as necessary until the city is solvent. Debt moratoria do not even begin to challenge the capitalist structure. Like default, which was initially advocated by the labor bureaucrats, a debt moratorium leaves untouched the bourgeoisie's savage union-busting, social-service-cutting attack on the working people.

Of late, The SWP has concentrated on the other axis of its propaganda, cutting the military budget. Typically, they present their demand with the "guns or butter" rhetoric of the liberal politicians and labor leaders. SWP spokesman Ray Markey, a librarian, testified before the Joint Economic Committee of Congress on November 10 that the money needed to bail out New York:

> "...should come out of the $100 billion a year now appropriated by Congress for the Pentagon. These huge expenditures for bombs, missiles, and other instruments of war are waste *worse than waste.*
>
> "*They are inflationary.* They are the main reason for the crushing burden of taxes" [our emphasis].
>
> *Militant*, 21 November

Nowhere in this pacifist speech did Markey ever mention that these bombs and missiles are used to suppress the insurrections of workers and peasants and to encircle the deformed workers states.

Several weeks ago New York state governor Hugh Carey gained attention with his advice to Ford that, if he did not send federal funds to NYC, federal troops would have to be sent in order to put down its outraged population. Ford and Carey both understand the fact that this is what the bourgeoisie needs its military budget for. So does the SWP, but in order to pursue its opportunist machinations its first task is not to tell the truth but to obscure the class line, in the NYC cutbacks fight as on every other question. ■

SPARTACIST
edition française No. 10
octobre 1975

3,00 F. $.75 US/Canada

pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 995-9245
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO . (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

"Teamsters for a Decent Contract"

Another Lesson from the I.S. School of Labor Reformism

As part of a sudden, frenzied effort to transform itself into a mass party overnight, the left social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.) is going out of its way to promote the most reformist possible bureaucratic blocs in the trade unions. The 7 November issue of the I.S. paper *Workers' Power* announces in a banner headline, "Revolution In Teamsters," a statement which will no doubt come as a surprise to most Teamster members, especially since the disappearance of James R. Hoffa, who was the only serious opponent of International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) president Frank Fitzsimmons.

The "revolution" referred to is a group called Teamsters for a Decent Contract (TDC), which surfaced this last August. Centered in Cleveland, this grouping is a self-described "contract bloc" containing many former supporters of the now-defunct Teamsters United Rank and File (TURF) as well as Hoffa supporters. The TDC "program" is a set of barely reformist contract demands which propose some improvements to the present over-the-road contract, but without a hint of the necessary class-struggle program going beyond narrow trade unionism. The TDC calls for a better cost-of-living formula without demanding a sliding scale of wages and hours to combat inflation and make jobs for all. While seeking economic improvements for Teamster members, the TDC completely ignores the need for solidarity with other unions. Most notably, *it fails to take a position on the United Farm Workers* (UFW), which has been a victim of vicious raiding and sweetheart deals by the Teamster bureaucracy for years!

TDC literature also makes no mention of the central obstacle confronting

The International Teamster

Frank Fitzsimmons

the union ranks on all issues, including the fight for a better contract: the Fitzsimmons bureaucracy. The main campaign of the TDC—a petition for a decent contract, to be turned over to the union tops—is nothing more than a weak attempt to pressure Fitzsimmons to go for a little "more" in the upcoming negotiations. By specifically renouncing any intention of struggling for power in the union, the TDC both serves to legitimize the present misleadership and to provide a catch-basin for all sorts of cliques and bureaucratic factions at the same time. Chief among the latter are Hoffa supporters in Los Angeles who want to "democratize" the union with a referendum vote and a government investigation of the IBT over the question of Hoffa's disappearance.

At a West Coast press conference on November 2, TDC spokesman Mel Packer confirmed the sub-reformist nature of the group. When questioned by a *WV* reporter as to what position Teamsters for a Decent Contract takes on the UFW, Packer quickly excused this omission: "We formed positions just around the contract." The Fitzsimmons union-busting campaign against farm workers is of no concern to these "oppositionists"! Packer added that he personally supported the Farm Workers, and that the issue had been discussed at a national TDC gathering, but that it was decided that it was too controversial and "a lot of people inside the Teamsters wouldn't understand it"! Questioned on Hoffa, Packer denied any support for Hoffa on his own part, but affirmed that there were Hoffa supporters in the TDC.

Large numbers of Teamsters in California are quite capable of understanding the UFW issue, unlike the TDC and its promoters in the I.S. (*Workers' Power*, needless to say, omits any mention of the TDC's cringing opportunism on the UFW). Drivers Local 208 in Los Angeles and San Francisco Beer Drivers Local 888 (currently in receivership) have both defied Fitzsimmons by openly solidarizing with the Farm Workers. Both locals have incurred heavy attack as a result. In addition, rank-and-file Teamsters are frequently seen at Farm Worker demonstrations carrying signs such as "This Teamster Supports the Farm Workers." It is possible that a majority of West Coast Teamsters agree. For a national oppositional group to avoid this question is particularly disgusting. But to the TDC and its publicity agents in the I.S., support to the UFW might alienate Hoffa supporters and more backward elements in the Midwest. So they bury the UFW and come out for a "decent" contract, as if stolen contracts could be improved with minor patchwork!

Teamsters for a Decent Contract is no simple contract bloc, bad as that would be. Mel Packer is quoted in the pages of *Workers' Power* as saying, "We do not intend to fold up and go home after the new contract is settled.... It's clear that we now have the possibility of building a massive, well-organized rank and file movement in the Teamsters Union." By not supporting the UFW, the TDC threatens to reinforce all the worst attacks on the Teamsters Union as being a "bosses' union" or "fascist," etc., by creating the impression that even the most militant rank and filers support Fitzsimmons' backstabbing policies on the Farm Workers. Thus it is clear that if the TDC is "successful," it will merely serve to make the present bureaucracy more cynical, venal and hypocritical than at present!

But this is nothing new for the International Socialists. For the I.S., defense of this monstrous opportunism is fully consistent with both its past practice and present opportunist "mass" membership campaign. For years the I.S. has promoted a group in the United Auto Workers, the United National Caucus (UNC), which looked a little better on paper but was every bit as opportunist as the TDC. Claiming to have a program for a labor party and "30 for 40," the UNC never fought for these demands. Instead, it concentrated on getting its petty bureaucrats into office and looking for various new ways to take the union to court. UNC vice chairman Jordan Sims is so openly cynical about the UNC that even the opportunist I.S. found it necessary to slap his wrists on the occasion of his winning the presidency of Local 961 for a second term. After fulsome praise for this "important" victory, *Workers' Power* (3-23 July 1975) has the audacity to suggest that Sims should "strengthen his base by building a UNC chapter at Local 961"!

The I.S. long ago laid the "theoretical" basis for its present opportunism. "Agreeing" with various socialist principles in general, it then proceeds to concoct a justification for not applying them in practice. In its pamphlet, *Class Struggle Unionism* (1975), the I.S. makes an explicit rationalization for a low-level recruitment policy for workers. Since, "To be a Marxist, one must understand broader political questions," and today, "few workers have the experience on which to really make up their mind on these questions—or the inclination to do the study necessary..." the I.S. will neatly solve the problem by proposing to win workers to a "Marxist" approach to trade-union questions. "We can base this on concrete experience." Here we have in its classic form the social-democratic division between a minimum program of economist reformism and a maximum program of abstract socialist platitudes.

In order to cover its nakedness, the I.S. also promotes "Network" groups in both the Teamsters and the UAW which make an effort to appear more political than the "broad" blocs (TDC, UNC) into which the I.S. expects the workers to flock. But the effort is purely token. Teamster *Network* (November 1975), for instance, hypocritically warns Action for Hoffa supporters against calling for a new government investigation of the union. But this same issue praises efforts of two locals to sue the union in order to get out of Fitzsimmons' trusteeships! Teamster *Network* gives "wholehearted" support to the TDC, while being careful not to closely identify itself with the TDC (a further precaution against alienating backward elements!).

The bankruptcy of such opportunism is obvious to anyone with the most elementary sense of class-struggle principles. Contrary to the beliefs of the I.S., the only way class-struggle oppositions can be built in the unions is by putting forward and fighting for a transitional program which does not cater to the present political backwardness of the workers but instead seeks to overcome this by demonstrating that their interests can only be fulfilled through the replacement of capitalist exploitation by workers rule.■

Teamster goons in the fields during summer of 1974. They served the growers in a terror campaign against the UFW.

El Malcriado

Soviets and the Struggle for Workers Power in Portugal

On November 16 well over 100,000 people jammed into Lisbon's Terreiro do Paço square, reportedly the largest demonstration since a mammoth May Day march the week after the overthrow of Portuguese dictator Caetano in 1974. The Socialists charged the latest demonstration was "insurrectionary," part of the Communist Party's attempts to "take power" and aimed at the "demolition of the present organs of power and of the democratic structures." The Communists wrote that the "big weekend" would "play an important role in the coming evolution of the Portuguese political situation." The "far left" organizations of the "Revolutionary United Front" endorsed the march.

Part 2 of 2

The crowd was in a militant mood. This demonstration came two days after construction workers had forced the government to grant a 40 percent wage increase by holding the Constituent Assembly and Premier Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo captive in São Bento Palace for 36 hours. Celebrating their victory the workers repeatedly demanded, "Pinheiro de Azevedo, now is the time, you can leave now!" Another popular chant was "The sixth government will accompany Franco in the journey he is going to take!"

Yet there was no insurrection. The main speaker, a leader of the Provisional Secretariat of the Workers Commissions of the Lisbon Industrial Belt, proclaimed instead that "We did not come here to take power. But we want to transform the power; we demand ... the inclusion in the government and the Revolutionary Council of men and political forces ... which will ensure the defense and triumph of our revolution heading toward socialism" (*Diario de Noticias*, 17 November). Likewise, the central slogan of the demonstration was "Reactionaries out of the government now!" In other words its purpose was simply to increase the number of cabinet portfolios held by the Communist Party.

Since April 1974 six provisional governments have crossed the doorstep at São Bento Palace, five of them in both directions. The sixth, led by the Socialist Party (SP), its authority nil in the wake of the construction workers' victory and the massive anti-government demonstration, has taken the unprecedented step of going on strike. It has "suspended activities" until the Supreme Revolutionary Council, leading body of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), restores order in the country. No doubt the SP would like to return to the first government, when General Spinola commanded with a heavy hand. The Communist Party (CP), now in semi-opposition, simply wants to return to the fifth, when it was dominant.

But adding one more to the succession of revolving-door cabinets in Lisbon will not turn the clock back. As the days tick by reactionary forces are perfecting their plans for a bloodbath, yet the masses continue to be tied to the "progressive" officers by the participation of the reformist parties (SP and CP) in a series of class-collaborationist coalitions with the MFA. The workers must demand not a cabinet reshuffling which eliminates the bourgeois Popular Democrats (PPD)—the CP demand—but that their leaders break with the MFA and leave the popular-front government. Counterrevolution can be definitively crushed only by a workers government, based not on the unreliable guns of the left-wing generals but on the secure foundations of independent organs of proletarian rule: *soviets*.

Only soviet power can crush the aspiring Francos and Pinochets in Portugal today, yet there are no soviets. How can they be built? Following publication last July by the MFA assembly of a "guide document" there has been a wide-ranging debate in the Portuguese left on "people's power" (*poder popular*). Almost every organization to the left of the CP has published an "organigram" depicting its model for how an "MFA-People Alliance" should be organized. In general there have been two poles in the discussion: those who view the existing workers and tenants commissions as the embryo of an alternative state power, and those who advocate founding entirely new organs cleansed of the weaknesses and reformism of the present committees. Both poles have gone along with the concept of an alliance with the officer corps, or at least with its "revolutionary" sectors.

In contrast the Spartacist tendency has constantly warned against placing confidence in any wing of the capitalist army and repeatedly called for the organization of workers soviets, in Portugal, not conjuring them up out of thin air or sowing illusions that they already exist, but beginning with elements of the existing mass workers movement. Thus during the strike wave of May-June 1974 we wrote that a

> "central council of strike and factory committees must function as an alternative power, a workers government counterposed to the military junta and provisional government of the bourgeoisie. In other words, transformed into a *soviet*, the seeds of a future proletarian state, it will create a situation of dual power. But this will not occur spontaneously and requires above all the intervention of the revolutionary party, its winning over of the decisive sectors of the working class and consequently of the soviets."
>
> – *Workers Vanguard*, 5 July 1974

What Basis for Soviets?

In discussing the need for "autonomous organizations" of the working class, the New Left-syndicalist Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) correctly noted that the several hundred existing workers commissions "have very different qualities and character from company to company," and that the majority are essentially "trade-unionist [*reivindicativo*] and not directly political" (PRP leaflet, "The Autonomous Organization—The Role of the Party"). What the PRP proposes instead is the "election of new, purely political commissions," or alternatively of "Revolutionary Councils." The prototype of the latter are the "Revolutionary Workers, Soldiers and Sailors Councils" (CRTSM), whose principal task is to arm the workers for "the taking of power" ("Platform of Objectives," *Revolução*, 23 April 1975). The PRP has a certain influence in key sectors of the Lisbon working class and in important barracks of the capitol district, but with its abstract conception of creating out of a void "purely political" bodies—"electing new organs specifically for new objectives"—it has completely passed by the real mass movement of the working class, so that today the CRTSM continue to be nothing more than groups of trade-union and soldier supporters of the PRP.

Workers demonstration in Lisbon. Vida Mondial

These formalist schemes are closely linked with syndicalist "anti-party" rhetoric, such as the call for a "non-party revolutionary government," the statement that "the working class distrusts the parties, and naturally has reasons for doing so," etc. Magical properties are ascribed to the revolutionary councils, which are described as "organs of political power organized in such a form so as not to degenerate into a party bureaucracy."

The absurdity of such abstract ideal models was made clear by the CRTSM's proposal for how workers of the Lisnave shipyards should organize themselves. In a diagram (*Revolução*, 1 August 1975) that would put the IWW's "wheel of fortune" to shame, three different assemblies are proposed (economic control, political power, military power), which in turn would have numerous (17, to be exact) commissions (political, political-cultural dynamization, purges [*saneamento*], union coordination, internal military, external military, etc.). All this for a single enterprise! At least the Wobblies only saw their famous wheel as the model for a utopian "industrial government"—the PRP apparently thinks these fantastical "organigrams" are a means of taking power.

The utopian character of the "purely political" Revolutionary Councils is so evident that the social-democratic Left Socialist Movement (MES) has been able to make some valid criticisms of the PRP. The CRTSM, says the MES, are based on a "guerrillaist conception" which focuses exclusively on guns, "disregarding the fundamental tasks facing the working class, such as control of production, nationalizations and fighting unemployment" (*Esquerda Socialista*, 18 June). They "will not lead to the formation of Workers Councils because they disregard the already existing foundations, seeking to create parallel structures" (*Esquerda Socialista*, 25 June). The MES calls instead for "strengthening and linking" the workers and tenants commissions. However, it discounts the importance of the present economist policies of the reformist-dominated workers commissions, labelling them "embryonic organs of people's power."

On the key question of the ruling Armed Forces Movement, *both* left social democrats and syndicalist Guevarists grovel before the "socialist" officers. When the "guide document" calling for popular assemblies "recognized" (i.e., controlled) by the MFA was passed, the MES termed this "a historic decision, a revolutionary decision," and supported the officers' plans without a

word of criticism (*Esquerda Socialista*, 16 July). The PRP went even further, announcing that the "MFA-People Alliance" plan had "approved the dictatorship of the proletariat," quite a feat for "an assembly consisting of a majority of officers, most of whom are offspring of the bourgeois class" (*Revolução*, 1 August)!!

The PRP is so concerned to avoid the dangers of economism that it advocates totally new structures separate from the existing workers commissions. The MES is so committed to justifying working inside the existing organizations of the workers movement that it imagines the present commissions to be organs of dual power. But faced with the slightest attempt to integrate these organs into a corporatist scheme for reinforcing the tottering bourgeois state, both PRP and MES instantly fall to their knees.

For a Transitional Program

The struggle for soviet power goes far beyond the imposition of an organizational framework encompassing the bulk of the proletariat and linking to it other exploited sectors of the population. It is above all the political struggle to win the masses to the understanding that only socialist revolution can make possible the solution of their most urgent needs. To awaken this consciousness a revolutionary party must raise a program of transitional demands leading from the present objective needs of the working class to the seizure of power. But none of the groups in Portugal which proclaim themselves revolutionary socialists and communists have done this.

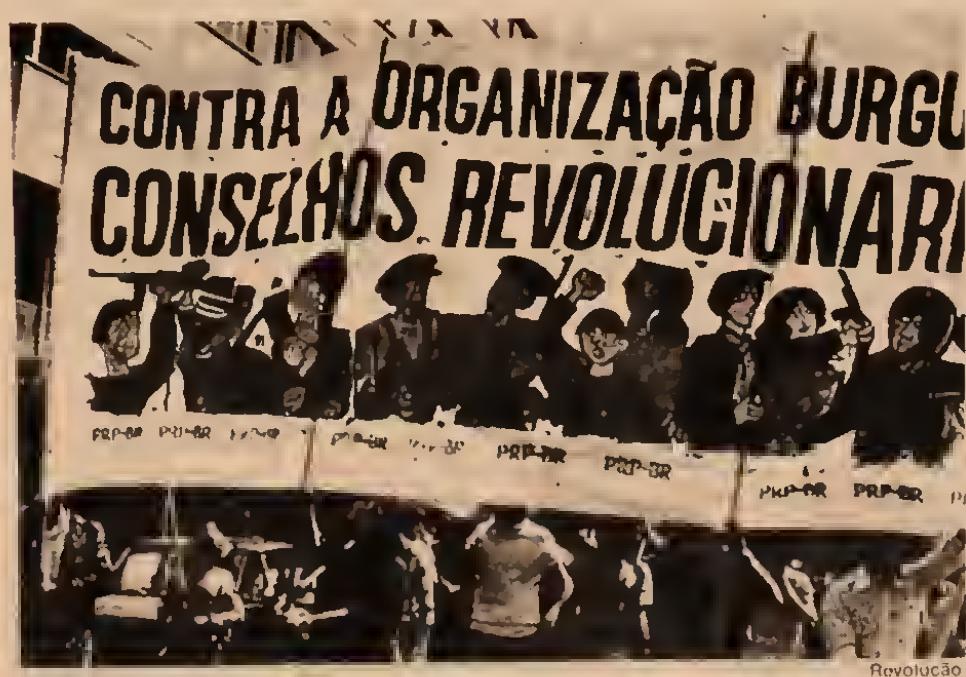
The Socialist Left Movement, for example, is now building a "Workers United Will Win" (TUV) formation, evidently intended as a parallel to the soldiers' organization SUV, with the vaguest program imaginable. Although the MES declares the question of power to be on the order of the day, the TUV manifesto calls only for a "revolutionary government capable of firmly combatting the capitalists" (*Poder Popular*, 23-30 October), something which every one of the parties to the left of the monarchists claims to favor and each of the six provisional governments has claimed to be. Typical of the demands are "for better working conditions" and "for a just workday." Under the heading "against unemployment," the only concrete proposals raised are opposition to overtime and organizing the unemployed; the demand for a sliding scale of hours, to provide work for all, is ignored. Likewise the program calls only for "reinforcing" workers control, already widespread, with no mention of the need for a planned economy under a workers government. Naturally there is not a word about the MFA in the entire platform.

This vagueness is deliberate. Not only does the MES fail to call for *workers* power, and consequently for the need to break with the bourgeois Armed Forces Movement, but its recent pamphlet on "People's Power—A Political Plan?" speaks of dual power as "the ruling class gradually los[ing] parts of the total power it wields so that the other social classes involved in the revolutionary process can also exercise, in the same proportion, a certain part of the power." Such reformism is directly contradicted by the entirety of revolutionary history. Dual power is not a process of "power-sharing" but a life-and-death struggle between incompatible governmental organs representing the two prinicipal classes, with no possibility of any but the most fleeting and unstable equilibrium. The MES, being unwilling to wage a *class* struggle against the bourgeoisie as a whole, including the officer corps, seeks to "fuse" with the "progressive sectors" of the MFA and thereby obtain "a certain part of the power." What is in fact obtained by such reformist policies is not a piece of the action but a counterrevolutionary bloodbath. Either the workers seize all the power or they will suffer ignominious and very painful defeat.

One group which ought to have something to say about a transitional program is the Internationalist Communist League (LCI), Portuguese sympathizing organization of the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat." However, throughout the past year and a half the dominant characteristic of the LCI's policies has been confusion, periodically supplemented by betrayals. Thus, for example, the 25 July 1975 *Luta Proletária* refers approvingly to "The decisions of the last MFA assembly, recognizing the embryonic organs of workers power in the enterprises and the neighborhoods...." But two months later the 19 September *Luta Proletária* remarks that the content of the resolutions of the MFA assembly (the "guide document") "has a vision of submission to the bourgeois state and not of its destruction."

The same is true, for example, of the LCI's use of the slogan of a workers government. Thus during the election campaign for the constituent assembly last April the LCI platform called for "a workers government within the framework of a capitalist state—within the framework of the maintenance of capitalist economic and social relations and the maintenance of a political apparatus intended to perpetuate it" as a "first step" on the road to proletarian revolution (*Diario de Noticias*, 12 April). Such a concept is identical to that held by social-democratic and Labourite forces and directly contradicts the Leninist theory of the state, which holds that the capitalist state must be *smashed*, not taken over. But as soon as the first popular assemblies were formed, the LCI suddenly changed its slogan to call instead for a "Government of the Workers based on the Popular

continued on page 8



Revolução

Syndicalist PRP's "Revolutionary Councils" demonstrate in Lisbon.

Racists Picket AFL-CIO in Boston

NOVEMBER 24—Fifty racist busing foes picketed a meeting of the Massachusetts State Labor Council executive board today as that body voted unanimously to bring its position on busing into line with national AFL-CIO policy.

The demonstration was prompted by George Meany's threats to discipline the state labor council if it did not reverse an anti-busing motion passed overwhelmingly by the thousand delegates at its November 7 convention. The controversial Resolution No. 61 placed the state body on record to "actively support in any way possible legislation and/or amendments to the Constitution of the United States, which would forbid the mandatory busing of school children."

The racists' picket was organized by the South Boston Information Center in support of Resolution No. 61 and to protest Meany's ultimatum. The demonstrators included union members carrying signs that said "Rank and file against busing." The previous Friday, a motorcade of 40 trade unionists left South Boston to take part in an anti-busing demonstration in Louisville, Kentucky.

The AFL-CIO president's wrath was not, of course, provoked by any desire to defend the democratic rights of black people or to further school integration. Instead, the threats to pull the Massachusetts council's charter or put it in trusteeship represented Meany's knee-jerk bureaucratic reaction to the expression of political differences within *his* federation. Usually, however, the hide-bound labor federation chief is to the right of less conservative local and state union officials.

Meany rules with an iron fist and has a long history of smashing insubordinate underlings. In 1962, when the Greater Boston Central Labor Council refused to recognize the expulsion of the Teamsters, Meany revoked its charter and expelled its officers. Stephen McCloskey, council president, barricaded himself in his office in an unsuccessful attempt to hold onto the charter. In 1972 Herrick Roth was ousted as head of the Colorado Labor Council for defying the national policy of neutrality in the presidential election and supporting McGovern.

Until the Massachusetts convention this month passed Resolution No. 61, co-sponsored by two leaders of the firemen's union, no AFL-CIO body had *officially* taken a position contrary to the national federation's tepid support to school desegregation. That policy, adopted in 1972 and reaffirmed at last month's national convention in San Francisco, states "We will oppose the constitutional amendment approach because it will do a disservice to the quality integrated education which we support." The 1 November *AFL-CIO News* notes that "...the federation has gone on record three times in support of school busing for the purpose of securing quality education for all children, *when ordered by the courts*" (our emphasis).

The national policy, which Meany defends with threats, bluster and imperious commands, is not an attempt to win backward white workers to support busing and school desegregation as a means of breaking down one of the main barriers to working-class unity. Instead, it merely puts the AFL-CIO on record for compliance with federal court orders and protects the federation from public association with the racist lynch mobs that defy "law and order" in the streets of Boston and Louisville. It also provides a cheap veneer of liberalism for Meany and his social-democratic advisers, while they pursue their anti-communist crusade.

In recent years Meany, whose base of support is in the job-trusting, "white only" building trades unions, has made mild attempts to clean up the AFL-CIO's public image on racism and other social questions. The 1972 resolution on busing was one such effort. At the following year's convention, the federation reversed its long record of opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment and pledged aid to the struggle against apartheid in Southern Africa. This year the AFL-CIO threw its weight behind extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act and Meany put in an appearance at the

Matt Herron/Black Star

George Meany

NAACP convention.

But this is essentially window dressing for the bureaucracy's reactionary policies. This paper support to school busing "when ordered by the courts" is similar to the abstentionist stand of the United Auto Workers leadership on desegregating Detroit's decaying school system. For years the Woodcock bureaucracy maintained a discreet silence. Only when the Supreme Court last year ruled against cross-district busing in Detroit did the UAW come out with a statement that, while it of course supported cross-district busing, it could not back a plan for busing within the majority black city itself.

Like the rest of the labor bureaucracy, Meany requires a politically backward working class, atomized by craft, racial, sexual and other divisions, to maintain his stranglehold on the unions. Wedded to the racist capitalist order, the bureaucracy is organically incapable of politically struggling against racism within the labor movement. Afraid to unleash the tremendous social power of the proletariat lest it overstep bourgeois legality and property rights, in the process ousting the present pro-capitalist union officialdom, the Meanys and Woodcocks *must* support the capitalist system, along with the unemployment which intensifies competition for jobs and thus fuels the fires of racial hatred between black and white workers. Only a class-struggle leadership, committed to fight to overthrow this oppressive system, can prevent fratricidal racial conflict in the U.S.■

Portugal Soviets

(continued from page 7)

Assemblies, responsible to a National Popular Assembly." Meanwhile, it speaks interchangeably of workers power, people's power and workers and people's power. Evidently, for them it makes no difference—all that counts is to be with the "broad/new mass/workers vanguard."

The most definitive test of where the LCI stands was the formation of the "Revolutionary (or Popular) United Front" (FUR) with the signing of the August 25 communiqué. This propaganda bloc of eight (now six) left parties, originally including the CP, not only was *not* formed for the purpose of common action—such as demonstrations, formation of workers militias or soviets—but its founding document was openly popular-frontist, giving support to the fifth provisional government headed by General Vasco Gonçalves "until the conditions necessary for the formation of a government of revolutionary unity are met"!

The communiqué also called for support to Gonçalves' governmental program, one of whose key planks was a call for an austerity program, and to the so-called "COPCON document," which like the "guide document" calls for the MFA to "recognize" people's assemblies, as the concrete expression of the corporatist scheme of an "MFA-People Alliance." Although it had numerous criticisms of major points in the statement, the LCI signed on the dotted line (as did the PRP and MES, without criticisms). Since that time, although the Communist Party has left (and been expelled) from the FUR, this popular-frontist bloc has repeatedly been the vehicle for the subordination of the "far leftist" groups to the pro-Moscow Stalinists. The latest example was the FUR's support for the November 16 demonstration called around CP slogans and one of whose main chants was "Vasco! Vasco! Vasco!"

Lessons of the Bolivian Popular Assembly

Portugal is not the only nor the first place that the question of soviets has arisen in recent years. The Portuguese left press has carried numerous stories about such experiences as the *cordones industriales* in Santiago, Chile, in 1973, for example. But the sharpest debate internationally has centered around the Bolivian Popular Assembly, a body which was formed on May Day 1971, held its only substantial session in late June and was destroyed by a right-wing coup d'état on August 21 of that year. Did the Bolivian *Asamblea Popular* have a "soviet character" as claimed by Guillermo Lora's POR (Revolutionary Workers Party) and its international backers, notably the French OCI? Or was it a "national parliament" as Gonzalez Moscoso's POR, affiliated with the USec, maintained? What would have been the tasks of Trotskyists toward such a formation?

It is agreed on all sides that the Popular Assembly was far from being composed exclusively of elected delegates; numerous union delegates were simply self-appointed or selected by other union officials. This was partly due to its origin not as the evolution of a strike committee but as a creation of the leadership of the COB labor federation along with the pro-Moscow CP, Lora's POR and Juan Lechin's nationalist PRIN. Consequently, although 60 percent of the Assembly was composed of workers' representatives, there was a high proportion of bureaucrats among the 132 delegates.

This undemocratic selection procedure is an obstacle to becoming a soviet, which is an organ of workers democracy, elected and recallable at any time. However, these origins would not inevitably prevent a body such as the Popular Assembly from acquiring a truly democratic character. Already in June the 18 miners' delegates had been elected in meetings of the local popular assemblies, a significant fact given the key position of the tin miners in the Bolivian proletariat. Clearly, a Bolshevik party would have agitated for immediate elections to the Popular Assembly, the means by which the revolutionaries can rapidly expand their influence against the rightist bureaucrats.

In fact, the 1917 Petrograd soviet was extremely undemocratically constituted in its initial stages, essentially consisting of Menshevik members of the Military Industrial Committee recently liberated from prison, trade-union and cooperative leaders, Menshevik deputies of the Duma and other well-known "names." Trotsky wrote:

> "The organisation created on February 27 in the Tauride Palace, and called 'Executive Committee of the Soviet of Workers' Deputies,' had little really in common with its name. The Soviet of Workers' Deputies of 1905, the originator of the system, rose out of a general strike. It directly represented the masses in struggle....
>
> "[In February] the Executive Committee was self-constituted, in advance of the Soviet....
>
> "...The real leaders of the workers had not yet left the streets. They were disarming some, arming others, making sure of the victory....
>
> "It required months of new conflicts and struggles in new circumstances...in order that the soviets...should become organs of struggle and preparation for a new insurrection."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, *History of the Russian Revolution*, 1930

The Bolivian Popular Assembly had not broken politically with the nationalist regime of General Juan José Torres. Not only was it *not* struggling to take power from the bourgeois government (apparently no group in the body had raised the call for "All Power to the Popular Assembly"), but none of the decisions taken during its session constituted a serious challenge to the government's rule. The most "audacious" decision was to call for 51 percent (majority) workers participation in the state tin mining monopoly! This, of course, gutted the transitional demand of workers control of its essential content—taking production out of the hands of the bourgeoisie—and was simply a form of pressure on Torres, who had called for minority worker participation.

Lora and his apologists explain that the time had not yet come to challenge the government. The OCI claims that, "At no moment did the process attain the degree of maturity necessary to launch these slogans ['Down with Torres' and 'All power to the Popular Assembly']" (*La Correspondance Internationale*, March 1972). Actually the masses were considerably in advance of their centrist and reformist leaders, and were already eager to confront Torres. At the May Day celebration prior to the convocation of the Assembly, the crowd demanded arms and a socialist Bolivia. When Torres began his speech by referring to a promise made in his oath of office, the workers shouted back "Arms yes, promises no!" When he talked of defending "our revolutionary nationalism," the crowd replied "Socialism!" And the masses refused to allow Torres to walk at the head of the march to the Popular Assembly meeting.

More important is what the complaint that the situation was not "ripe" means. The OCI adroitly amalgamates two different slogans. Was it time to agitate for overthrowing Torres? Not until the revolutionaries were prepared to replace him. Until then it is necessary, as Lenin wrote in his "April Theses," to "patiently explain." But *what* are the communists to explain? Precisely that "the Soviets of Workers' Deputies are the *only possible* form of revolutionary government," or as Lenin put it in the form of a slogan: "Not a parliamentary republic...but a republic of Soviets of Workers', Agricultural Laborers' and Peasants' Deputies..." ("The Tasks of the Proletariat in the Present Revolution," April 1917). The centrist POR did not breathe a word about transferring power to the Popular Assembly, precisely because this would have upset its non-aggression policy toward Torres and its alliance inside the Assembly with the Communist Party.

The leader of the USec POR, Hugo Gonzalez Moscoso, concluded from these facts that, "The Popular Assembly is hardly more than a sort of national parliament where the most important social sectors are represented...and it has been 'accorded' an official status by Torres." He also remarked in an interview that, "The POR comrades in the Popular Assembly...had no illusions. They simply are using the Popular Assembly as a forum, as a platform. That is all" (quoted in *La Correspondance Internationale*, March 1972). This abstentionist policy is just as wrong as the Portuguese PRP's insistence on building new organs beside the workers commissions.

It is evidently the case that the Bolivian Popular Assembly had not yet become a soviet because it did not yet constitute *in fact* a dual power. On the other hand, it was certainly not a parliament for it was not integrated into the existing state structure (rather being barely tolerated). Had it continued in session instead of disbanding after five days, never to meet again (despite an almost two-month interval before the Banzar coup), it *could have become* a soviet. But there was no revolutionary Trotskyist party to intervene along this axis.

Three Conditions: A Party, A Party, A Party!

It is perfectly possible to have a genuine soviet that never takes power or even seeks to. The German workers and soldiers councils in Germany in 1918-19 are an example of this. The Russian soviets of 1917 so long as they were dominated by the Mensheviks were another. The difference between Russia and Germany was that in the former there was a revolutionary party which had been steeled in more than a dozen years of combat against opportunism and was prepared to drive forward to take power. In Germany the Spartakusbund only transformed itself into the Communist Party a few weeks before counterrevolution struck; since it had functioned as a faction of the Independent Socialists until then it was not represented in the Congress of Workers and Soldiers Councils, so that the reformists and centrists had a free hand in strangling the revolution.

Portugal today is at a less advanced level than Germany (where there was an organ of dual power which however refused to topple the bourgeois state) or Bolivia (where there was an organ which could have become a soviet). But the workers commissions, tenants commissions, workers militias, soldiers commissions, popular assemblies and various other independent mass organizations of the workers which have sprung up during the pre-revolutionary period are elements which could be united and transformed into a soviet. For this it is above all a revolutionary Trotskyist party that is necessary. Without it these commissions will continue to be limited to militant trade unionism and pressure tactics.

In recent months one of the biggest obstacles to the formation of Portuguese soviets has been the sharp party division among the workers commissions, with at least three different left groups (the syndicalist PRP, the Maoist MRPP and the Stalinist CP) having at least 40 enterprises each in their respective coordinating committee or secretariat. With the decline of influence of the Communist Party-dominated Intersindical union federation, however, the CP has heavily shifted its efforts toward the workers commissions and its Provisional Secretariat of the Workers Commissions of the Lisbon Industrial Belt now includes 115 commissions representing 50,000 workers. Revolutionaries would naturally seek to work inside such an organization, but their goal must be to reach the Communist workers and break them from their treacherous leaders who only resort to organizing the commissions and reluctantly sanctioning militant tactics for fear of losing their base.

The entire Portuguese "far left"—including the ostensible Trotskyists—has failed to construct the intransigent Trotskyist party that is so urgently needed today. Instead they have capitulated politically either to the CP or SP, or directly to the bourgeois MFA. Many subjectively militant Portuguese workers, repelled by the opportunism of the party formations, are no doubt drawn to the syndicalists' anti-party propaganda and their projected alternative of "non-party" "popular councils." But as we have shown in discussing the MFA's plans for co-opting "people's power" and the policies of the PRP, this attempt to sidestep the political struggle against reformism is only another way to capitulate to the left-posturing officers.

As Trotsky wrote in discussing the role of soviets in the Russian and German revolutions:

> "Without a party, apart from a party, over the head of a party, or with a substitute for a party, the proletarian revolution cannot conquer. That is the principal lesson of the last decade....We have paid far too dearly for this conclusion—with regard to the role and importance of a party in a proletarian revolution—to renounce it so lightly or even to minimize its significance."
>
> —L.D. Trotsky, "The Lessons of October," 1923

For the formation of a Trotskyist Party in Portugal! Forward to the rebirth of the Fourth International! ■

CORRECTIONS

The article "Rizzo Strongarms Philadelphia Elections" in *WV* No. 85 (14 November) contains some minor factual errors. Rizzo's boast that he would "make Attila the Hun look like a faggot" followed his victory in the Democratic primary, not the mayoral election, as we had indicated. The article states that black liberal candidate Charles Bowser had run in the Democratic primary; in fact, he did not run because his bid for support from the anti-Rizzo Democratic Party machine failed. The teachers strike referred to in the article took place in early 1973 not in 1972.

A photo of striking miners in Charleston, West Virginia, that appeared in *WV* No. 86 (21 November) was incorrectly credited to *WV*. It was actually a *Charleston Daily Mail* photo.

In the same issue, the article "In Defense of the Rosenbergs!" refers to "the pre-trial record" of the case as containing "the record of government conspiracy." It is rather the secret files of the prosecution and government that contain the record of government conspiracy.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

monthly paper of the Spartacus Youth League, youth section of the Spartacist League

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

$2/11 issues 87

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825 Canal St. P.O.
New York, New York 10013

Spínola...

(continued from page 2)

July. The SL speaker also pointed to the absence of the Maoists—logical enough since their Portuguese counterparts were hailing the attacks, often led by elements of Spinola's MDLP, against Communist Party headquarters, and China is supporting the imperialist-dominated FNLA/UNITA forces in Angola. In short commentaries between rounds of chanting, the SL speaker emphasized the fundamental crisis of revolutionary leadership in Portugal, pointing to the role of the CP, which participated in the first and second provisional governments in 1974 over which Spinola presided. He also criticized the LCI—Portuguese section of the fake-Trotskyist United Secretariat (USec), which helped found the Revolutionary United Front (FUR) whose program called for support to the fifth provisional government. The speaker ended by calling for the rebirth of the Fourth International.

Boston

Spinola's Boston speech on November 21, scheduled to take place at the "World Peace Foundation," was at the last moment moved to the Union Club. Despite the switch and undeterred by a driving rainstorm, 70 demonstrators were on hand. The militants burst into the Club shouting and chanting until the cops arrived. The SL had initiated the call for the demonstration and mounted the largest contingent; other groups participating included YAWF, the Somerville Tenants Union, the Cambridge Tenants Organizing Committee, the I.S. and the Portuguese Workers Committee. The demonstrators chanted: "Smash Spinola—No More Chiles" and "Break with the MFA—Build Workers and Soldiers Councils."

Toronto

On November 23 some 300 left-wing militants picketing Spinola's talk at the St. Lawrence Center in Toronto faced a hostile crowd of nearly 1,300 right-wing Portuguese. The right-wingers had been refused entrance to the Center; only 800 tickets were sold to a select audience although the hall could have seated a far greater number.

There was no advance publicity for Spinola's talk. However, upon learning of this provocation the Trotskyist League of Canada (TL) immediately issued a call for a united-front protest demonstration which was widely distributed throughout the large Portuguese immigrant community. The day after TL members distributed this leaflet at the Communist Party-backed Center for a Democratic Portugal, the CP-supported Portuguese Democratic Association announced a separate demonstration, from which Trotskyists were to be excluded, for the same time! But the TL did not allow the Stalinists' sectarianism to prevent a forceful showing of united opposition to the butcher Spinola. When the TL showed up with a powerfully-organized presence—clearly the largest single contingent at the demonstration—the Stalinists backed down. The TL chant, "Break with the MFA—Workers to Power," was taken up by the crowd.

The TL banner proclaimed "No Pop Front Illusions—Split the Army, Arm the Workers." In contrast the Revolutionary Marxist Group, which supports the USec majority, liquidated its organizational presence in response to the threatened Stalinist exclusion, and marched as individuals without signs or banners. As was the case with the American SWP, the League for Socialist Action, which supports the USec minority, did not show up at all.

As we go to press, Spinola is continuing his tour, with appearances scheduled in the San Francisco area for the week of November 27. It is the urgent internationalist responsibility of socialists to express their concrete solidarity with their Portuguese class brothers by continuing to expose the bloodthirsty rabble-rousing and reactionary intriguing of Portugal's aspiring Pinochet, wherever he shows his monocle.■

Lisbon...

(continued from page 1)

both cases, however, contact with soldiers from leftist units afterward convinced the paratroopers that they had been deceived by their superiors as to the purpose of their orders. The resulting ferment was concentrated in the "mother" unit of the training school, and as privates and sergeants began to discuss orders virtually the entire officer complement of the base (123 in all) walked out, demanding to be transferred to another unit. In response the air force command placed the rest of the base (some 1,600) on indefinite furlough. Rejecting the order, the troops stayed on.

The revolt today seems to be an outpouring of anger in response to this treatment by the command structure, tied in with generalized opposition to the discipline-minded Azevedo government among the armed forces ranks. The Communist Party, which has been calling for the resignation of the sixth government since Friday, may have sought to take advantage of this moment to push its demands for a new cabinet. But it is highly doubtful that any of the principals intended anything like the insurrectionary assault on state power which the government charges them with. Militarily it was poorly planned, with the revolt isolated in a few easily definable targets.

It is not just Premier Azevedo who is "sick of playing games," and militantly leftist soldiers may well be tempted to pull a coup. Marxists must be prepared to bloc militarily with leftist units and officers against the "moderate" government's purge attempts—ultimately aimed at building up a coherent strike force to massacre the workers. But the militant workers must not place the slightest political confidence in the demagogic "socialist" generals. It should be remembered that "Otelo" at first sided with the "Group of Nine" against CP-backed Premier Gonçalves last summer, and if he follows the advice of one of the leftists' chants—"Act Otelo, the people are in the streets"—it is not at all clear against whom he would move.

As has been proven repeatedly over the months, the working class cannot rely on the MFA and must break politically with this political expression of the bourgeois officer caste in order to unite in independent organs of proletarian power. In the last month elected soldiers commissions have sprung up in most of the Lisbon units, usurping the role earlier played by the unit delegate assemblies (which included officers). The organizational forms themselves are empty, however, without the revolutionary leadership to politically prepare the conditions for successful struggle by mobilizing the mass of the workers and their allies behind a unified Marxist vanguard. Lacking this, the militant workers and soldiers will eventually fall prey to the Communist Party's treacherous reformist illusions or be driven to strike out in some desperate adventure.

Never has the crisis of revolutionary leadership been posed more sharply than in Portugal today. To defend the rebellious soldier ranks against the MFA tops' plans for a massive crackdown against "indiscipline," to prepare the working masses to resist the onslaughts of the forces of reaction, to unify the working class around a revolutionary program leading toward the seizure of power—what is required is above all the forging in struggle of a Portuguese Trotskyist vanguard, section of a reborn Fourth International.■

Victimized in Florida Frame-Up...

Defend Delbert Tibbs!

Delbert Tibbs, a 36-year-old Chicago black writer, has become yet another victim of a vicious racist frame-up. Last year Tibbs was hitchhiking through the South to revisit his Mississippi birthplace and gather material for a novel he was writing. He was arrested while in Florida in February 1974, accused of raping a white woman and murdering the woman's male companion. After only one hour and 20 minutes' deliberation an all-white jury found Tibbs guilty and "recommended" the death penalty. The judge complied, so today Tibbs sits on death row in Florida's Raiford State Prison. An appeal was filed with the Florida Supreme Court last July.

The evidence presented at the trial shows that Tibbs is utterly innocent of the charges!

- The rapist was dark-skinned with a pock-marked face. A composite sketch was worked up by the rape victim and local police; the woman evidenced an unclear memory during this work.

Tibbs has light-colored skin and a smooth complexion. When confronted with this the woman said, "maybe he changed colors." The composite sketch bears no resemblance to Tibbs.

- A prisoner serving life for a rape conviction said Tibbs confessed to the Florida rape and murder while he and Tibbs were cellmates.

—The prisoner has admitted to perjury in several instances and his testimony is an almost word-for-word repeat of the prejudicial pre-trial newspaper publicity. Tibbs was arrested *two weeks after* this "confession" allegedly occurred in jail!

- The rape and murder occurred in Fort Myers.

—Tibbs has never been to Fort Myers, and on the day of the crime, he

National Defense Committee for Delbert Tibbs

was in Daytona Beach—more than 200 miles away. A police lieutenant testified that the secluded field where the crime occurred could only be found by someone familiar with the Fort Myers area.

- The woman's companion was shot in the head; she witnessed the shooting.

The autopsy report contradicted the woman's explanation of how her companion was killed.

- The woman stated she was running away with the murdered man, from a man she had lived with up until the day of the murder.

—The woman's earlier companion was never even questioned.

- The murder weapon has never been recovered; the woman said the gun and her purse were thrown into a nearby lake by her attacker.

—There is no lake, not even a pond, anywhere near the attack site.

- The truck driven by the attacker has never been located.

—No evidence was introduced that Tibbs had access to a truck.

- Without notifying the defense, the prosecution presented as final evidence a Salvation Army Mission registration card from Orlando. This card bore Tibbs' signature and it "proved" he was not in Daytona Beach as claimed on the day of the crime.

—Handwriting experts had prepared a report which had determined the registration card's signature was a forgery. They were not allowed to testify at the post-trial hearing.

Tibbs is clearly right to claim: "I am convicted of a crime of which I'm innocent. I'm guilty only of being black and poor. Neither is a condition of which I'm ashamed...." The bigotry and racial bias of U.S. capitalism as reflected in its judicial system have made Tibbs one more frame-up victim among tens, perhaps hundreds, of thousands. Just this September Wilbert Lee and Freddie Pitts were released from Florida State Prison after serving 12 years for murders they did not commit. They remained in prison nine years after the real murderer had confessed.

Upon her acquittal Joan Little took up the cause of Delbert Tibbs, stating "A year ago I was basically in the same position that Delbert Tibbs is in.... In Delbert Tibbs' case there was not enough press and publicity and therefore it was a closed case" (quoted in the *Militant*, 10 October). Tibbs' fate must not be that of Lee and Pitts! Stop the frame-up now—Free Delbert Tibbs!■

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m.

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Angola . . .

(continued from page 12)

mad rush to see who can hoist his flag over Cabinda first.

The MPLA has responded to its reverses by ordering its southern troops to evacuate the towns and revert to the harassment techniques of guerrilla war. While the mercenary-led column has not stopped to conduct mopping-up operations in the wake of its successful *Blitzkrieg*, it is supplied by air, thus making it less vulnerable to attacks on supply lines. Instead it is the MPLA's guerrilla forces that are now cut off from reinforcement and facing a well-trained and highly mobile force. With the prospects for successful guerrilla warfare bleak, in Luanda the entire civilian population, including 8- to 12-year-old boys organized in the Young Pioneers, is being mobilized for a last-ditch resistance.

South African Bases, Portuguese Commanders

Early scattered reports of white mercenaries leading the onrushing column have been followed by an avalanche of evidence of organized South African and ELP/MDLP troops. As *Afrique-Asie* (17 November) noted: "Far from being a heterogeneous conglomeration of bandits and professional soldiers, this 'army of the West' has already attained a certain level of integration." Though South Africa has been understandably reluctant to admit its intervention, and there are reports of divided opinions in Pretoria on just how far to go, the facts are steadily coming to the surface.

The South African *Rand Daily Mail* published a blank space on the first page of its November 15 edition, censored for "news about Angola" that it had "not been authorized to publish." But the next day several Johannesburg papers reported the existence of an air-bridge between Rand airport and Sa da Bandeira in southern Angola. When a Reuters correspondent tried to question white soldiers in Benguela, they replied in English with heavy South African accents. The reporter described that "one Portuguese soldier 'working for UNITA' said to me: 'The South Africans do good work. They are professionals. It's their war'" (*Le Monde*, 16-17 November).

South Africa's decision to play its full hand by intervening directly in the Angola fighting has been confirmed by British newsmen who report the establishment of a South African army logistics base camp 350 miles south of Luanda (*Sunday Telegraph* [London], 16 November). The *New York Times* (22 November), as well, reported from Zambia that "informed diplomatic sources said here today that South African regular troops were fighting many hundreds of miles inside Angola." All accounts agree that the South African army has entrenched itself in the border region of southern Angola it had occupied in August, apparently intending an annexation both to safeguard the Cunene dam project and to wipe out the base areas of South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) guerrillas among Ovambu tribesmen of the area.

The imperialist/colonialist strike force, now 2,000 strong, is well armed. It has rolled forward in French Panhard armored personnel carriers and AMX tanks supplied via South Africa and Zaïre. There have also been reports of machine-gun-equipped helicopters. Additional heavy equipment pours in continuously on unmarked Hercules C-130 transports flying into airfields at Benguela, Silva Porto, Huambo and Sa da Bandeira. Despite the thin veil of anonymity, the CIA's recently divulged backing of the anti-MPLA forces is being carried out with methodical efficiency.

In the north, organized Portuguese mercenaries are leading the FNLA half of the pincer movement on Luanda. Headed by "several hundred former Portuguese Army men" (*New York Times*, 21 November) the FNLA has advanced to within 12 miles of the capital. These shock troops are operating out of the FNLA's provisional headquarters at Ambriz, commanded by Colonel Santos e Castro (until recently an anti-guerrilla strategist in the Portuguese army, now a leader of Spínola's MDLP) and Major Alves Cordoso.

According to the MPLA commander Iko Carreira (now defense minister of the Luanda regime), earlier this year Santos e Castro and Alves Cordoso met in South Africa with Daniel Chipenda (FNLA deputy secretary-general), Tony Rodrigues (a former aide to Portuguese president Costa Gomes), South African military officials, bankers of Portugal's Espirito Santo concern and representatives of the Champalimaud family (former owners of Portugal's national steel monopoly). The agreement reached was for the current mercenary project, financed partly by South Africa (*Diario de Noticias*, 17 November).

Imperialist Subordination of Angolan Civil War

Now decisively subordinated to the imperialist scramble for Angola, the FNLA's Holden Roberto and UNITA's Jonas Savimbi are reduced to the role of puppets, mouthing the anti-communist tirades dictated by their paymasters while the fate of their forces is decided in Washington and Pretoria. Under the present conditions of imperialist-colonialist control, their victory over the MPLA would either set up an Angolan client state of the U.S., South Africa and Zaïre; or, more likely, partition the country with South Africa annexing the Ovambo regions, a South Africa/Zambia joint protectorate administered by UNITA along the Benguela railway, a Gulf Oil fiefdom in the north and either outright *Anschluss* of FNLA-held areas to Zaïre or a Bakongo client state controlled by Mobutu through his brother-in-law Roberto.

MPLA soldiers in Cabinda

Augusta Conchiglia

Far more concerned with their own ambitions than with Angolan independence, both Savimbi and Roberto use anti-communism to shrug off accusations of imperialist mastery. Interviewed by an American correspondent, Andrew Jaffee, Savimbi boasted, "Before we lost because we didn't have enough weapons. Today I have armored cars with no drivers. If MPLA has ten bazookas, I have twenty." Pressed about the South Africans, Savimbi finally grew irritable:

> "'Here I am fighting Communism,' Savimbi shouted at last. 'Trying to stop the Russians from taking over Angola. And instead you hold me up to ridicule over the whites.... What's the matter—don't you want to live in a democracy?'"
> —*Newsweek*, 24 November

Because the "democracy" Savimbi and Roberto are preparing is in reality a neo-colony completely controlled by their dominating imperialist overlords, Marxists give military support to the MPLA. It is important, however, not to read today's conditions into the past. In the last year's three-cornered power struggle between the MPLA, UNITA and FNLA, support from various foreign powers to the contending sides had not yet decisively altered the intra-nationalist character of the conflict.

While Marxists would have militarily supported all the groups against Portuguese colonialism, the absence of any qualitative political difference among them dictated support to none of the bickering rivals when squared off against each other. Each was a petty-bourgeois nationalist movement aspiring to congeal a bourgeois regime, inevitably hostile to Angola's toiling masses. An independent proletarian force struggling for power would be ruthlessly attacked by all the nationalist organizations. If there had been such an independent working-class organization in Angola it might have been constrained to propose episodic military blocs with the MPLA in the course of defending the plebeian population of Luanda, the social base of the MPLA which would certainly be subjected to a mass slaughter in the event of FNLA/UNITA victory. But it was only the imperialist power play that changed the situation and now justifies a policy of military support to the MPLA.

In contrast to the Spartacist League's materialist analysis of the changing realities in Angola, most of the left has blindly followed its opportunist appetites. The "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec) majority tendency, pursuing yet another "new mass vanguard," calls for "All power to the MPLA"; meanwhile its factional opponents of the Socialist Workers Party have maintained a scandalous pro-FNLA tilt in their ostensible neutrality. Groups like the International Socialists and Revolutionary Socialist League—who like the Maoists see the Soviet Union as "imperialist" and hence should logically advise a defeatist position between "Soviet imperialism" and American imperialism in Angola—have blared "Victory to the MPLA" largely because of the latter's popularity among petty-bourgeois radicals.

But the Marxist policy of military support to nationalist movements or to ex-colonial countries *in independent struggles against imperialism* always depends on evaluation of the concrete conditions. We defend the right of independence movements in colonial countries to obtain aid wherever they can get it (including from other imperialist countries), and would have called for military support to the FNLA in its guerrilla fighting against the Portuguese during the early 1960's, even though at the time Roberto was already being aided by the CIA. However, when it is no longer a question of mere aid but of decisive subordination to an imperialist power, then communists can no longer offer military support, for the outcome would no longer be to eliminate colonialism but rather to replace one overlord with another.

Thus, the Fourth International gave military support to Ethiopia against Italian aggression in the 1930's. But when the British occupation of Ethiopia in World War II transformed the anti-colonial struggle into merely a theater of the inter-imperialist war, the FI correctly withdrew its call for military support.

Similarly, Marxists would have given military support to the Bangladesh independence struggle in early and mid-1971. But when India took control of the guerrillas and then invaded, transforming the conflict into essentially an Indo-Pakistani war, the Awami League became thoroughly subordinated to the Indian army and was no longer militarily supportable by communists (see "War, Revolution and Self-Determination," *WV* No. 4, January 1972).

During the 1930's Trotsky pointed out the difference between a war between two bourgeois states, where the purpose is imperialist conquest (whether or not one imperialism calls itself democratic and the other fascist), and a civil war between the camp of Spanish fascism and that of Spanish bourgeois democracy. In the former case Marxists would advocate revolutionary defeatism on both sides, as the Fourth International did in World War II; in the latter case the Trotskyists were for revolutionary defensism on the side of the Loyalists against Franco, while constantly struggling to create conditions for a proletarian revolution to overthrow the Republican regime. Trotsky did, however, admit the "historical possibility" that intervention by the imperialist democracies could transform the civil war into a mere "episode" of an inter-imperialist war ("Answer to Questions on the Spanish Situation," September 1937). A leader of the American Trotskyists, James Burnham, elaborated on this possibility and although Burnham later abandoned the Fourth International under pressure from petty-bourgeois public opinion on the eve of World War II, his conclusions here remain valid:

> "If England and France should intervene on a large scale, if the Spanish struggle should thus be transformed into an inter-imperialist war, Marxists explain that under such circumstances, the dominant character of the Spanish struggle would be entirely changed; its aspect as a civil war would be subordinated to its aspect as one episode or phase in the inter-imperialist conflict.... Marxists would go over to a position of *defeatism* with respect to the Loyalist armies...."
>
> —*Socialist Appeal*, 2 October 1937

The criteria used by the Trotskyists in Spain, Ethiopia and Bangladesh apply also to the situation in Angola today. With the departure of the Portuguese the civil war has become internationalized. But here the values in the equation are the reverse of those in Spain. In the Angolan power struggle there was no qualitative difference between the competing bourgeois nationalists, so Marxists took no sides in that conflict; but with the decisive entry of the U.S. and South Africa, the FNLA/UNITA coalition was subordinated to the imperialists, and thus it is now necessary to call for military support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist drive to install a puppet government.■

General Strike Threat Scuttled

Ninety Teachers Jailed in New Haven Strike

NEW HAVEN, November 24. The outrageous jailing of 90 striking teachers and the threat of a general strike brought New Haven into the national news this month. But the strike, which had become a test case of teachers' right to strike and of the ability of city officials to penalize public employees for mounting municipal budget crises, ended yesterday in defeat. The teachers, under pressure by a labor bureaucracy loath to stand behind its general strike bombast, agreed to a two-year contract falling far short of their needs and demands.

About 900 out of 1,200 teachers respected picket lines during the strike which began November 10, following a year of fruitless negotiations and irrelevant mediation. With the mayor-appointed Board of Education refusing to negotiate as long as the strike was in progress and teacher strikes being illegal in Connecticut, Superior Court judge George Saden quickly issued an injunction ordering teachers back to work.

Saden began his strikebreaking arrests November 14, clapping the entire negotiating team of the New Haven Federation of Teachers (NHFT) in jail. The 12 NHFT leaders were released over the weekend for renewed negotiations, but when the miserly intransigence of the Board of Education produced a deadlock, Saden threw them back behind bars the next Monday.

With the strike continuing nevertheless, Judge Saden upped the ante the next day, hauling into court over 100 strikers from Lee and Cross high schools. Twenty-nine teachers, with union permission, were allowed to "purge" themselves, promising to return to "normal duties and not participate in any slowdowns, job actions, a sick-out or any other types of action to stop the functioning of the school system" for the remainder of the year. But 78 strikers who refused to comply with this union-busting stipulation were incarcerated at Camp Hartell, a World War II Air National Guard barracks north of Hartford.

Not content with this move, Saden then ordered the strikers to pay $23 a day for "room and board" (!) in addition to a $250 fine for each day the strike continued. This was on top of a $5,000 per day fine being levied against the teachers union local.

James Meehan/New York Times

Arrested New Haven teachers at Air National Guard camp at Windsor Locks, Connecticut.

Adding insult to injury, the arrogant judge self-righteously crusaded against "what amounts to anarchy" in a patronizing courtroom lecture:

> "I think what some of you don't understand is that you have placed yourself in the category of lawbreakers.... As lawbreakers it would seem to me that the Board of Education would have the right to dismiss you as lawbreakers. Freedom abused is no freedom at all..."
>
> —*New Haven Register*, 19 November

The draconian imprisonment of strikers at a military base brought an immediate and angry response from teachers, forced to strike for the third time in five years, and from the rest of New Haven's workers. Nearly 1,000 custodial, cafeteria and craft workers struck in support of the jailed teachers, finally closing schools which the Board of Education had tried to keep open. At the State Capitol in Hartford 2,000 teachers demonstrated November 20, as leaders of the Connecticut Education Association (CEA) sought to co-opt rising teacher anger into a treacherous proposal. CEA leaders demanded legislation guaranteeing the right to strike *or binding arbitration*. Such a law would only land *more* teachers in jail, as they would be forced to strike against the decisions of never neutral arbitrators.

Growing indignation at the victimizations brought pressure on the normally hidebound New Haven Central Labor Council, representing 30,000 workers. Meeting on Friday, November 21, the Council voted to stage a one-day general strike—a "demonstration" as Council president Vincent Sirabella insisted on calling it—if the teachers were not released by 12 noon Tuesday. Leaders of the United Auto Workers and United Electrical Workers, outside the AFL-CIO, also promised to support the call.

But the labor leaders were saved from the disagreeable task of implementing their threats by the sellout settlement foisted on the teachers. The contract, in line with the national pattern, merely codifies the losses teachers have suffered in recent years. At a meeting in West Haven on Friday, one teacher noted how the union had whittled down its own demands: "Some time ago we asked for a cost-of-living escalator that would have meant at least a 25 percent increase. Then we asked for 15 percent, then it was 10, then 5, now we're down to 3.5 percent." Although by their own calculations the cost of living has risen 37 percent since 1971 while their wages have advanced only 7.5 percent, NHFT negotiators finally settled for even less than the measly 3.5 percent they had asked: a pitiful $200 in the first year of the contract. Teachers fear that a $500 raise in the second year may well be axed by a city wage freeze.

The issue of maximum class size was crucial in this strike, as it has been in many others. The NHFT had demanded a ceiling of 25, while the Board offered 32. The compromise at 31 provided in the first year of the contract not only will undermine the quality of classroom education, but will also allow the continued elimination of teachers' jobs. About 150 were laid off last year and further job cuts through layoffs and attrition are in the works.

New Haven teachers, like those across the nation, found themselves convenient scapegoats for the growing fiscal crunch hitting the cities. And—like teachers in Wilmington, Delaware, and Cahokia, Illinois, who have also suffered mass arrests—they are especially vulnerable to union-busting court attacks. Public employee strikes are illegal in all but a few states. Without a class-struggle leadership to counter these assaults, teachers are saddled with misleaders like American Federation of Teachers (AFT) president Albert Shanker who, faced with massive layoffs and abrogation of contractual agreements, has drawn a New York City blueprint for humble submission, throwing union pension funds away in reckless bond purchases for good measure. The AFT's narrow and bankrupt business unionism has proven incapable of mobilizing teachers for a militant fight, or of winning community support.

Escalating government rampages against public workers unions, reflected in the growing rash of prohibitive injunctions and mass arrests, can only be countered by a new, class-struggle leadership that welds teachers, the rest of labor and parents together in a fighting unity for better schools and teachers' needs: the right to strike, a shorter workweek and smaller classes to make jobs for all, full cost-of-living protection, labor's own political party to dump the strikebreaking capitalist politicians and judges. Such a leadership will ensure that the occasional blustering threats of general strikes by today's labor skates become a militant reality.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____ 87

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)

☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

WORKERS VANGUARD

China Lines Up with CIA, South Africa in Angola

Stop Imperialist Drive on Luanda!

NOVEMBER 24—When Portugal's last high commissioner in Angola, Admiral Leonel Cardoso, slipped out of Luanda on the night of November 10, he declared the former colony independent but handed over power to no one. Instead he simply walked out of his office, leaving his keys in the door.

With the departure of the Portuguese army the Angolan state entity effectively ceased to exist. The left-nationalist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) proclaimed a "People's Republic" in Luanda, while the virulently anti-communist National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and neo-colonialist National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) established a rival "Democratic People's Republic" at Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa) in the south central plateau region.

The civil war that has enveloped the country for the last year assumed a new character in recent weeks as imperialist forces (principally the U.S. together with its South African ally, aided by Portuguese reactionaries) moved in with an open bid for power, anticipating the final departure of the last 2,000 Portuguese troops. Meanwhile, since the MPLA gained control of the Luanda port and airport the Soviet Union has stepped up its aid to the MPLA. As the conservative London *Economist* (November 15) noted, "The war Portugal left behind ... is no longer a matter of skirmishing between badly armed guerrilla groups.... Angola has become a proxy battlefield between the major powers."

While the capitalist press has been ranting about 3,000 Cuban and 400 Soviet military advisors said to be aiding the MPLA, Henry Kissinger had the gall to assert in a Detroit speech tonight: "We cannot ignore the substantial Soviet buildup of weapons in Angola which has introduced great-power rivalries in Africa for the first time in 15 years." In fact it is precisely the U.S. and its allies, Zaïre (formerly the Belgian Congo) and South Africa, that have played the major role in creating this "war by proxy." All three, assisted by leading Portuguese capitalists and desperate colons seeking to recoup their losses, have aggressively leaped into Angola. Western military aid to the FNLA and UNITA, in quantities dwarfing that seen earlier in Nigeria (1967) and the Congo (1960-64), has now escalated into domination. Quantity has been transformed into quality as intra-nationalist rivalry is superseded by an imperialist adventure.

Ever since a secret 1970 National Security Council "Memorandum 39" – nicknamed "Operation Tarbaby"— U.S. policy in Africa has had a South Africa axis, combined with military and economic aid for preferred black leaders like Zaïre's Mobutu. Now, as Britain readies a pull-out from its Simonstown naval base, Washington is preparing to take an even more active role in "protecting oil supply lanes" around the Cape. But already in the 1970 Kissinger-signed document it is noted that "the biggest U.S. interest in southern Africa is in Angola" (*Sunday Times* [London], 20 October 1974). With the unanticipated Portuguese coup of April 1974 and the rapid "deterioration" of the situation in Angola, the U.S. has opted for military intervention.

UNITA soldiers

Sygma

The decisive internationalization of the Angolan conflict by American imperialism and its toadies compels Marxists to stand militarily on the side of the Soviet-backed MPLA against the U.S.-financed and -organized South African/Portuguese colonialist-led drive on Luanda. Revolutionaries must also denounce the despicable policy of Mao's China in arming and training the FNLA (and earlier UNITA) forces now being used as catspaws by the imperialists and colonialists.

But a policy of revolutionary defensism on the side of the MPLA regime must be pursued without giving any political support to these petty-bourgeois nationalists or to the Kremlin bureaucrats' diplomacy. A changing of the guard in Washington (for example, the replacement of the conservative Gerald Ford by the liberal Edward Kennedy) would be sufficient to douse the MPLA's "anti-imperialism," and the Soviet Union is still intent on promoting détente. Rather than risk a major military showdown with U.S.-dominated forces, it may well supply the Luanda regime only enough to prevent a total rout and then pressure for negotiations. The Russians would like to split the U.S. from China, currently united behind the FNLA, and are perfectly prepared to use Angola as a bargaining chip.

Imperialist/Colonialist Blitzkrieg

The MPLA is in precarious shape militarily, having suffered serious defeats on the southern front. An armored column spearheaded by white mercenaries of the Portuguese Liberation Army (ELP) which is but another name for Spinola's Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal (MDLP)—and South African troops has easily overcome MPLA forces in a lightning forced march. Racing 600 miles in just three weeks, the column seized Sa da Bandeira and Moçamedes with little trouble, then quickly overpowered MPLA defenses at the important port of Lobito and railhead at Benguela. (UNITA troops are reportedly marching on Texeira de Sousa in the northeast to complete control of the railway spanning Angola.) After taking Novo Redondo and Porto Amboim north of Lobito, the column split, one part heading for Dondo, source of hydro-electric power for Luanda, the other for the key MPLA-held town of Malanje.

Pro-FNLA white mercenaries

Time

The 22 November *New York Times* reports that UNITA, whose troops fill out the white-led column, has seized Malanje. If true, this would mean that Luanda is cut off from the MPLA forces in the northeast centered on Henrique de Carvalho. The MPLA's supporters in this region consist mainly of some 4,000 ex-Katangan gendarmes, who fled the Congo following the fall of Moïse Tshombé some 11 years ago. Though they have fostered a profitable relationship with the MPLA in controlling the illicit diamond mining of this area, their questionable loyalty may go to the militarily stronger bidder. This would reduce the MPLA's effective jurisdiction to Luanda and its immediate hinterland, and the Cabinda enclave.

Even in Cabinda the MPLA is in trouble. So far, the enclave, separated from Angola by a thin strip of Zaïre territory, has only been the scene of skirmishes, but the high stakes guarantee an outbreak of fighting sooner or later. Some 120 offshore wells make Cabinda a prize coveted by all. Mobutu supports a Gulf Oil-puppet secessionist movement, the Cabinda Liberation Front (FLEC), with obvious appetites to annex the area or set up an oil company fiefdom. Zaïre troops have been massed on the border and have clashed with MPLA defenders holding the enclave. While the Soviet-backed regime in Congo (Brazzaville) supports the MPLA, it also casts a covetous eye at Cabinda's riches, supports a rival FLEC faction and has posted its own troops on the enclave's border. Recent news reports speak of 200 Soviet T-54 tanks being shipped to Cabinda through Congo and of MIG-21's being assembled in Brazzaville, but it is an open question whether the Russian aid will be used to support the MPLA or its "benefactors" in the Congo. Should the MPLA's defenses falter, there will be a

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 88 5 December 1975

Lisbon Under Siege

Over 150,000 demonstrate against the 6th provisional government on November 16. L'Express

From a Special Correspondent

LISBON, November 28—Events of the past week represent a sharp setback for the left in Portugal. The ruling Supreme Revolutionary Council, representing the dominant right wing of the Armed Forces Movement (MFA), suspended all basic democratic rights for the first time since the April 1974 overthrow of the Caetano dictatorship. Press, radio and television were suspended in the Lisbon area with the exception of official government broadcasts. Demonstrations were prohibited, preventive arrests authorized, curfew was imposed and a blanket rejection of all wage demands was decreed on the grounds that they constitute an "attack on the economy." The government has announced its intention of purging the administrative and editorial boards of all the mass media before it ends the censorship.

The right-wing officers also scored an important military victory. Using the occupation of Lisbon-area air bases by leftist paratroopers as an excuse, the general staff moved decisively against those military units which have been most closely identified with the civilian

continued on page 8

Liberals Whitewash CIA Assassinations

Patrice Lumumba was considered by U.S. to be too friendly with Russia. Executed.

Abolish U.S. Spy Agencies and Secret Police!

With the release (over strong presidential objection) of the Senate Select Committee's 347-page report on the Central Intelligence Agency and the release also of the report on Federal Bureau of Investigation threats and harassment against Martin Luther King, the public was treated to the latest round of carefully stage-managed government-sponsored revelations.

There is nothing really new in the Senate committee's report. It simply stamped with official imprimatur the old news that the CIA maintained generalized "assassination capability"—that it plotted, arranged and carried out assassinations. The report further officially acknowledged what was already known about the symbiotic relationship between the CIA and the Mafia; not only did the gangsters help out as hit men for imperialism, the CIA returned the favors for selected Mafia leaders, for instance, tapping phones for Sam Giancana in Nevada. Counterrevolutionary plotting in Chile before and after Allende's election was once again "revealed," and some of the material on the CIA murder squads in Vietnam that had been in the *Pentagon Papers* was trotted out again.

The report states that the principal targets for assassination had been Cuba's Fidel Castro and Patrice Lumumba. Lumumba was the nationalist prime minister of the Congo, murdered in 1961 in Katanga province. Another target for assassination was General René Schneider, Chilean military leader who refused to cooperate in the CIA plan for a military coup to prevent Allende from taking elected office; Schneider was assassinated in an official limousine on 22 October 1970.

The report also demonstrated that the life of a CIA "creature" is not necessarily very secure. Unlike Doctor Frankenstein the CIA is not squeamish when it comes to disposing of its own monsters: those, like Ngo Dinh Diem, who appear less than adequate to the task, or petty dictators like Trujillo who become fractious.

A full third of the report was given over to the persistent bizarre attempts to assassinate Fidel Castro and his two principal associates, Raúl Castro and Ernesto "Che" Guevara. The report admits no less than eight plots to kill Castro and numerous schemes to discredit him. The plans included a poisoned pen, poisoned food in a Havana restaurant, poisoned cigars of Castro's favorite brand. The CIA also planned to embarrass Castro by spraying a broadcast studio with a "disorienting chemical" before he was to make a speech with the purpose of getting Castro to talk nonsense. The weirdest of all the schemes involved coating Castro's shoes with a strong chemical depilatory so that his beard would fall out when he touched it. Some CIA hot shot, apparently believing that Castro came to power on the basis of charisma, hit on the unusual solution of destroying Castro's "macho" image, presumably located Samson-like in his beard.

Were the CIA not so sinister and dangerous an organization these schemes would seem more suited to the comedy film *Bananas* than the spy fantasies of James Bond. But the CIA is no humorous outfit. Despite its bungling, many of its poisoned darts and bullets have reached their targets. The death of Guevara in the Bolivian mountains is a stark reminder that the CIA's plots often do achieve their ugly purposes. In fact, of the CIA's principal

continued on page 10

Down with the Monarchy—No Popular Fronts!

For a Workers Republic in Spain!

AFP

Demonstrators in Barcelona demand independence for Spanish Sahara.

Exactly 39 years after the execution of the founder of the fascist Falange movement, José Antonio Primo de Rivera, Spanish dictator Generalissimo Francisco Franco died on November 20. The unfortunate fact that the end of his rule came as the result of death from natural causes rather than through a proletarian uprising will certainly color the next period in Spain. For the bourgeoisie, which grew fat under Francoism, the *caudillo's* death signalled the activation of various schemes to ensure a peaceful transition while preserving as much as possible of his bonapartist "strong state." Its hopes center on the new king, Juan Carlos de Borbón, Franco's personally designated heir. Franco is dead, but Francoism is yet to be smashed.

The hard-line ultra-rightists (the "Bunker") are urging the monarch to make no concessions to liberalism. Others, most recently the archbishop of Madrid, counsel "democratization" of the regime. But for the working class there can be no possibility of a bourgeois-democratic solution. At the first sign of serious class confrontation, the bourgeoisie will cast aside all democratic pretenses and rush into the arms of the strongest defenders of bourgeois "law and order." For the proletariat, the death of Franco must spur on the socialist revolution, which alone can crush barbaric Francoist rule once and for all, by overthrowing capitalism.

Coming in the wake of deep social upheavals this past winter and spring (an unprecedented strike wave, several nearly totally effective work stoppages in the Basque region), Franco's death leaves the Spanish dictatorship precarious and shaken. As the Generalissimo lay dying, the disparate elements held together by deference to a supreme arbiter began to come unstuck. A macabre dispute ensued centering on the charge that the doctors, headed by Franco's son-in-law, Martinez-Bordiu, were keeping a corpse alive solely to discredit the soon-to-be king. An aide to Juan Carlos remarked that due to the law of succession, "so long as Martinez-Bordiu holds Franco's body, he can run the country with the Prince as a puppet on a string" (*Newsweek*, 24 November). With the advent of modern technology palace intrigues are no longer based upon possession of the royal scepter but of the ruler's cadaver.

But at present the *continuistas* have no alternative to Juan Carlos. In order to give their figurehead an image of national reconciliation, he has been permitted to promulgate some minor reforms, such as laws permitting the use of Basque, Catalan and Galician languages in printed texts (though not in schools or official documents). At the same time the new king (who has never signed a death sentence, in contrast to Franco, who signed more than 192,000 between 1939 and 1944) issued a pardon for some of the numerous political prisoners in the dictatorship's jails. Mexico, which had favored the Republicans in the 1936-39 Spanish Civil War and never recognized Franco, is now preparing to consider an exchange of ambassadors with the "new" regime in Madrid.

But a few gestures do not change the viciously anti-working-class and utterly undemocratic character of the Francoist dictatorship. In fact, equally or even more significant changes were proposed by Premier Carlos Arias Navarro last December including legalization of political "associations." But, terrified of the explosive potential of the slightest real relaxation of the bonapartist straitjacket, the government actually approved less than a handful of "associations," all made up of supporters of the regime. Then, following the strike wave of the winter and spring, the short-lived reforms were buried as the Cortes (parliament) rushed through "anti-terrorist" legislation which makes virtually any act of opposition a serious criminal offense. Four hundred have been arrested under these laws since September and many more detained in pre-planned police sweeps at the time of Franco's death. Juan Carlos' "pardon" has the same character as Arias Navarro's "legalization" of dissent: a total farce. According to the Madrid Bar Association, the king's amnesty "in practical terms excludes from the benefits almost all the political prisoners and defendants in Spain" (*New York Times*, 29 November).

As Franco was being buried in a crypt (personally selected, like his successor) of the basilica in the cavernous Valley of the Fallen monument he spent 18 years constructing, the dictator's followers had already begun to sense a breeze blowing against the established order of rigid hierarchy, religious obscurantism, glorification of the "Hispanic race," exaltation of martial traditions and Hitler-era obsession with the Bolshevik Anti-Christ. As cries of "Franco... Franco" echoed across the valley, an aged blue-shirt remarked uncertainly, "the King will be all right if he knows how to become a strong leader, a caudillo who keeps things going the same way as Franco" (*New York Times*, 24 November).

The extra-legal demonstration was called by the association of Civil War veterans whose leader, José Antonio Girón, is one of the several leading ex-Falangists moving rapidly to reinvigorate the decaying fascist movement. Far from expressing any confidence in the king, these terrorist hangmen are already preparing to smash the dissent they see percolating in the fissures of the destabilized regime. "You will die within 24 hours following the death of the Caudillo" reads the calling card sent to suspected leftists by one of these grisly cabals.

While the mobilization of the extreme right—concentrated on the corporatist syndicates (which Franco used as sinecures for unemployed Falangists), the Guardia Civil national police and various political and paramilitary police units—represents a deadly danger to the workers movement, the main obstacles to proletarian revolution in Spain are the traditional reformist misleaders of the workers movement. The militant working class, whose key centers are well organized even under conditions of clandestinity, has been handcuffed to representatives of the bourgeoisie through class-collaborationist popular fronts. Both the Junta Democrática led by the Communist Party (CP) and the Platform of Democratic Convergence led by the Socialist Party (PSOE) have falsomely demonstrated their commitment to the maintenance of capitalism.

In recent weeks these betrayers have abandoned one position after another in the hope of achieving negotiations with the new regime. The Junta Democrática (along with the CP) had earlier called for a "national strike" of all social classes. This militant-sounding slogan was actually a call for "national reconciliation" and "a broad coalition government which would group together those who do not want a new civil war but want a pluralistic regime." Such a "broad coalition" could include just about any bourgeois reactionary to the left of Salvador Dali!

AP

Spanish Prince Juan Carlos (right) greets Chilean military dictator Pinochet in Madrid for Franco funeral.

However, in late October the CP still pretended to resist "Francoism without Franco," declaring that it would "not for an instant accept the monarchist solution of the future king Juan Carlos, who will assume the continuity of the Francoist dictatorship" (*Le Monde*, 31 October). The PSOE, on the other hand, was willing to give the playboy black-belt king a chance. Within hours

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD Liz Gordon (Chairman) Chris Knox (Labor) James Robertson (Advisory) Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 260 West Broadway New York N Y 10013 Telepone 966-6841 (Editorial) 925-5665 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 G P O New York N Y 10001 Domestic subscriptions $5 00 per year Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York N Y

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

CLUW...

(continued from page 12)

conscious and revolutionary militants among them, to make CLUW a democratic forum where actual solutions to the pressing needs of working women are freely discussed and class-struggle policies implemented? Never! Who knows what embarrassing "excesses" this process might bring about! CLUW is a forum for established trade-union leaders and sympathetic, respectable (i.e., bourgeois) politicians. The minds of the female labor fakers in CLUW travel along the same well-worn channels as those of George Meany and the male labor fakers. Their position on CLUW reduces itself to the old slogan, "Better dead than red!"

It seems certain that Madar's aim is to shove CLUW under the suffocating wing of the AFL-CIO. But, after refusing to endorse CLUW at the recent union federation convention, Meany's terms are clear—get rid of the reds and we may reconsider endorsement. Madar is assiduously attempting to comply by escalating her witchhunt with particular emphasis on excluding dissidents from the convention by every available means. To seal its promise, the CLUW majority is pushing its position requiring that all CLUW activities (strike support, demonstrations, etc.) be explicitly in line with the official policy of the unions involved. What better way to ensure CLUW's role as the docile women's auxiliary!

Nineteen Months to Nowhere

In fact, with the exception of the Spartacist League, the left organizations represented in CLUW have demonstrated over the nineteen months of CLUW's existence that they are not dangerous, but quite domesticated and as willing to work within the framework of the CLUW bureaucrats' appetites as the CLUW bureaucrats are willing to bow before the exigencies of AFL-CIO business-unionist *Realpolitik*.

CLUW has chalked up an unenviable record, consistently refusing to undertake, and sometimes actively sabotaging, even the most elementary actions of class solidarity. The highlights of betrayal have been documented in the pages of *Workers Vanguard* and *Women and Revolution*. The last CLUW convention itself is indicative and set the tone for sellout. It refused to allow the wives of striking Brookside, Kentucky miners, to address the convention for support in their long and bitter strike in Harlan County, on the grounds that they were not union members. Yet bourgeois politician Bella Abzug has been extended "honorary membership" in CLUW.

CLUW elected as its president a strikebreaker, Olga Madar, a former UAW vice president. She is known for helping to organize the 1,000-member goon squad of UAW officials which broke the Mack Avenue sit-down strike in Detroit in August 1973. And the CLUW bureaucrats' adamant "neutrality" in refusing to endorse the organizing drive of the United Farm Workers union (amounting to de facto endorsement of Teamster strikebreaking) will not soon be forgotten. The CLUW leaders staged a virtual Donnybrook to prevent passage of such a convention resolution in order not to alienate the International Brotherhood of Teamsters' leadership and its representatives in CLUW.

CLUW's hallmark is simple do-nothingism. In the face of massive layoffs and unemployment the CLUW leadership has remained criminally passive. CLUW's "program of action," recently put forward at a Detroit CLUW speak-out by Edith Van Horn, a UAW International representative, amounts to nothing more than the old labor fakers' standard excuse to derail militancy: rely on the bourgeois political process—oust the Republican administration and support Democratic "friends of labor."

The "revolutionaries'" record of grovelling opportunist prostration before the CLUW leadership is quite despicable. Delighted by the prospect of an arena in which to simultaneously exercise both their feminism and their workerism, the fake lefts enthusiastically and uncritically welcomed the advent of CLUW, buried themselves and their politics to make CLUW a "success" and capitulated in every confrontation. In contrast, the Spartacist League has fought for its class-struggle program, politically exposed the bureaucrats at every opportunity, and pointed out that:

> "CLUW is not a temporary stage on the road to socialist consciousness, but rather a roadblock which will be transformed or smashed as an obstacle as the proletariat develops revolutionary consciousness."
>
> *Women and Revolution* No. 6, Summer 1974

Oust the Bureaucrats!

From the first, the SL has characterized CLUW as a fraud, a "dead-end for working women." Beginning with its earliest meetings, CLUW exposed itself as the captive creature of the labor bureaucracy. The role of these traitors is to throttle working-class struggles—to guarantee that working people will pay for the bankruptcy of capitalism in decline. They are the purveyors of bourgeois ideology within the workers movement, responsible for confining labor's struggles within the limitations of capitalism and for sabotaging the actions undertaken. They derive their power and privilege from their service to the employers in pitting the workers against each other, at the expense above all of the most exploited.

In the last analysis, the CLUW bureaucrats share with the bosses the responsibility for discrimination against women workers. The labor bureaucracy's stranglehold on the workers movement must be shattered by the construction of oppositional tendencies within the unions based on a program of militant class struggle which can weld the entire labor movement into a fighting force for the fundamental interests of all the oppressed.

Women workers' resistance to their degradation under capitalism is of vital concern to revolutionists. But CLUW was never a real vehicle for this resistance. Born as a cynical division of labor within the union bureaucracy, CLUW in its death throes represents no real loss for working women, but highlights again the vacuum of class-struggle leadership which must be resolved in order that the fight for the emancipation of the working class can be seriously undertaken.■

NOTICE

During December *Workers Vanguard* will be published bi-weekly, the next issue being dated December 19. Beginning with the 2 January 1976 issue *WV* will resume weekly publication.

S.F. Demonstration Against Spínola

SAN FRANCISCO, December 1—Winding up his North American tour to rally support for a counterrevolutionary coup in Portugal, General António de Spínola addressed the S.F. World Affairs Council, hysterically forecasting the imminent demise of Western civilization at the hands of a Moscow-directed conspiracy.

About 150 militant demonstrators outside picketed the St. Francis Hotel where Spínola was speaking. With the largest contingent, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League (SL/SYL) comprised about a quarter of the demonstration. The SL/SYL had initiated the action, for which calls were also issued by the International Socialists (I.S.) and its creature, the Portugal Solidarity Committee (PSC). Indicative of their political unseriousness was a PSC member dressed up in a Santa Claus suit, shouting "Merry Christmas" as he distributed a leaflet calling for democracy in Portugal. In a typical display of Stalinist sectarianism, the Progressive Labor Party (PL) contingent tried to dominate the protest through the use of heavy sound equipment with which it sought to drown out SL/SYL slogans such as "Break with the MFA, Workers to Power!" and "Down with the Generals, Arm the Workers Now!" The Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party and Maoist organizations were conspicuous by their absence.

In his speech, Spínola posed a third world war as something the West might be "forced into" to halt the advance of "Communism." He denounced détente as a subtle new strategy by which the West has tied "the noose for our own lynching." Spínola claimed the West had failed to develop a "defined ideology" because of "the purity of its commitment to democratic ideals"! This two-bit anti-communist demagogue clearly views himself as the Messiah who will step into the breach to rescue imperialism.

In addition to whipping up anti-communist patriotic fervor among Portuguese in the U.S., Spínola has used his tour to speak to influential leaders of bourgeois opinion, at the Council on Foreign Relations in New York and the World Peace Foundation in Boston (see box). Spínola's San Francisco host, the World Affairs Council, is a similar reactionary group of wealthy businessmen (its current president is a former president of the CIA-funded Asia Foundation).

In the question period most of the comments were hostile to Spínola, coming from representatives of the left press. To a question from a *WV* reporter about where his terrorist organization gets its money, Spínola said the "Democratic Movement for the Liberation of Portugal" (MDLP) is financed by anti-communist Portuguese around the world, but added: "This doesn't mean that we don't have non-Portuguese contributors." Chief among these "non-Portuguese contributors" is the CIA, which has bankrolled the operations of MDLP mercenaries working hand-in-glove with South Africa in Angola.

But the real questions were addressed by the militants who protested outside against the butcher of Angola and his reactionary crusade for an anti-communist coup in Portugal. Solidarity with our Portuguese class brothers demands the vigorous exposure of Spínola's evil schemes of drowning the workers movement in blood. Forward to the construction of proletarian vanguard parties in Portugal and the U.S.—Forward to the reforging of the Fourth International, World Party of Socialist Revolution!■

What Is the World Peace Foundation?

According to the *Boston Phoenix* (25 November), the World Peace Foundation, the organization which sponsored Spínola's appearance in Boston, has an exclusive membership of 120 government-oriented academics and top corporate leaders. Its Board of Trustees is top-heavy with people linked to the CIA and U.S. foreign-policy apparatus. Among them are:

Robert R. Bowie—employed at the Center for International Affairs, the Harvard operation which produced Henry Kissinger and is notorious for its many CIA-funded projects.

Edward A. Gullien—Dean of Harvard's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, former U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam.

I. Milton Sacks—Brandeis University professor who received several contracts from the Agency for International Development to go to South Vietnam and produce studies to aid U.S. policy planners; also a member of the State Department policy group on Vietnam.

George P. Lodge—Harvard Business School professor who helped direct international trade-union programs and the Harvard International Management Institute, which received CIA money for the training of foreign anti-communist leaders.

The Foundation's next guest speaker is none other than William Colby, director of the CIA.

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE FORUM

B.C. Election: No Vote to NDP Strikebreakers!

Speaker: TOM RILEY
Trotskyist League
Central Committee

Saturday, December 6
at 8:00 p.m.
Fisherman's Hall
138 East Cordova

VANCOUVER, B.C.

SPARTACIST LEAGUE FORUM

Angola—Mao's Bloc with CIA

Speaker:
CHARLES O'BRIEN
Spartacist League Central Committee,
Editor, *Young Spartacus*

Saturday, December 13
at 7:30 p.m.
306A Barnard Hall
Barnard College

NEW YORK

Donation: $1
For more information: 925-5665

Support Calhoun, Guyton Court Suits Against Killer Cops!

Police Terror in the Streets of Oakland

OAKLAND On August 19, Floyd Calhoun, 23 years old and black, was gunned down on the streets of East Oakland. He was hit in the back, neck and legs as he ran from trigger-happy cops who claim he committed a robbery and refused to halt at their command. Calhoun was executed without arrest, without trial, without a conviction. He was a victim of the racist cop "justice"—indiscriminate repression unleashed by a bloodthirsty occupying army—which kills hundreds of innocent people every year in the decaying ghettos of the United States.

Eyewitnesses to the Calhoun slaying point to the arbitrary savagery of the massive police overkill: the street was blocked off, four shotgun-toting cops were only a few yards behind their victim and several police cars were in the vicinity, at least a dozen arriving immediately after the shooting (*Black Panther*, 15 September). Police bullets pierced the windows and fences of houses in the neighborhood and Calhoun, who was unarmed, was shot not once but twice. His life was taken for the suspected crime of stealing $23...and being black.

The Calhoun killing is a tragic instance of the cop terror which is on the rise nationally and throughout the Bay Area. S.F. Mayor Alioto's racist "Operation Zebra" sweep last year was only one of the most dramatic examples of this ominous trend. In 1973, 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton was shot by Emeryville police while running from an allegedly stolen car; earlier this year Dennis Kortum was shot dead by police while fleeing from a commercial establishment in Pleasant Hill; in Oakland so far in 1975 there have been five other killings by police officers, in addition to that of Calhoun, all of them ruled "justifiable homicide." And these are only the few cases reported in the local newspapers or taken to court. Meanwhile Richard Nixon (the executioner of hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese) and Nelson Rockefeller (the Butcher of Attica) go free. This is the racist bourgeois "justice" that black people justifiably fear and hate.

What are the legal grounds for these "out-of-court settlements" where cops dispense sentences of capital punishment simply by pulling the trigger? The California state penal code defines "justifiable homicide by public officers" as any instance where killing is "necessary" in "retaking felons," or when "necessarily committed in arresting persons charged with felony and who are fleeing from justice or resisting such arrest...." A killing by the cops is also ruled "justifiable" when "necessarily committed in overcoming actual resistance to the execution of some legal process, or in the discharge of any other legal duty." Of course, the cop is always "doing his duty" when he shoots ghetto youth!

In response to outcries against police brutality, some "restrictions" to this law have been added by police chiefs of some cities. In Oakland, the departmental regulations prohibit shooting people under the age of 18 and those suspected of auto theft or burglary, except where allegedly in defense of the cop's life. Naturally, the police always claim their lives are in danger and usually get a sympathetic hearing from review boards and the courts. Furthermore, these restrictions on the "discretionary powers" of the cops must be legally validated in court. When policemen in Long Beach took their chief to court, his directives were declared invalid.

In any case, the point of such "restrictions" is less to limit cop terror than to provide a legal cover for it. Thus the brutal slaughter of Floyd Calhoun was *entirely within the limits* of the "restricted" Oakland policy, not to mention the California law and similar state law elsewhere. It is clear that the capitalist state provides legal protection for its domestic armed forces, not defense of democratic rights and protection of life it claims to offer its citizens.

Floyd Calhoun's relatives have done more than mourn his death. They have formed the Justice for the Calhoun Family Committee, and their attorney has filed suit against the Oakland Police Department for negligence. The lawyer is also considering a federal suit under the Civil Rights Act in order to have the present police firearms laws declared unconstitutional, as these codes clearly violate the right to due process of law, the right to be considered innocent until proven guilty and the right to protection against cruel and unusual punishment. In a similar legal action, the Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton was formed following his death at the hands of the police and for two years has sought an indictment against the killers—without success. However, in May 1974 a demonstration to prote Guyton's execution drew 2,500 supporters from throughout the Bay Area.

The actions of the Calhoun and Guyton Committees in suing the police are definitely supportable. They should be given wide publicity in the fight against cop brutality in the ghetto. But the capitalist class will not voluntarily disarm its hired guns, who are likely to be given *more* rather than less latitude by the courts as the ruling class begins to feel the heat from smoldering anger in the depressed ghettos. Legal procedures alone will not stop the killer cops, and relying on the courts can create dangerous illusions about the possibility of obtaining real justice under capitalism.

Solidarity in opposition to police killings is vitally necessary in the struggle to prevent the occurrance of more Calhouns and Guytons. We call for unity against racist cop terror and support to the legal actions against the police! This common unified outrage, however, is not necessarily reflected in programmatic agreement on *how* to end cop brutality. For instance, the SL views the cops as the domestic armed might of the capitalist class—a force that cannot be reformed or "controlled" but which must be smashed by workers rule. The Calhoun committee has different opinions on this issue.

In a recent leaflet the committee raised several demands which express confidence in the very police apparatus that is under attack in their court suit. For instance it states: "The OPD should only be allowed to fire their guns when lives are threatened"—this is nearly the letter of the law as it now stands. "Community oriented training and screening of Oakland Police" is a demand for community controlled cops which creates illusions that a "blacker" police force will be less repressive in the ghetto. The fact is that a cop is a cop with a dirty job to do for his capitalist bosses. The ghetto cannot "control, train and screen" the cops who are put there to slaughter its youth. Not community control of the cops, but cops out of the ghetto!

The defense committee also demands: "Equal protection for all Oakland neighborhoods." This demand ignores the racist and class character of American society and blurs the role of the police. Cops do not protect black and working people. There is a reason why they protect the lives and property in rich neighborhoods like Oakland Hills and terrorize the ghetto—that is their job. The only extension of "equal protection" under capitalism can be the extension of police terror!

Other demands recently put forward by the Calhoun committee—"Public disclosure of all facts in the 1975 killings by the OPD" and "Stop harassment of minority communities—are fully supportable. The SL and PDC, despite their disagreements with some of the Calhoun committee's propaganda, are firmly determined to work alongside all those committed to opposing the cops and protesting these racist atrocities.

Tyrone Guyton is dead. Floyd Calhoun is dead. But the cops' racist terror continues unabated. Every uncontested act of police brutality only opens the way for the next one. The victims are those shot dead in the streets. The real criminals are those who do the shooting, the police, and those whose interests are protected by this racist and class repression: the capitalists. Only by overthrowing the bloody rule of the exploiters can racist cop terror be finally eliminated and the conditions created for ending the brutal oppression of minorities.

For more information on the cases, and to send messages of support and financial contributions, contact:

—Committee for Justice for the Calhoun Family
P.O. Box 5454
Oakland, CA 94605

—Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton
3310 Grove Street
Oakland, CA 94609

PUBLIC MEETING

Stop Racist Police Terror!

Speakers:

JOYCE CALHOUN
Committee for Justice for the Calhoun Family

MATTIE SHEPHERD
Committee for Justice for Tyrone Guyton

ELLERY ALLEN
Philip L. Allen Defense Committee

Friday, December 5 at 7:30 p.m.
Laney College Room D-200
OAKLAND, California

Sponsored by the Partisan Defense Committee

NAACP Asks Courts to Close South Boston High

BOSTON, December 1—South Boston High School remains in the center of the struggle over school busing here. At the NAACP annual awards banquet on November 15, Boston branch president Thomas Atkins announced plans to ask federal judge Arthur Garrity, who presides over the desegregation suit, to close the school because of repeated assaults, harassment and discrimination against black students. The motion also requested removal hearings for two white teachers and a transitional aide accused of racist actions.

The hearings, which began on November 22, have riveted public attention in this racially polarized city. Tensions have run high between black and white spectators, most of whom were unable to get inside the packed courtroom. On the first day, police used nightsticks to push back a number of black people clustered outside the courtroom. The cops provoked a scuffle, then arrested five blacks who had come to attend the hearing.

The NAACP attorneys introduced affidavits from black students that describe the intolerable conditions they face daily at South Boston High School. One such affidavit said:

> "Frequently, one or two black students have been attacked by a much larger group of white students, without provocation. More often than not, school and police authorities detain and suspend all the black students involved in the incident but only one or two white students. The black students are disciplined for defending themselves from an unprovoked attack while numbers of the white attackers escape any disciplinary measures."

Many of these attacks have been instigated by anonymous racist leaflets distributed around the school.

The NAACP accused two teachers and an aide of harassing black students. Black students testified that one teacher stood on his desk and made ape-like gestures and sounds to ridicule them. A football coach is charged with blocking efforts of black students to join the team and, when that failed, inciting the white players to attack their black teammates. The aide was charged with kicking a black student in the head, but the plaintiffs dropped the accusation when they were unable to produce the victim of the alleged assault and when all the transitional aides, a third of them black, disputed the charge.

But the NAACP motion is no defense against the racist terror in Boston's schools. Closing South Boston High School is an attempt to evade the racist offensive. It would mean a duplication of the same problem in other schools and, in the context of education budget cuts, would represent a cutback in school facilities. And it is an attack on the union and teachers' job security.

It is indicative of the NAACP's treacherous reliance on the capitalist state that, while demanding that the racist school administration get rid of three Boston Teachers Union (BTU) members, it has not even initiated legal proceedings against the cops. While attempting to cajole the bourgeoisie into reforming itself at a snail's pace, the NAACP eagerly latches onto ruling class assaults on the labor movement. In September it urged Judge Garrity to issue a federal injunction against the BTU when it went on strike to protect teachers' wages from inflation, to maintain class size restrictions and to extend special education programs.

The accusations against the three BTU members are indeed serious and require investigation. But not by the school administrators and courts, defenders of the racist status quo! The union itself must hold open hearings in cooperation with parents and students on all charges of racist practices by teachers and aides. While defending its members' jobs, the BTU must clearly assert its determination to root out racist practices and must drop its countersuit for libel against the NAACP. The countersuit suggests that the union leadership is far more interested in "getting" the NAACP and squelching any investigation than in cleaning up its own house, free from union-busting interference by the bosses' government. The BTU must take an unequivocal stand for implementation of busing and work with anti-racist parents and students to organize integrated defense teams to replace the cops who have turned South Boston High School into a virtual concentration camp for black and white students alike.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 995-9245
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO . (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C

For Mass Militant Labor Action

Stop Nazi Demonstrations in Chicago!

No Sectarian Exclusion—No Appeals to Bosses' Cops!

CHICAGO, November 27 White racist violence on Chicago's southwest side is escalating as the Nazis (National Socialist White People's Party), based in Marquette Park, have launched increasingly aggressive attacks on blacks in neighboring West Englewood. The Nazi-inspired campaign of arson, fire-bombing, window-smashing and threats against black children included the vicious beating of a black reporter last August. Now this fascist filth is becoming ever bolder in its savage forays into the black community.

Over the last four years the Nazis have held some 40 rallies on the southwest side. Last February they ran four candidates in the city's elections for alderman, racking up 16 percent of the vote in one ward. Nazi head Frank Collin, the "White Man's Candidate," ran a race-hate campaign to "Stop the Black Invasion" of Marquette Park, an all-white neighborhood composed largely of Lithuanian and other East European-derived lower-income whites, also including an estimated 3,000 policemen. This is the neighborhood where Martin Luther King was stoned during a 1966 civil rights march.

The Nazis are preying on the backward social views and racial fears of the whites who have put their savings into the brick homes which make up Marquette Park. They have achieved a wide measure of toleration for their murderous racial poison and are becoming increasingly audacious in their night-riding attacks on black families buying homes on the borderline between West Englewood and Marquette Park.

Mayor Daley, interested in preserving Chicago's eroding image as a city "that works" and his own reputation as a tough guy who does not allow things to get "out of hand," would prefer to keep the lid on the seething racist cauldron. In addition, Daley was no doubt concerned to keep the Nazis from mucking around in Marquette Park, one of several lily-white areas of southwest Chicago which have been known as his electoral bailiwicks. The city administration recently prevented a Nazi rally by requiring a $500,000 bond as insurance on a city-owned house where the Nazis were planning to meet. On October 12, Frank Collin and some 30 of his degenerate supporters were arrested as they attempted to rampage into West Englewood where a militant anti-Nazi rally was being held with a wide range of socialist, black and labor organizations (see "Chicago Rally Against Nazi Provocation," *WV* No. 82, 24 October).

But only the most pathetically naive liberal or hardened cynic could claim to believe that the Daley machine is interested in the plight of oppressed racial minorities or can be "pressured" into defending the terrorized black families. This is the same Mayor Daley whose cops, in concert with the FBI, staged a 1969 pre-dawn raid on a Chicago Black Panther Party apartment, executing Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a hail of machine gun bullets while the Panther leaders lay in bed asleep. This is the Mayor Daley who openly laughs at press conferences when asked about discrimination in Chicago, whose administration is riddled with corruption, whose police department has had millions of dollars of federal revenue-sharing funds withheld because of its discriminatory practices, whose public schools have been denied aid because of segregation.

Daley and his brutal cops are the tools of the capitalists who feed on the overcrowded misery of Chicago's expanding black ghetto. Daley's machine is the servant of the local mortgage companies who make a quick profit on rapid turnover when black families cannot afford to meet their exorbitant payments. These callous manipulators of the lives and livelihood of black working people exemplify the inhuman racist system which ensures the continued poverty and degradation of the black masses.

The infamous Daley machine and its ruthless police department want to run Chicago their way, without "help" from Nazi vigilantes. But should the "normal" mechanisms of capitalist control prove insufficient, the bourgeoisie will turn in an instant to these shock troops of reaction to uphold the tyranny of capital. A prime source for the human garbage which will swell the fascists' ranks will be the police themselves. An older black policeman in the district covering Marquette Park admitted to a *WV* reporter that many cops in the area are already today active Nazi supporters.

Yet despite the purulent corruption and virulent racist brutality of Chicago's cops, it is precisely to these thugs that the Chicago Urban League and self-styled West Englewood "community leader" Willie Curtis have turned, pleading for more police "protection" for black people.

The Urban League has extensively documented over 40 incidents of tear-gas bombings, brick-throwing, arson, vandalism and threats against black families. The Chicago police have repeatedly turned a blind eye to these attacks. In fact, police spokesman Sgt. Myron Trunk claimed there have been "no serious incidents to justify" round-the-clock police details at individual homes (*Chicago Tribune*, 19 October). Willie Curtis was quick to respond, "If the police can't do the job, we'll do whatever is necessary." And what is necessary? Curtis obligingly specified: "going to the state for help or filing suit in Federal Court."

WV photo

October 12 anti-Nazi rally, Chicago.

Curtis was a featured speaker at the Student Coalition Against Racism meeting here on November 22. His policy of pressuring the capitalist government naturally delighted the reformist Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which dominates the group, although his blatant sexism and vehement polemics against integration caused less hardened SWP supporters to openly cringe. Curtis denounced the October 12 anti-Nazi rally, claiming that "any group of people have the right to demonstrate peacefully" and that blacks are being "used" by the left. Robert Williams of the Chicago Urban League is pushing the same threadbare anti-communist line: "The Nazis and those leftist groups are just trying to use people—black and white—who have a lot in common, and the police aren't doing enough to stop them" (*Chicago Tribune*, 19 October).

The SWP's perspective of relying on cops and federal troops to protect blacks leads it to cover up militant self-defense efforts. Since the SWP refuses to admit that independent labor-black defense is possible, therefore it is forced to deny that exemplary work in mobilizing resistance to racist attacks is actually taking place! For example, the *Militant* (21 November) carried an article on the Nazis' activities not even mentioning the

continued on page 11

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

88

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)

☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

Cleaver Comes Home to "Paradise"

Panthers Rot in Prison Hellholes

DECEMBER 1—Former Black Panther Party (BPP) Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver returned last week to the imperialist "Babylon" he left as a fugitive seven years ago. One of the most prominent opponents of racist American capitalism during the sixties, Cleaver "came home" to renounce his past militancy in a disgusting display of cynicism that is a slap in the face to the masses of black people who still confront cop terror and racist mob violence, and to the dozens of present or former Panthers who still rot behind bars. Turning his back on them, Cleaver whines, "Here I stand outside of the paradise I once scorned, begging to be let back in" (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 November)!

Jean-Pierre Tartral/Gamma-Liaison

Eldridge Cleaver

From lumpen convict to Black Muslim to a leader of the organization which was the most militant expression of black nationalism, Cleaver during the late 1960's was pitted in a fight against black oppression. Although lacking a program to challenge capitalist rule, his sharp denunciations of racism and open defiance of bourgeois state authority marked him in the eyes of the bourgeoisie as someone to get. Implicated in a shoot-out with Oakland, California, cops in April 1968 (during which 16-year-old BPP member Bobby Hutton was killed), Cleaver's parole was revoked and he fled the country to avoid a return to prison.

Viewing the ghetto rebellions of the sixties not as unorganized reactions to racial oppression and police violence, but rather as revolutionary battles directed toward the overthrow of capitalism, Cleaver was the main exponent of the urban-guerrillaist "pick-up-the-gun" strategy. The Panthers saw the dispossessed lumpen as the nucleus of the revolutionary vanguard, ignoring the vast social power of black workers as an integral part of the American industrial proletariat. The contradictions inherent in this nationalist, lumpen-based strategy eventually led to a split between the explicitly reformist Newton wing and the guerrillaist Cleaverites.

In exile in Algiers and isolated by the Newton majority of the party, Cleaver's ability to exert any influence over the black movement here rapidly ebbed. As he grew increasingly disillusioned with the bourgeois "left" nationalist leaders of Algeria and subsequently with the Stalinist bureaucrats in Havana and Peking, Cleaver lapsed into a long period of silent inactivity. Yet he was not politically naive, and no degree of disillusionment can justify the viciously anti-communist and pro-imperialist course he has now taken. Interviewed in *Rolling Stone* (11 September), Cleaver admonishes the same imperialist state which organized and carried out the legal lynching of so many of his ex-comrades to be "second to none militarily." He pleads with the murderers of Indochinese workers and peasants "to be truly the force for democracy... *we* have an obligation to help in the disintegration of the totalitarian Soviet regime."

Copping a plea, saying he only wants "a day in court," Cleaver cynically claims that U.S. society has improved for black people, thereby spitting on the memory of all those Black Panther Party martyrs whose "day in court" was a midnight raid where cops exercised instant "justice" by on-the-spot executions. Documents relinquished by the FBI in 1973 describe a national campaign (part of Cointelpro) to disrupt the Black Panther Party and other black nationalist groups beginning in 1967. The documents suggest that "...entirely fabricated documents would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader.... pinpointing Panthers as police or FBI informants; ridiculing or discrediting Panther leaders (for) their ineptness or personal escapades...indicating electronic coverage where none exists; outlining fictitious plans for police raids...revealing misuse or misappropriation of Panther funds" (*Chicago Daily News*, 22 May).

But even more ominous forms of "disruption" are indicated by the FBI's deep implication in the 1969 assassination of Illinois BPP leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark in a pre-dawn police raid. The raid was set up by William O'Neal, a paid informer infiltrated by the FBI into the Chicago Panthers. And this was no isolated incident of local police on the rampage. In the last nine months of 1969, police conducted 15 other surprise raids on BPP offices and apartments throughout the country. At least 28 Panthers had been victims of police killings by 1971. Others, like Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and John Huggins were shot down by members of the right-wing cultural nationalist U.S. organization led by Ron Karenga, now a self-proclaimed "Marxist-Leninist."

In the 1971 split the New York leadership was most closely identified with Cleaver's urban guerrilla line. Twenty-one New York Panthers were arrested in April 1969 and charged with conspiracy in a patently phony bomb plot. Acquitted after spending nearly two years in jail, most of the Panther 21 were back in prison shortly on other charges. The burning desire of the ruling class to frame up these black rebels was shown in the recently concluded hearing of Robert Collier, one of the 21, who following his acquittal in the 1969-71 trial was spied on day and night by an undercover cop working for the New York Police Department's Bureau of Special Services. The BOSS agent produced 500 pages of reports for his employers, but this mass of paper did not prove "illegal activities" by Collier but only BOSS' persecution of black militants.

Some of the other Panther 21 were instrumental in the formation of the ill-fated Black Liberation Army (BLA), a loosely organized group that engaged in random attacks on the police and other manifestations of bourgeois repression in order to keep alive the spirit of ghetto rebellion. Alleged BLAers still in prison include Joanne Chesimard, Herman Bell, Fred Hilton, Henry Brown, Albert Washington, Richard Moore and Clark Squire. Squire, in particular, faces a sentence of life plus 24 to 30 years!

On the West Coast, San Quentin Prison houses Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt, former Southern California BPP Minister of Defense. Pratt, charged with assault and murder, was arrested last year with Panther Ronald Freeman. Freeman is up on a charge of conspiracy. Another Panther, Johnny Larry Spain, is one of the San Quentin Six. Spain is taken into the courtroom daily, bound in chains and shackled to his chair, to face charges stemming from the August 1971 "escape attempt" apparently engineered by prison authorities as a pretext for the cold-blooded execution of BPP leader George Jackson.

Lance Bell and Bradley Green were arrested on charges of murder stemming from a shoot-out in Chicago in 1969. The police attack on them was viewed by many as a dress rehearsal by Daley's cops for the massacre of Hampton and Clark. Another Chicago Panther, Arthur Lee, is also in jail.

Veron "T.C." Benton, a Black Panther Party member in Houston, is in jail on charges of armed robbery. Robert Heard, Oakland Black Panther leader, is serving one to five years on an assault conviction in Oakland. David Rice and Ed Poindexter, leaders of the Panther-supported National Committee to Combat Fascism, are serving life sentences in Omaha for the 1970 bombing death of a cop. The New York-based National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, which includes the NYC Black Panther Party, lists other "prisoners of war" including Michael Alston, Thomas McCreary, Harold Simmons, Oscar Washington, William Owens, Robert Malik Brown and Joseph Bowen.

Unlike various New Left-liberal guilt-tripping groups like the International Socialists and the Revolutionary Union, the Spartacist League never hid criticisms of the Panthers' nationalist ideology and adventurist tactics. We attempted to win these potentially valuable cadre through political struggle to a working-class orientation as the only road to black liberation. At the same time, we have always stood in the forefront of those forces fighting for the freedom of Black Panther Party political prisoners victimized by the racist capitalist state.

Our tasks are no less clear in relation to lumpen-militarists and self-proclaimed advocates of guerrilla struggle such as the BLA. It is the duty of communists to defend militants imprisoned for acts of violence against the police and symbols of capitalist oppression, committed with the intention of striking a blow on behalf of the oppressed. However wrong-headed and self-defeating the tactics of individual political terrorism may be, many of these would-be guerrilla warriors have fought and died in the hope of bringing down the murderous capitalist system. This is particularly important today since many fake socialists are no longer concerned with the elementary task of proletarian solidarity now that the BPP has lost its hegemony among black organizations on the left.

Cleaver's grovelling may yet win him the lighter sentence and "respectability" he so desperately craves from this racist "force for democracy." Other quislings have already traveled his path. But the bourgeoisie does not grant general amnesties in the class war. One or two prominent sellouts like Cleaver are quite sufficient for public relations purposes. Freedom for imprisoned black militants will not be doled out in return for "changes of heart" and exemplary rehabilitation in prison hell-holes. It can only be won as part of the struggle to smash racial oppression through proletarian revolution.■

UPI

Fred Hampton

NY Post

Joanne Chesimard

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current Issue—

- Stop CIA/NSA Recruitment on Campus!
- For a NYC General Strike Against Cutbacks, Layoffs!
- UN Den of Thieves "Debates" Zionism, Political Prisoners
- RSB: Going Nowhere
- YSA Lectures Protesters on "Rights for Fascists"
- Campaign Puts Heat on Pinochet's "Chicago Boys"

SUBSCRIBE NOW!
$2/11 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____ 88

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

UAW Militants Win Right to Leaflet

We publish below an interview with Lisa Diamond, an assembly worker at Ford's plant in Mahwah, New Jersey, and a member of the Militant Solidarity Caucus (MSC) of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 906. The MSC recently won a decision before the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) striking down a company rule which had prohibited the Caucus from distributing its literature to union members on company property.

The union leadership had been permitted by the company to distribute its own material inside the plant gates, and expressed no interest in fighting for oppositional groups to have the same right. Repeatedly refused permission by Ford to distribute on company property, the MSC filed suit against the company under the National Labor Relations Act. A hearing was held, and the findings of the Administrative Law Judge were later upheld by the NLRB. The decision was reported in the Bergen County Record, *the* New York Times, *and on WABC and WCBS radio.*

The right to effectively distribute literature to one's fellow employees—which usually means at or in the workplace—is central to the right to organize unions, which was fought for and finally won by the workers in bitter struggles. The Supreme Court interpreted the right to distribute literature as part of the right to organize in a decision in 1973, granting union officials the right to distribute literature, which by no coincidence also ensures that anti-union elements would be given free reign to propagandize against unions without interference. But subsequent NLRB decisions in dozens of cases have confirmed the right to distribute on company property for pro-union groups opposed to the existing labor misleaders. However, the lack of a general union struggle to realize this right for the bulk of union members has allowed it to remain completely ignored in most plants and industries.

WV: You just won a victory for the right to distribute literature on company property. What do you see as the importance of your struggle for distribution rights to the workers at Mahwah, the United Auto Workers and labor as a whole?

Diamond: This decision gives the members of our Local the right to distribute literature at the inner gates, or in the cafeteria, or some other "non-working area" of the plant, instead of having to stand on the highway ramps, off company property, where cars are speeding by. This right is vital for any oppositionist or union member seeking to influence the membership and policies of the union, since it is obviously impossible to reach the members from the highway. A union can only advance if its membership is allowed to hammer out the merits of different courses of action. It is now possible that members with oppositional views will not fear to put them forward. This will not be to the advantage of our present union leaders, either here or in Detroit, which is why they didn't do anything to win it.

The right to communicate militant and oppositional ideas to the members is vital to the unions themselves, and to the workers' right to organize. It's no surprise that the courts and NLRB do not recognize the unrestricted right of free speech on company property, since the "right" of private property is fundamental to capitalism. But thanks to the bitter struggles by the working class during the 1930's and 1940's, the right to organize unions was forcibly extracted from the capitalists. Because of this, and in spite of the reactionary labor laws, the NLRB was forced to grant us a ruling that Ford's refusal to let us leaflet on company property was illegal.

Naturally, we do not expect Ford Motor Company to go along with this decision without further attempts to stop us and smash our democratic rights. The Militant Solidarity Caucus has a far-reaching program of class struggle against Ford and the rest of the giant corporations that rule this country and the world, and we intend to begin exercising our right to put it forward. Already, twice as many workers are receiving our leaflets as before!

WV: You mentioned that the Militant Solidarity Caucus has a far-reaching program of class struggle. I understand the lawyer for Ford tried to show in the hearing that your leaflets were irrelevant to workers in the plant because they dealt with unemployment, ending restrictions on wages, expropriation of industry and other broad social issues and demands!

Diamond: Of course the company lawyer tried to make our program seem irrelevant. The company program is that workers should shut up, do their work and let the companies and their politicians run society! Our leaflets are immediately relevant to events at Mahwah and to the UAW. One that came up in the hearing was about a company attempt to schedule overtime in violation of the contract. Ford did this by declaring that Mahwah was a "new" plant just because it was producing a new model! This trickery enabled them to get through a loophole in the last contract, the one Woodcock claimed prevented overtime. Our local officials were ignoring this violation.

So our leaflet called for resistance to forced overtime throughout the entire industry and in our plant through strike action. We also called for an industry-wide strike to win a substantial wage hike, a full cost-of-living escalator

Lisa Diamond WV photo

clause and a shorter workweek at no loss in pay to make more work for all. Why should one plant work overtime when thousands of auto workers and other workers are laid off? On another occasion when our plant faced layoffs, we called for use of sit-down strikes to stop layoffs.

It's not hard to see why Ford wants to say our program is "irrelevant" to workers at Mahwah! The answer to lousy working conditions comes down to the question of who owns and controls the factories. We call for expropriating industry and establishing a planned economy controlled by a workers government.

WV: How did the NLRB Administrative Law Judge draw a distinction between the leaflets he said were protected, and the one on the elections and workers party that wasn't?

Diamond: The judge's position is that protected leaflets must speak to conditions in the plant. Evidently he would like the workers to think that politics does not affect conditions in the plant. We pointed out in the hearing that what takes place in Washington has a good deal of relevance to conditions in the plant, through taxes, economic policy, labor laws, wage controls and so on and on. The judge's ruling would allow discussion of these issues only where it is "social commentary" contained in leaflets dealing with "plant issues." It should be clear that the courts and Labor Board are tools of the ruling class and cannot be counted on to protect the rights of the workers. In fact, numerous other cases have already established the right to leaflet on company property, and yet this right is ignored in the vast majority of plants and industries. It's mainly because of the inaction of the union leadership that this right remains largely dormant.

There's another point, related to our court suit, that I want to bring out. Because the union tops don't fight, union militants and oppositionists can sometimes make small gains by going to the courts or Labor Board against the companies or against the government itself. But a lot of militants extend this to include taking unions or their leaders to court for various bureaucratic abuses. This is a disastrous error which we firmly oppose. It can only lead to greater control by the bosses' government over the labor movement.

WV: What has been the role of the UAW bureaucracy on the leafletting issue?

Diamond: Our local officials were completely uninterested in filing a grievance or in any way taking up this struggle, so we had to take the company to the NLRB on our own. The UAW leadership likes to pay lip service to union democracy, but in fact they're not interested at all in having a free and open debate on strategy for labor within the membership. If they ever had a free debate in the UAW, Woodcock would run the danger of having his sellout policies exposed and he and his flunkies might be tossed out!

The officials like to have the opposition out on the highway while they hand out their leaflets in the plant. The company will rope off a section of the parking lot anytime they ask, just so that union officials can hand out propaganda for the Democratic Party. But when we want to hand out a leaflet demanding a break with both capitalist parties and for a workers party based on the trade unions, the answer is "no." As a matter of fact, the answer is still "no," since the judge turned down our right to distribute a leaflet solely on this issue, saying it infringed on Ford's property rights!

I'll give you an example of how this works out. During last November's elections our officials campaigned in the parking lot for Byrne for New Jersey governor. They said he would be a "friend of labor." So Byrne's first official act in office was to try to smash the New Jersey State College teachers strike. Our Local was aiding this strike by letting the strikers use our union hall, while the man our officials helped elect is trying to break it! And the judge won't defend our right to distribute a leaflet denouncing him and calling for a workers party supposedly because it's irrelevant! If class-struggle militants had the same rights to oppose the Democrats as the bureaucrats do to support them, it would be much harder the next time for the union officials to get away with pushing the next phony Democrat that comes along.

WV photo

Militant Solidarity Caucus leafletting at inner-plant gate after NLRB decision.

WV: The union officials enjoy a privileged position, enhanced by the company, through which they attempt to appear as the only legitimate representatives of the workers.

Diamond: Sure, the officials like having us out on the highway because it makes us appear to be "outsiders" while they are the "voice of the membership." Two years ago we had a spontaneous, unofficial strike over the firing of a popular union vice-president who was

continued on page 11

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

Lisbon . . .

(continued from page 1)

"far left" and with General Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho, until Wednesday head of the COPCON security forces and military governor of the Lisbon region. Immediate steps were taken against the military police regiment (RPM) and the Lisbon light artillery regiment (RALIS), both of which have large numbers of soldiers to the left of the Communist Party (CP) and which the high command has been unable to control for months. Soldiers from these units had been clearly in evidence at demonstrations defending strikes, such as the construction workers' siege of the Constituent Assembly and Premier Jose Pinheiro de Azevedo in São Bento Palace for a day and a half earlier this month.

Although neither the RPM nor RALIS took more than defensive action during Tuesday's military revolt in the capital, it was against them that the government moved. The paratroopers, who launched the revolt and have until recently been aligned with the right, were allowed to retreat in order. The only firefight of the entire crisis took place about 9 a.m. Wednesday morning at Belem Palace (residence of President Francisco da Costa Gomes) when Commandos from the Amadora regiment headed by notorious right winger Jaime Neves opened up on the hopelessly outgunned military police. One MP was killed as were three Commandos. The RPM, RALIS and several other military units of the Lisbon district (including the paratroopers) have now been disarmed and disbanded, or dispersed to different bases around the country.

Equally significant, at the top levels of the military virtually all leftist and ostensibly radical officers have been purged. Most prominent, of course, are Carvalho and Carlos Fabião, army chief of staff, both of whom were allowed to resign their posts. Not so fortunate were 51 others who were arrested, several of them transferred immediately to the Custodias prison in Porto. Among those reportedly arrested were Major Dinis de Almeida (operational commander of RALIS), Commanders Campos Andrada and Tome (chief and deputy chief of the RPM) and several members of the former Fifth Division (a CP-dominated agit-prop unit dissolved last summer). In addition, about an equal number of soldiers were arrested in Porto for joining a rally against the massive repression in Lisbon.

Role of the Socialist Party

With the large-scale purge of the left in the armed forces, the "moderates" of the MFA have for the first time since the appearance of the sixth provisional government in mid-September consolidated a considerable margin for maneuver for the right-center regime. Last week's confrontation graphically revealed the absence of both a revolutionary party capable of leading masses forward and a soviet organization which could centralize resistance to the rightist crackdown. The tremendous disorganization of the left and deep divisions in the working class were laid bare. As a result of the treacherous policies of both the CP and Socialist Party (SP) leaderships, which snipe at each other while tying the masses to class-collaborationist popular-front governments, the combative workers and soldiers simply did not know how to respond to the right-wing power play.

While most followers of the Socialist Party probably believed claims that the CP was attempting a coup to impose a dictatorship, there was widespread unease over the total suspension of democratic rights by the victorious "moderates." Crowds gathered daily throughout Lisbon to debate the situation, but without any sense of direction. By and large people were just wandering around in confusion. The SP conspicuously refrained from any active part in the events, providing its supporters with no leadership. It issued a brief communiqué Wednesday morning in the form of a leaflet stating that the:

> "SP has, with its mass mobilizations and its network of news, played a decisive role in the movements of the democratic forces, cooperating with the military forces loyal to the government, the Revolutionary Council and the president."

Saying nothing about the clampdown on the press (including pro-SP papers) and broadcast media, the statement appealed only for "firmness, revolutionary vigilance and serenity of all democrats."

This restraint was in marked contrast to Mario Soares' increasingly inflammatory rhetoric of recent days. The SP leader repeatedly challenged the Communist Party to civil war, including in his speech at the mass rally held in Lisbon on Sunday, November 23. The rally, which added fuel to the developing crisis, was attended by some 60,000-80,000 people, largely petty-bourgeois in composition and intensely anti-CP. There were neither leftist soldiers' nor organized workers' contingents present. Speakers hailed Jaime Neves and his Commandos, while demanding the ouster of Carvalho as a traitor.

The tenor of the crowd was indicated by their chants. One of the more graphic was, "The hammer and sickle in the head of Otelo!" Carvalho had become the focus of rightist vituperation particularly due to his refusal to break up the construction workers' demonstration and because (under pressure from leftist units in the capital) he briefly resisted the Revolutionary Council's attempt to dismiss him as commander of the Lisbon Military Region. Other slogans included: "Death to Cunhal [head of the CP], death to Carvalho!" "Communists to Siberia!" and—using Maoist terminology for the pro-Moscow Stalinists—"Down with social-fascism!" One of the right-wing Angolan refugee groups had mobilized its supporters for the Socialist demonstration, and at one point a section of the crowd cried "Down with the MPLA!"

But despite this kind of fire-and-brimstone build-up, the SP was passive during and after November 25. Its failure to call for demonstrations of support for the SP-dominated sixth government was certainly influenced by the fact that while Soares has aligned himself far to the right, the party's working-class supporters are anti-fascist and pro-socialist. Among the ranks there was undoubtedly opposition to the suppression of democratic rights and blanket freeze on wage increases. Another reason for the SP's restraint was a deliberate government policy of avoiding any decisive test of strength with the workers—a demonstration of just how fragile the center-right regime considers its hold on the country to be.

A Cautious Repression

Portugal's rulers avoided confrontations with proletarian strongholds last week. We can safely say that while the workers suffered an important defeat during the crisis, it is far from decisive. The major points of working-class resistance were the Lisnave and Setenave shipyards, Siderurgia Nacional steel plant, Sorefame and several other Lisbon-area factories, all of which struck against the declaration of a state of emergency and the attack on the leftist military units. The government made absolutely no move against the strikes, which occurred on Wednesday and Thursday. When workers under Communist Party leadership marched out of Lisnave at 10 a.m. Wednesday morning to go to the town of Setubal to defend the garrison there, no one was arrested. And although all demonstrations are now illegal, a rally by the Maoist Popular Democratic Union (UDP) at the railway station near Lisbon airport lasted for two days without being attacked (it reputedly drew several thousand people).

Jaime Neves (left) and Otelo Carvalho

Der Spiegel

A similar note of caution was exercised in suppressing the press. The CP and SP totally capitulated to the ban, each issuing only one leaflet as of today. However, newspapers of the UDP and the Reorganizing Movement of the Proletarian Party (MRPP), another Maoist group, appeared all over the city daily. The MRPP produced and distributed its regular edition of *Luta Popular* late Wednesday afternoon, a full 18 hours after the state of emergency was imposed. In the absence of the bourgeois press and the SP/CP presses, all day long crowds gathered to read leftist communiqués.

At no time were pro-government troops in sight in Lisbon, although by Wednesday afternoon (after the paras had retreated from the air bases) jets and old prop fighter bombers made periodic runs over the city. There was also no attempt made to close or occupy leftist offices, except for a small number of troops from the Republican National Guard (GNR), a paramilitary police force, which surrounded *Republica* newspaper. One reason for this sparse use of military force is that, according to various reports, the government has no more than 1,000 reliable troops in the immediate vicinity of Lisbon, and a smaller number of GNR and other militarized police. Thus all the available "loyalist" troops were tied up in the confrontations with the left-wing regiments the government was attempting to disarm.

To have any chance of success the high command had to move quickly and decisively, which it did. Late Tuesday evening the state of emergency was declared and TV and radio stations were retaken from the very small number of leftist troops who had occupied them. Wednesday morning the military police regiment was surrounded and attacked. By that afternoon the paratroopers had pulled out of the Montijo, Monsanto and Monte Real air bases. On Thursday the RALIS officers surrendered and only in the evening, after being abandoned by their leaders, did the non-commissioned officers and ranks of the artillery unit submit.

One interesting and significant event occurred in the appearance of Costa Gomes on television late Wednesday to denounce the leftists' "counterrevolutionary coup" and appeal to the insurgent troops to surrender. General Carvalho who demonstrated his worth to the bourgeoisie by remaining silent throughout the fracas, while troops loyal to him waited for encouragement and direction—appeared ostentatiously at the president's side during the telecast! Although Carvalho's career has clearly received a setback, this demonstration of loyalty to the officer corps meant that he is still a free man today while his subordinates are locked up.

Stalinist Treachery

Jaime Neves, the field commander of the pro-government forces (which essentially consisted of nothing more than his Commandos), was able to obtain victory due to the lack of common organization of the leftist forces and because of the utterly despicable treachery of the Communist Party. Numerically the left-wing military units were far superior in the capital region. By all accounts, in terms of armaments the paratroopers are the equal of the Commandos, and RALIS is the best-armed unit in the district. Yet they lacked the central command and even basic communication to know what each was doing, thus allowing Neves to pick them off one by one. And judging from the absence of any massive anti-government demonstration or other show of working-class force (barricades, for instance), it is evident that there was even less coordination with civilian leftists.

Meanwhile, the CP was protecting Neves' rear and flanks by making it clear that it would not resist the state of emergency in any way. Late Tuesday evening when Costa Gomes was just beginning to make his move, the Stalinists issued their statement. The central committee declaration warned of bloody confrontations between "forces and sectors that themselves work for the revolutionary process" and called for a "political solution" while significantly omitting a specific call for the ouster of the PPD from the government (the focus of its agitation in recent weeks)! Thus the CP leadership in effect announced that Jaime Neves and the MFA right wing are part of "the revolutionary process" and everything could be solved simply by reshuffling the ministerial portfolios.

The communiqué warned against rightist rule and called for a "government of the left," but it also said that "the forces of the left also committed a grave error in overestimating their own forces and attempting some desperate acts." What were the workers to do in this situation? The statement counseled: "The moment demands great serenity and great confidence in the future." In other words, sit on your hands! Meanwhile, with both the Stalinists and social democrats calling for "serenity," Jaime

Neves was serenely arresting and disarming leftist troops.

Through the course of the crisis the Stalinists kept their word. Pro-CP officers reportedly urged leftist officers to surrender. The strikes which occurred in strategic plants — while certainly done with the Communist Party's knowledge and probably toleration, since with the exception of Lisnave these plants are CP-dominated — were kept isolated. The navy, reputedly the most Stalinist-influenced branch of the armed forces, remained conspicuously out of sight. And, so far at least, the purge in the navy has been much less extensive than elsewhere.

While the world bourgeois press as well as the SP and MRPP here have claimed that the Communist Party played a direct role in the military revolt (which they term an attempted coup), the facts indicate otherwise. Rather, through bureaucratic maneuvers designed to replace the sixth government with a seventh somewhat more to the left, the CP sparked a series of events which got out of hand, forcing it to repudiate them. Simply from an organizational standpoint the party has demonstrated several times in the past its capacity for rapid and coordinated action, something that was wholly absent among leftist units in Lisbon last week.

A look at the construction workers strike earlier this month shows what the CP was up to. It evidently built the strike, focusing purely on wage demands (although for a substantial 45 percent), and was behind the mobilization of tens of thousands of Lisbon-area workers to a strike support demonstration on November 12. But at the same time that it sought to turn the construction strike into a demonstration that the country could not be governed without the support of the CP, it also limited the political perspective to calls for a "government of the left" (demonstrators chanted "Vasco, Vasco, Vasco!" referring to the deposed head of the fifth government). The CP sought to distance itself from the highly risky siege of the constituent assembly, without much effect, but did succeed in seeing to it that the construction strike was not generalized.

A revolutionary leadership, taking advantage of the support for the strike among the entire Lisbon working class (who are being hard hit by inflation), would have called a general strike for a substantial across-the-board raise equal to that demanded by the construction workers and for a sliding scale of wages. SP workers could have been drawn to such a call, thus facilitating working-class unity in struggle against the bosses. Such a strike could also have served as the springboard for establishing a central workers council representing all the workers commissions, a step which is so desperately needed in the face of the tragic division of the Portuguese proletariat, today aligned behind two equally treacherous reformist parties. Recognizing Lisbon's relative isolation from more backward sections of the country, and the fact that the siege of the constituent assembly directly posed the question of state power in the absence of a revolutionary party recognized by the masses as their leadership, a Trotskyist nucleus would have warned against adventurist actions. It would have posed instead the need for mass mobilizations around far-reaching transitional demands capable of joining together the industrial workers of the Lisbon suburbs, the agricultural workers of the south, the white collar government and commercial employees of the capital and the exploited poor peasants of the north. Such demands would include expropriation of industry, commerce and all large landholdings, and the institution of rational economic planning under a workers government based on soviet organs of proletarian power.

Der Spiegel

Pro-government troops after the November 25 military revolt in Lisbon.

The Sorry Role of the "Far Left"

In response to the Socialist Party's violently anti-Communist rally Sunday, the next day (November 24) the CP-led provisional secretariat of the workers commissions of Lisbon's industrial belt hastily called a two-hour general strike. Among its demands were opposition to any rightward move in the capital district (i.e., to the threatened destitution of Carvalho), for a government of the left, dismissal of rightist generals (including Neves) and "material solidarity with the comrade paratroopers of Tancos," who were waging a fight against the disbanding of their unit. Typically, the CP packed the workers into the plants during this brief political strike, thus minimizing its impact, afraid that street demonstrations could quickly mushroom out of its bureaucratic control.

Monday night was the turning point. In response to blockades erected on the main north-south highway by conservative farmers after a meeting at Rio Maior (the town north of Lisbon where the first Communist Party office was burned down last July), and to a series of provocative sorties by Neves' commandos, the paratroopers moved. They must have taken seriously the promise of the CP-led general strike that they would be given "material support," and the bombastic posturing by some of the Stalinists' leftist fellow-travellers may have inspired the parachutists as well. In particular, the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP), a Guevarist syndicalist group, has been issuing repeated pronouncements for "insurrection" in recent weeks and in late October announced that its "Revolutionary Brigades" (BR) were going underground.

The events of the last week made brutally clear the desperate need for soviet organs bringing together the workers and soldiers and for a revolutionary Trotskyist party capable of breaking the reformists' hammerlock on the proletariat and leading it forward with both audacity and vigilance. A centralized council, representing the hundreds of workers, soldiers and neighborhood commissions — a national workers assembly could have coordinated the leftists' defense. It might also have stopped the debacle in the first place by hindering precipitous, isolated actions. Detecting moods of adventurism among politically less experienced and more volatile sections of the troops, a revolutionary nucleus could have challenged these tendencies to open debate in a representative soviet, so that impatient elements might be educated in advance instead of through the bitter lessons of abject defeat.

Yet there is no central workers and soldiers council in Portugal today, due in large part to the sectarianism and the political capitulation before the MFA of most of the so-called "far left." Among the Maoists, the two largest groups (UDP and MRPP) both publicly challenged the state of emergency and called for centralization of the workers commissions in response to the crisis. Yet neither called explicitly for the immediate formation of a central soviet and neither presented a program leading to proletarian revolution.

The MRPP considers the CP "social-fascist" and states flatly that the present clash was precipitated at the direction of the Kremlin in order to unleash a counterrevolutionary civil war. With this policy toward the Communist Party, the MRPP has precluded any possibility of reaching the CP's ranks with appeals for united-front action. (The MRPP rejects united fronts even among the several Maoist groups.) During the summer the MRPP further hardened the organizational barriers by hailing, and according to several accounts participating in, right-wing terror attacks on CP offices.

Now, faced with the government's draconian crackdown in the aftermath of November 25, *they refused to call for the repeal of the state of emergency or for the fall of the sixth government!* In fact, given the leadership of some of the units involved (the military police officers sympathetic to the UDP, RALIS influenced by both the PRP and CP), the MRPP also *refused to call for defense of the leftist units from government attack.* Class-conscious workers will not forget such backstabbing treachery.

The UDP is softer on the Communist Party in comparison to the MRPP, and instead of concentrating its fire exclusively on the CP did warn of dangers of a fascist coup; it also called for a general strike. But like the MRPP, the UDP calls for a "popular democratic" and not a socialist revolution, thus revealing its fundamental Stalinist reformism, qualitatively no different from the pro-Moscow party or the CIA-financed SP. In fact, the UDP's politics are not too different from those of various organizations in the so-called "Revolutionary United Front" (FUR), such as the PRP or the social-democratic Left Socialist Movement (MES). The main reason the UDP is not in the FUR at this moment is not because the latter gave support to the bourgeois fifth government or calls for an alliance with the bourgeois officer corps (this is only natural for a "popular democratic" stage of a Menshevik "two-stage" schema), but because of the presence of a "Trotskyist" group in the FUR.

For a Trotskyist Party in Portugal!

There are two main organizations in Portugal claiming to represent Trotskyism, the Internationalist Communist League (LCI) and the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT). The LCI is the sympathizing organization of the United Secretariat (USec) and lines up politically with Mandel's European majority, while the PRT is not formally affiliated with the USec and aligns itself with the reformist minority headed by the U.S. Socialist Workers Party and the Argentine PST. During the coup the LCI seemed badly disoriented. While they distributed leaflets and did produce an issue of its irregular newspaper, LCI cadre were clearly taken aback by the adventurism of some of their FUR colleagues. As a result there was a certain organizational paralysis.

This immobility is deepened by what are known to be deep splits within the LCI itself, with a sector favoring guerrillaism of the PRP BR type, another remaining mainstream Mandelite (that is, retaining a certain veneer of ostensible Trotskyism as opposed to the PRP's blatant MIR-like eclecticism), and a third favoring the PRT. While the LCI called for a general strike, centralizing of workers and neighborhood commissions for self defense, etc., it pointedly did not criticize the bourgeois character of the CP-dominated fifth government, which in large measure prepared the present crisis with its temporizing and conciliation of rightist forces. In essence, though the CP is now out of the FUR and former premier Gonçalves has since fallen, the LCI has not broken from the politics which made it a left cover for the MFA when it signed the August 25 communiqué inaugurating the FUR.

During the last year the PRT has oscillated no less wildly than the unstable LCI. After opposing the Armed Forces Movement as a bourgeois political formation ever since April 1974, suddenly last summer it discovered the MFA to be "petty-bourgeois" with a "semi-soviet" sector (namely General Carvalho). Then the PRT veered back toward more ostensibly orthodox Trotskyist positions in late August by correctly labelling the FUR "popular-frontist." It is the only major group which during the recent crisis called for an elected soviet of workers and soldiers councils. But while the PRT called for a government elected by such a body, it did not explicitly call for a workers government counterposed to the government of the bourgeoisie, instead simply stressing the democratic aspect of elections. This is no doubt closely related to its call, during the spring 1975 elections, for a "workers and people's government...which would then call a sovereign Constituent Assembly"!

While representing a major setback to the workers movement, the defeat of November 25 and its aftermath was not the final and decisive blow. Given the continuing weakness of the bonapartist regime, it will have to garner some measure of popular support by eventually restoring certain bourgeois democratic liberties. (The government, which called off its "strike" following the military command's ouster of left-wing officers, has announced it will restore television and radio by December 3, although the daily newspapers will not be permitted to reopen until purged of pro-CP elements.)

The rapid growth of both major bourgeois workers parties over the last year means that their ranks are not hardened and are susceptible to propaganda and proposals for united action from an alternative leadership with a coherent revolutionary program. A glimpse of the possibilities was seen during the state of emergency when both the CP and SP took a dive, and the "far left" parties attempted to fill the vacuum. But none of them possessed a revolutionary program of intransigent struggle against the reformist misleaders combined with principled united-front action which alone could galvanize the tens of thousands of combative workers into a powerful revolutionary vanguard. Such a Trotskyist party can only be constructed as part of the struggle to reforge the Fourth International as a unified world party of socialist revolution. ■

CIA...

(continued from page 1)

targets listed in the report, only Castro and his brother remain alive.

The FBI and Martin Luther King

The Senate Committee also turned up the information that the FBI had maintained a campaign of slanders and harassment against black militants and civil-rights activists. Officials and lawyers indicated the style of FBI wrecking operations—the FBI told how, concentrating its fire on race-sex relations, it sent letters to the husbands and wives of civil-rights activists alleging that their spouses were having sexual relations with blacks, or alternatively with whites. This race-baiting is a standard disruptive tactic for the FBI. A few days before King was assassinated the FBI leaked the story (printed in the local press) that King was staying in a "white-owned" hotel in Memphis during a boycott of white merchants.

It is clear that the FBI wanted King "out of the way" and it is no wonder that some are now calling for a re-opening of the assassination case to see what role might have been played by government agencies for whom character assassination may not have been enough. The assassinations of Malcolm X, Fred Hampton and others must also be re-examined—but not by government whitewash committees!

Like the liberals who pretend that CIA assassinations went on only in the past, black liberals are now expressing shock and dismay at the exposure of the FBI's crimes. Jesse Jackson of PUSH pronounced the revelations "utterly appalling and in conflict with every American ideal and principle of democratic government." But there is nothing at all unpredictable or inconsistent in the behavior of the FBI and its notoriously racist chief! Today it continues its persecution of black militants.

Jesse Jackson, schooled by King, sees no irony in the fact that it was the FBI to which King turned to protect black people in the South. "Dr. King said the FBI was not doing its job" Jackson said in an interview with the *Amsterdam News* (3 December). But harassing black militants was precisely the job of the U.S. government's political police and continues to be today. The Dr. Pangloss-style reformism of King and Jackson only makes life more dangerous for those who follow these peddlers of the "American ideal."

Exposure/Confession/Cover-up

The exposure/confession/cover-up cycle has been routine in Washington since Watergate. After a web of CIA/FBI atrocities is leaked to the press, usually by ex-agents or CIA officials looking for organizational streamlining, it is summarily denied by the government agency involved; then there is an investigation by a government committee and a confession; finally, a few reforms are suggested. But these days the CIA/FBI denials are simply not believed. The credibility of the government is so low and the dirty tricks so well-known that the charges can no longer be dismissed as paranoid delusions. The exposure of the vast extent of CIA/FBI illegal operations has given new meaning to the modern saying: even paranoids have enemies.

But Gerald Ford objects. "Public release of these official materials and information will do grievous damage to our country," he wails (*New York Times*, 21 November). The Senate committee has nothing of the sort in mind. Sen. Frank Church has learned his lesson from the Watergate scandal and wants some cosmetic reforms of the CIA/FBI. He and his committee are not in favor of dismantling even the clandestine operations of the CIA/FBI, but the committee will suggest a law against assassination plots! Certainly Church is not for damaging the so-called national interest, and when confronted on this point by President Ford, he answered that "foreigners proudly admired the ability of the United States 'to look at what's gone wrong'" (*New York Times*, 10 November). The Voice of America, U.S. international propaganda radio news program, apparently has the same view, for on November 20 the VOA opened its dinner-hour broadcast with the following item:

> "In Washington a Senate investigation reveals that the United States Central Intelligence Agency was involved in several plots to kill foreign leaders."

Wide World

Martin Luther King with Rev. Jesse Jackson (PUSH) shortly before King's assassination. FBI tried to drive King to suicide. Poison pen letter said, "There is but one way out for you."

The liberals wait expectantly for approving pats on the head in recognition of their up-front style.

The post-Watergate liberals opt for the confessional Voice of America while Ford and the "intelligence community" try to maintain radio silence. But the differences between the presidential hopeful Church and President Ford are differences over how to handle the fact that the exposures have already been made and are believed. It is not that Church is trying to expose the CIA while Ford is trying to cover up. Church only represents a less artless cover-up while Ford and some CIA agents insist on trying to brazen it out.

In fact, the entire confession melodrama really is an elaborate cover-up for present CIA/FBI policies. One government committee elicits the confessions of another agency, implying and often asserting that the present regime has nothing in common with this sordid past. The Select Committee report takes the opportunity to "condemn the use of assassination as a tool of foreign policy," adding that such practice "violates moral precepts fundamental to our way of life."

The Committee "found no evidence that any foreign leader was killed as a result of assassination plots initiated by officers of the United States" (!) and further that no president of the United States had directly ordered the killing of a foreign leader. Instead, the report finds the presidents "guilty" only of a sort of abstract bureaucratic responsibility, saying that former presidents "should have known about the plots." The report is an obvious attempt to whitewash the oval office and the reputation of U.S. foreign policy.

Direct responsibility for assassinations and other illegal activities is documented in the ambiguous language of "plausible denial." The Church Committee wants the public to believe that top U.S. officials were not part of the decisions to assassinate foreign leaders. Yet the testimony indicates that Eisenhower was directly involved in the plot to kill Lumumba, and Kennedy in the plot to kill Castro.

The Church Committee finds no "direct orders" because the entire intelligence apparatus talks and writes in a cynical code, a kind of *deathspeak* in which references are made to "doing something" about Castro when the clear intention is to assassinate him. One report refers to a 1960 National Security meeting in which there were suggestions that "direct positive action" be taken against Castro and his close associates. When pressed about such terms as "getting rid of" and "actions against," former CIA director Richard Helms was finally forced to acknowledge that he interpreted them as "conveying authority for assassinations" (*New York Times*, 21 November).

While Ford announces that constant exposure and the Senate report threaten "national security," the disclosures seem to have caused only minor problems. Some U.S. corporations are less likely to provide cover jobs for CIA operatives; besides lowered morale, there is a general confusion in the field about how to cover up. According to a *New York Times* (10 November) CIA source, the field operatives now have "to check back home" to find out what is permissible. To the extent that the effectiveness of this organized counterrevolutionary assassination corps can be undercut, so much the better. But for the most part the dirty work goes on as usual.

The hearings must be opened to the public with full TV coverage and no closed sessions so that all might see the investigation of the CIA/FBI and know what questions are *not* asked as well as what questions are not answered. In every confession it is crucial to know what is confessed. The Senate report mentions the assassination of dictator Trujillo, for instance, but does not deal with the U.S. military intervention in the Dominican Republic. Likewise it completely ignores the massive domestic CIA disruption program called *Operation Chaos*.

> **"Hitherto acceptable norms of human conduct do not apply."**
>
> **—CIA document**

Today, while liberal investigators and cooperative CIA witnesses admit the "errors" of the ways of the Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations, the Ford administration is creating and backing right-wing terror in Portugal. While pious confessions of well-known past sins are listed, the CIA is right now pouring millions of dollars into the coffers of anti-communist groups in Angola, to pay for weapons, mercenaries and eventually genocidal massacre. While FBI witnesses "blame" the dead Hoover and claim a "racially balanced" policy under Kelly, the snooping, bugging and disruption go on, the list of thousands to "detain" in a "national emergency" remains ready for use. These plans must be stopped! Liars by routine and criminals even by their own standards of law, the burglars, forgers, blackmailers and even murderers in the service of "the national interest" continue at the job. The present "revelations" should not be misunderstood. The government liberals and the CIA/FBI want some reforms only to make their assassination squads more efficient. As long as capitalism exists in the U.S. they will maintain them. The lethal activities of overt and clandestine ruling-class terror will continue until confronted head-on by the tribunals of the victorious proletarian revolution. Down with the CIA/FBI!■

Camera Press

Che Guevara, murdered by U.S. intelligence operatives after capture in Bolivia in 1967.

Charges Dropped Against Michael Zinzun

LOS ANGELES—On November 18 in Pasadena Municipal Court all charges were effectively dropped against Michael Zinzun and three others of the "Pasadena Seven." The charges against Zinzun, a black community activist and leader of the Pasadena Community Information Center (PCIC), stemmed from systematic police harassment in the ghetto. On August 21 the cops culminated their racist campaign with a raid on PCIC offices. A dozen cars pulled up and 30 police brutalized PCIC supporters and even residents of neighboring homes. The cops sent seven people to the hospital and then to jail, charging Zinzun with "inciting to riot," "carrying a dangerous weapon" and "disturbing the peace." That these charges have been dropped is a victory. The Zinzun defense has been supported by the Partisan Defense Committee.

The late-night assault on PCIC headquarters was part of the cop terror prevalent in Pasadena, including the notorious "Operation B.A.D." (Burglary Abatement Campaign). In an "Operation Zebra"-style roundup, Operation B.A.D. arrested all "suspicious-looking persons," jailing 400 black and Chicano men during the first five days. Also in Pasadena, uniformed Nazis have freely roamed the streets, and on September 16 fascist night-riders terrorized a pro-busing minister in a symbolic lynching.

Although the PCIC is engaged mainly in reformist community service work like free breakfasts and free roach exterminations, it has also been active in combatting the racist police rampages and Nazi mobilizations. It no doubt incurred the wrath of the local police department by fighting the "Operation B.A.D." program. While Zinzun often follows opportunist, classless, exclusively legalist defense policies espoused by reformists like the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party, at an anti-racist rally on October 26 his contingent chanted, "Smash the Nazis! Smash the Klan!" while the SWP limited itself to the tepid call for "justice" for the victim of the fascists' symbolic lynching. Asked by *WV* whether he, like the SWP, favored free speech for fascists, Michael Zinzun responded, "Hell, no!"

The lessons learned and the momentum gathered in the successful defense of Zinzun must be applied to the case of Philip Allen and many other victims of Southern California cop "justice." Moreover, three of the Pasadena Seven still face serious charges. Steven Martin, charged with "resisting arrest," comes to trial December 2. Michael Thompson and Ricky Grayes, charged with "assault and battery on a police officer," are scheduled to come to trial in mid-January. Drop all charges against the Pasadena Seven!■

Spain...

(continued from page 2)

this purported difference between the CP and PSOE disappeared, as the Junta and the Platform issued a joint statement altogether ignoring the question of Juan Carlos and demanding vaguely "the realization of a democratic break by opening a constituent period leading...to a definitive solution on the form of the state and the government" (*Le Monde*, 4 November). Having earlier stated that if the Spanish people did indeed opt for a monarchy, it would support the Count of Barcelona Don Juan de Borbón (father of the new king), whose political advisor Calvo Serrer is a leader of the Junta Democrática CP leader Santiago Carrillo now proclaims himself willing to accept Juan Carlos if elections are promised within 12 to 18 months.

The CP's capitulation is so complete

N Y Post

Franco with Hitler in 1940.

that the Carlist pretender to the throne has been able to come out to the left of the Stalinists! Evidently frustrated in the task of redressing Ferdinand VII's discarding of the Salic Laws and of Don Carlos in 1834, Prince Carlos Hugo de Borbón-Parme has pledged the Carlist party to "social revolution based on the principle of class struggle" and "self-managing socialism expressing itself above all through the trade unions." "My cousin Juan Carlos wants to succeed Franco," this "class-struggle" prince announces, but "I and those with me wish to make a revolution" (*Le Monde*, 2-3 November). Yet the "revolutionary monarchists" are equally seduced by the siren song of class collaboration, it appears, for the Carlist party is part of the Platform of Democratic Convergence, which wants to give Juan Carlos a chance.

If the Spanish social democrats and Stalinists have been stumbling over each other trying to appear the most reasonable agent to sell out the workers to the "new" regime, the despicable behavior of the Chinese and Cuban deformed workers states almost defies belief. In Peking, Chu Teh, chairman of the permanent committee of the National People's Assembly, along with Chou En-lai sent a message of condolence to the Spanish embassy on the occasion of Franco's death! Their pious solicitude was accompanied with funeral wreaths (*Le Monde*, 23-24 November). We eagerly await the obituaries of Franco in the U.S. Maoist press and, in particular, the "theoretical" justifications for this treachery in the terms of Mao-Thought.

The prize for disgusting toadying must without doubt be awarded to Cuba, which declared *three days of national mourning for the death of the Spanish dictator*. In addition, Cuban president Osvaldo Dorticos reportedly sent a message of condolences to Spain and the foreign minister, Raúl Roa, visited the Spanish embassy in Havana where he reportedly recognized "the political and human values of General Franco" (*Vanguardia Española*, quoted in *Informations Ouvrières*, 27 November 4 December). The advantage furnished to Cuba by Franco's refusal to submit to the U.S.-imposed embargo of trade with Cuba was significant, and Trotskyists do not begrudge Castro his trade with Spain. On the contrary, we demand that the U.S. blockade be ended immediately The Bolsheviks, too, were forced to make diplomatic deals with reactionary powers, playing upon inter-imperialist rivalries

But Castro's condolences on the death of one of the most bloody hangmen of the twentieth century are a despicable insult to the almost half a million Spanish worker and peasant militants who died heroically in the 1936-39 civil war fighting this butcher, or were subsequently executed by the Generalissimo. This is the logic of Stalinist betrayal, from Stalin's praise of Chiang Kai-shek to Mao's wreaths for Franco and Fidel's days of mourning in homage to a mass murderer.

Trotskyists must demand: *Smash Francoism! Down with the monarchy — No popular fronts! For a workers republic in Spain!* ■

Chicago Nazi Demos...

(continued from page 5)

successful October 12 demonstration, which drew over 150 militant participants. Instead, it headlined as "Chicago Blacks fight racist attacks" Willie Curtis' attempts to pressure community aldermen and to send a delegation to visit Mayor Daley.

The October 12 rally was an important beginning. But subsequently the Communist Labor Party (CLP), which largely initiated the action, has retreated into criminal sectarianism. The CLP, which refuses to work with "Trotskyites" on principle, excluded members of the SL from a November 4 defense work planning meeting as alleged "disrupters" although the meeting had not even begun. The destructive consequences of this policy of political exclusionism were made particularly evident by the CLP's exclusion of a member of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 from this same meeting. The Caucus' record in building a successful labor, black defense of a co-worker's home recently received front-page coverage in the Chicago *Reader* (14 November). Rev. Sparks, who chaired the October 12 rally, later told *Workers Vanguard* he could not condone this exclusionism and would fight to reverse it.

The Spartacist League supports the perspective of mobilizing the ranks of labor in the broadest possible united front against racist terror. But Chicago's labor movement has been conspicuous by its absence from the campaign to defend the besieged black families, several of which include union members. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH has been equally quiescent; instead, PUSH is busy hosting its annual fancy Black Business Expo and touting the Burger King chain (which recently gave PUSH a day's profits), exploiter of black teenagers at minimum wages in its hamburger joints.

The cynical Willie Curtises and Jesse Jacksons, the do-gooder reformists of the Urban League and their "left" apologists again demonstrate their prostration and defeatism by peddling the perspective of reliance on capitalism's "law enforcement" goons in the face of the Nazi terror campaign. The fascists have announced their intention to launch a "major offensive" against the black community this spring. We must begin preparing now to meet them with the response they deserve militant, organized, mass-based defense to beat back the ominous threat of mounting mobilization around the Nazi program of anti-working-class terror and anti-black genocide. ■

UAW Militants Win Right to Leaflet

(continued from page 7)

on the outs with the president, Joe Reilly The union officials sabotaged the strike, waving workers through picket lines and attempting to smear the strike militants, many of whom were left-wing politically, as "outsiders." Large numbers of people were fired and the vice-president never got his job back.

Since then, there has been tremendous fear in the plant Anyone with views opposed to the official leadership was afraid to open his mouth for fear of getting axed Winning the right to distribute oppositional material on company property will counteract this fear, but what you really need is for people to make use of it, and we intend to.

Red-baiting of oppositionists, particularly against the Militant Solidarity Caucus, also increased since the wildcat. During the last local union elections, an anonymous group said we were trained agents of Cuba, the Vietcong and Russia sent here to subvert American democracy. The union officials went along with this garbage, but we proved that the leaflets had been typed on a Ford company typewriter! They were part of a company attempt to influence the elections. Replacing the traitorous Woodcock flunkies with class-struggle leadership is the key task of all union militants.

WV: Now that your group has made this gain, what do you see as the next step?

Diamond: We have implemented this right already, by handing out a leaflet reporting on the victory at the inner gates of the plant, on company property. We were not harassed, although the fight is not over. The company may still appeal, which could mean months or years in which the NLRB decision is held in abeyance pending appeal after it has already been clearly shown in numerous cases that Ford's regulations against leafletting are illegal! The ranks of labor must be brought into militant action to establish this basic democratic union right, once and for all, not just at Mahwah but at all workplaces in all industries. This is just one small task of union leadership being ignored today by the union bureaucracy of Meany, Fitzsimmons, Woodcock, etc.

The coming year is a contract year for the auto industry It will be vital for auto workers at Mahwah and throughout the industry to involve themselves in the struggle to smash the pro-company contract we now have and prepare for an industry-wide fight against the companies for a shorter workweek at no loss in pay, an end to speedup and harassment of autoworkers, the unrestricted right to strike and numerous other demands. For this we will need class-struggle leadership and a fight within the union to oust Woodcock and his sellout artists from power. We in the Militant Solidarity Caucus will work to assist the development of similar opposition caucuses throughout the UAW. ■

WV photo

Berkeley Students Protest CIA/NSA Recruiters

In recent weeks students of the University of California (UC) have turned out by the hundreds for picket lines, marches and rallies protesting on-campus recruiting by the CIA and National Security Agency (NSA). The NSA—capitalism's largest, best financed and most clandestine spy network, with 120,000 employees and a budget of $10 billion—was responsible for the murder of Che Guevara in Bolivia in 1967, and, along with the CIA, prepared the way for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba.

The Spartacus Youth League (SYL), youth section of the Spartacist League, has been in the vanguard of the struggle to drive these imperialist hit-men off campus. At Berkeley, the SYL-initiated "Committee to Stop CIA/NSA Campus Recruitment" held an all-day picket line November 17 attracting over 250 students. The united-front committee was endorsed by several student and labor groups, including AFSCME Local 1695 Executive Board and the Militant Action Caucus of CWA Local 9410. The SYL raised the slogans "Drive the CIA/NSA Off Campus" and "Abolish the CIA/NSA."

The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), youth group of the ex-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, played its usual liberal/pacifist role, walking off a November 10 picket line at UCLA when the chants got too militant and preferring instead to build a more "respectable" teach-in on November 21. Using some of its own "dirty tricks," behind the backs of other members of an anti-CIA/NSA united-front committee, the YSA solicited speakers from the Los Angeles Police Department, the U.S. State Department and—yes—the CIA!!

The CIA/NSA must be stopped! Although only a victorious proletarian revolution will smash them once and for all, these insidious capitalist secret police and U.S. spy agencies must not be allowed to peddle their murderous intrigues on the campuses.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bureaucrats Gag Program Debate as CLUW Sinks

Open Up CLUW Convention!

United Mine Workers Journal

Brookside miners wives (above), Farah strikers (below). Such women militants, some of the most dedicated fighters for trade unionism, have been denied access to CLUW because they were not members of established union locals. Giving into pressure, CLUW has now slightly revised its membership criteria to include union organizing committees. The Brookside women, jailed for marching the picket lines in defiance of armed scabs, are still ineligible.

NOVEMBER 28 The governing bureaucrats of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) are as aware as their critics that CLUW's second national convention, to be held in Detroit on December 5-7, may well become known, not as its "Constitutional Convention," but as its *last* convention. CLUW's founders, the female union bureaucrats who sought to use the aspirations of working women to further their own careers, have gone about their task of organizing a captive mass base for themselves with a brittleness and autocratic contempt for democratic processes that would embarrass many of their male counterparts entrenched in the labor bureaucracy.

At last a political issue may manage to surface through CLUW's bureaucratic obstacle course. The massive layoffs of the depression economy have, true to form, hit the "last-hired, first-fired" the hardest: women and minority workers. While CLUW leaders initially refused to discuss the question in meetings beyond asserting that affirmative action, defined in the broadest terms, was among CLUW's goals, the layoffs have brought to the surface divergent appetites in the heterogeneous organization. Petty-bourgeois radicals comprising CLUW's loyal "left wing" have sought to avoid fighting layoffs and unemployment by proposing a gimmick that would simply trade one worker's job for another's: preferential layoffs. In essence their scheme would mean firing workers with higher seniority—generally male and white—in order that workers more recently hired in affirmative action programs—women and minorities—would not be laid off.

Women and minority workers have indeed been traditionally discriminated against, and the depression is once again reducing their share of the workforce. But the answer to this historical injustice is to eliminate discriminatory practices and fight for a policy of militant union action to stop *all* layoffs and provide jobs for everyone. The "preferential layoffs" scheme not only sets up new discrimination (quotas) and attacks the only form of union job protection presently available (the seniority system), but it actually appeals to the capitalist courts to invalidate contracts and take jobs away from older white male workers! Moreover, this anti-union "reform" waves a handful of token jobs in the face of mass unemployment.

CLUW's conservative bureaucrats, like those of the AFL-CIO, are compelled to oppose such undermining of the seniority system and the abrogation of union contracts by government bodies as a threat to the unions. However this opposition is not due to impulses toward labor solidarity or class-struggle policies, but only to a desire to protect their own parasitic privileges. Their callous disregard of racial and sexual oppression, and above all their fear of unleashing the power of the union ranks—who, once mobilized, would not only defend their organizations but also wrest control of the unions from the bureaucrats—lead them to ruthlessly squelch the militant actions (strikes, plant occupations) necessary to prevent layoffs. Minority and women workers' gains must be protected without falling into the trap of attacking the living standards of other workers, making them the scapegoats for the companies' discrimination. Militant working women must demand a shorter workweek at no loss in pay in order to guarantee full employment. All layoffs are discriminatory! Full employment for all!

The implications of the affirmative action dispute could rip CLUW apart. Hoping to sidestep the problem, the "majority" agenda provides no time for political discussion. The "Call to the Constitutional Convention" closes any doors accidentally left open: "The only official business of the Convention shall be adoption of a constitution and election of officers and a governing body." A move spearheaded by the Socialist Workers Party feminists and Houston CLUW, whose policies have thus far been indistinguishable from those of the national CLUW tops, is now underway with the supposed aim of making CLUW a "fighting" organization for "action." An alternative agenda is being proposed which would allot time for discussion on the proposals for affirmative action, ERA and "jobs for all" issues at the convention.

Aside from the agenda, the constitution itself, the "legitimate" issue at this year's convention, promises to produce no small controversy. The CLUW tops are terrified of political discussion, which might expose not only the fact that CLUW has politics never adopted by the membership, but also that they are the conservative, rotten politics of the labor bureaucracy which provide no way forward for women workers. So the CLUW leadership clique has hatched plans to bypass the membership entirely. According to its draft constitution, in the future national conventions will be delegated, as opposed to being based on the "one-person-one-vote" principle. This proposal is designed to ensure bureaucrats' conventions, hopefully never again marred by dissent and challenges to the CLUW bureaucracy. The CLUW leaders refuse to charter locals they don't control, like Atlanta, and attempt to purge militants in harassment campaigns denying their eligibility for membership, as in the case of the Revolutionary Socialist League's Rhonda Levine. Now they hope to make the National Coordinating Committee proportionally represent the strength of various unions as opposed to the positions of CLUW's membership.

It is little wonder that although CLUW's national membership peaked at around 4,000 last year, fewer and fewer women are bothering to renew their membership. Local chapter meetings indicate decreasing interest. New York City meetings that used to draw several hundred now draw under 20, and recently several national coordinating committee and steering committee meetings have failed to take place for lack of a quorum.

"Better Dead than Red!"

CLUW is in trouble not simply because it was a fraud from the beginning, artificial in conception and unviable in practice, but because the life has been literally choked out of it in the vise-grip of its leadership clique. Terrified to the point of paranoia of radical dissent and militancy that might undermine its respectable image in the eyes of the AFL-CIO and UAW bureaucracies and their bourgeois politician buddies, whose blessing means more to CLUW than any gain for women workers, the CLUW bureaucrats have indeed run a tight little ship—so tight, in fact, that it is seething with factionalism, preoccupied with redbaiting and suffering the consequences of rank-and-file working women's justifiable disinterest in CLUW.

Thus CLUW is a pot of simmering disputes threatening to boil over at this convention, with the agenda in dispute, the constitution in dispute, and the key political question—what course of action, what programmatic goals, must working women adopt to throw off the burdens of discrimination, unemployment and inflation—threatening to surface despite the bureaucrats' best efforts to keep the lid on.

It is ironic that the "best builders" of CLUW, among them those seeking oh-so-properly and discreetly to present agendas and constitutions counterposed to those of the bureaucrats, often tend to be trade-unionist supporters of "leftist" organizations—most notably the Socialist Workers Party, the International Socialists and the October League. It is these "radicals" who most want to ensure CLUW's continued existence: the CLUW bureaucrats would sooner see the organization to up in flames than lose their dictatorial control.

Allow the ranks of militant trade-union women, not to mention class-

continued on page 3

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 89 | 19 December 1975

NAACP Office Firebombed

Racists Riot Against Court Takeover of South Boston High

BOSTON, December 14—Judge Arthur Garrity's decision on December 9 to put the strife-torn South Boston High School into court receivership was met with an immediate outburst of vicious racist violence. Within hours of the judge's ruling, firebombs had been thrown into the NAACP office and the home of a prominent black minister. Hearing the judge's decision on the NAACP suit to close the high school, city councilwoman Louise Day Hicks, ringleader of the anti-busing movement, ominously threatened a return of the lynch-mob frenzy which has punctuated the struggle over Boston's busing plan for the past fifteen months: "Responsible leaders in South Boston have been working quietly to avoid community disturbances. Now, in the light of this unjust decision, it will be extremely difficult to continue this process successfully." For all her pious hypocrisy, Hicks is no passive spectator to the racist mobilization in "Southie." Her whole political career has been built on the reactionary theme of resistance to "forced busing." And the "community disturbances" she promised were not long in coming.

On December 10 a meeting of the anti-busing group ROAR, held as usual at City Hall, called for a "day of mourning" and a school boycott on December 12. In response, black-bordered signs reading "Remember Black Tuesday," a reference to the day Garrity ruled on the suit, began appearing throughout South Boston. Tension electrified the streets surrounding the high school, crowds gathered and trash fires were set.

On Thursday, fights broke out in the school. Black students walked by a screaming white mob and passed through metal detectors, installed to electronically search for weapons, into a maelstrom of pent-up racist fury. Screams, curses and the sound of glass breaking were clearly audible to passers-by. To keep battling students apart, teachers and policemen pushed them into "holding rooms" in a gymnasium. Three students, all black, were arrested. Two others, both black, were injured, one requiring 20 stitches to close his slashed arm. "It's wild in there," a harried teacher told reporters. "They're going crazy." On Friday, the boycott was nearly total. Out of 774 white students enrolled in South Boston High School, only 18 attended classes.

Catching the scent of blood, fascist elements have begun to slither back into the limelight. David Duke, national director of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, returned to Boston to preach his genocidal creed. Unlike his last visit, in the fall of 1974, this time Duke was invited by some leaders in the anti-busing movement. He appeared at a press conference with Warren Zaniboni, leader of the South Boston Marshals. Duke announced that he was in Boston, at Zaniboni's invitation, "to coordinate the local fight against forced busing and to return their rights to white people." Zaniboni was chief marshal of the racists who attacked last August's NAACP demonstration at Carson Beach in South Boston. He said that his group was "formed to protect the people of South Boston. It's our job to protect them against these Communist, Socialist and agitation organizations that have been coming in here."

The temper of South Boston can be gauged by the brazen manner in which the reactionaries broadcast their intentions. The November 26 issue of the *South Boston Tribune* carried a column of "South Boston Information Center News." Just two weeks before the office of Boston NAACP president Thomas Atkins was firebombed, militant racist Dan Yotts penned this vile threat: "Well, old gorilla-face Atkins is at it again.... if Garrity closes Southie and Atkins is not wiped out and NAACP Headquarters along with him, I'm going to be the most surprised and disappointed guy in Southie."

Boston Globe: Ted Dully

Tom Atkins, president of Boston NAACP, surveying office firebombed by racists last week.

Garrity's decision represents an escalation of his battle against the systematic obstructionism of the Boston School Committee. The judge accused the committee of doing everything possible "to frustrate and delay" his Phase Two desegregation plan. As to the Office of Implementation, he said, the School Committee "left it to twist in the wind." After reviewing the well-documented charges of blatant racist abuse, he found that black students at the school "are presently being subjected to discriminatory treatment and

continued on page 10

L'Express

Soviet-supplied armored personnel carrier during November 11 MPLA independence celebration in Luanda.

U.S., South Africa, Mao Back FNLA/UNITA

Smash CIA-Led Forces in Angola!

DECEMBER 16—Last week the *New York Times* published several articles amply confirming that the Central Intelligence Agency has been covertly pouring arms and money into Angola. The CIA's purpose: to buoy up a cabal of right-wing nationalist, Portuguese mercenary and South African regular troops lined up against the Havana- and Moscow-backed Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA). Since September the U.S. spy agency has reportedly channeled $25 million in arms and support funds to the MPLA's rivals, the National Front for the Liberation of Angola (FNLA) and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), with another $25 million earmarked to follow. There are also said to be as many as 300 American soldiers of fortune in the area (although the government naturally disavows them), and in the United States CORE is now gearing up to send paid black veterans to bolster the imperialist-led FNLA/UNITA forces.

Liberal Finger-Wagging

In the "post-Watergate era," given the steady leak of information concerning the CIA's latest gambit of global privateering, it was predictable that liberal congressmen would eventually respond to these new revelations with pro-forma finger-wagging. The Senate has held up passage of the military appropriations bill, scheduled for yesterday, until they learn whether any of the $120.9 billion is destined for Angola. (Kissinger is asking for $39.4 million in military aid to Zaïre—up from $3.8 million last year—and the liberals wonder whether any of it is destined for neighboring Angola!) Meanwhile, a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee is considering an amendment to end assistance to the FNLA and UNITA unless authorized by Congress. As usual, the liberals' concern is congressional prerogatives, not the bloody results of imperialist intervention.

More revealing than the ritual of demurring liberal criticisms is the information that Nathaniel Davis resigned in August as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs to protest administration approval of Henry Kissinger's recommendation of CIA intervention. This same Davis was ambassador to Chile from 1971 to 1973, i.e., at a time when the CIA was bankrolling and advising the right-wing generals preparing to slaughter the proletariat. His opposition to the Kissinger line on Angola does not flow from any compunctions about covert operations or from newly discovered humanitarian impulses. According to a State Department source:

> "Davis told them that it won't work. Neither Savimbi [head of UNITA] or Roberto [head of FNLA] are good fighters—in fact, they couldn't fight their way out of a paper bag. It's the wrong game and the players we got are losers."
>
> —*New York Times*, 14 December

Davis is certainly aware that not only the right-nationalist groups but the radical-nationalist MPLA as well can be bought if the price is right. With a few broken strikes already under its belt, the MPLA is no less violently opposed to independent working-class organization than are its FNLA/UNITA opponents—or its friends in the petty-bourgeois nationalist parties now in power in Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, with which the U.S. recently agreed to establish diplomatic relations.

Liberals claim to have learned the lessons of history as they compare Angola today to the early days of U.S. intervention in Vietnam. "It is shades of

continued on page 5

"Thanks, Harry"

Bosses Throw a Party for Bridges

ILWU Ranks Stay Home

Harry Bridges was feted late last month in a gala event at the swank Fairmont Hotel on Nob Hill. Lauded by the assembled plutocrats and bureaucrats as one of San Francisco's "distinguished citizens," the ILWU president was "officially welcomed into the establishment" at the affair according to the UPI. Bridges listened ("with a wry smile") as political bigwigs and corporate fat cats, maritime commissioners and shipping bosses, came forward to pay tribute to his "outstanding contributions." And why not? Ever since Harry learned to play ball with the bosses, he's done all right by them. Former California governor Pat Brown said he was "proud as hell to regard him through all these years as the closest of friends." And there was plenty of back-slapping with outgoing S.F. mayor Alioto and his cronies.

But there was one group that didn't feel like honoring Bridges' "accomplishments" and stayed away in droves - the longshore and warehouse union membership. Instead of the predicted 1,800, there were only "792 glittering people" (*San Francisco Examiner and Chronicle*) dining at the Fairmont on November 29. In fact, at the November ILWU Local 6 General Executive Board meeting where 40 tickets, bought with union funds ($2,000 worth), were raffled off, only 12 members even wanted to go. Yet at the October meeting which decided to purchase the tickets, the only executive board member to vote against spending union members' hard-earned dues money for dinner with the bosses was a member of the Militant Caucus, a class-struggle opposition in the local.

The press wondered how the "stormy labor leader" who led dock workers in the 1934 S.F. general strike had "somehow won the friendship of local businessmen and politicians." It's not hard to figure out, though, for a man whose services rendered include the World War II no-strike pledge, breaking the 1944 Montgomery Ward strike, signing "modernization and mechanization" pacts that have reduced the number of longshoremen by more than half, creating a category of second-class dockers ("B-men") without union rights and protection, sabotaging the 1971-72 port strike and most recently ramming through a longshore contract which threatens the Pay Guarantee Plan and the union hiring hall. As a fitting end to his career of service to the employers, Bridges is now trying to carve up the ILWU.

And the money collected at the feast? Rumor has it that it will buy Harry a new Volvo. His old one, though, will long be remembered: he drove it through the picket lines of striking ILWU office workers last February! ■

Harry Bridges driving his Volvo through ILWU office workers' picket lines in February.

San Francisco Chronicle

"*PEACEFUL PETREL*: Harry Bridges, now a feisty 74, is submitting to his first and last testimonial dinner—Nov. 29 at the Fairmont, with some 1800 worshipers expected at $50 a head. This will not be a retirement party, since Harry will serve through '76 as Pres. of the ILWU; then he and the man who has spent most of his life waiting to succeed him, Lou Goldblatt, will be out (mandatory retirement at age 65 goes into effect in '77)... For an indication of how radically this ex-radical has changed, consider that Bridges, whom the Gov't. tried to deport three times as a Communist (and failed), will be honored by the Pres. of Matson [Lines], the Defense Dept. and the Maritime Commission! . . . As for the money raised at the banquet, 'I guess after we pay the expenses we'll just give what's left to Harry,' says ILWU Veep Bill Chester. 'He's earned it'."

—Herb Caen in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 3 November

Letter

[India]

28 November 1975

To the editor:

First, I have to thank you for all the copies of *Workers Vanguard* and other literature that you are sending me. I begin to discern the differences in the Trotskyist movement from your angle too. We in India, however, are more interested in our own difficulties and have little time for international problems. We think it is better for the different groups of Trotskyists to discuss their differences and close the ranks. We supported the FI [Fourth International, i.e. "United Secretariat" (USec)] in 1963, although we justified the earlier split too. We are aware that there is no homogeneity in FI at present. But this is not a hangover of the past. I view it to be a result of the undigested youth radicalization of 1960's, which the FI could not digest because of a weak proletarian content in it and lack of roots in mass working class organization. This I say without any concession to trade-unionism.

Be that as it may, the present letter is concerned with your article on Indian Pabloism in *WV* of Nov. 14, 1975. I make only brief comments to clarify things to you and hope you will publish them in your paper.

1. We are no Pabloists nor any other brand and don't like this way of polemics.

2. We are not less concerned about democracy in India than you are. We hold the traditional Trotskyist view. This we made clear in the July issue of the same *MKK* [*Mazdūr Kisān Krānti*, the main press organ of the Communist League of India (CLI)] that you mention by publishing Trotsky's article of 1938 which was published by *IP* [*Intercontinental Press*, published by the American Socialist Workers Party (SWP)] in relation to Portugal.

3. We ran a series of articles in *MKK* before the declaration of emergency in India differentiating ourselves from the "people's movement of JP" [Jayaprakash Narayan] on the ground that this was a movement with a non-class programme and composition. But instead of opposing the movement from outside, we shaped our criticism from inside, insisting that the movement should adopt a programme based on the demands of workers and poor peasants and should base itself on workers and poor peasants organization instead of political parties.

4. "The Danger of the CIA" statement does not represent the whole of the CLI's view. It is a statement in relation to a specific topic, which filled Congress propaganda in early July. So you need not read into it a conflict with the views expressed in [the SWP's] *Militant* of 15-8-75. Our statement is, however, in line with Hugo Blanco's remarks on Bolivia which *IP* published in December 1974 and we (*MKK*) in August 1975.

5. Our statement does not support the anti-rightist line of the Congress and the CPI [Communist Party of India, pro-Moscow]. It rather presents an alternative policy even in respect of fight against rightist reaction.

6. It didn't express concern at the personal safety of Mrs. Gandhi but at the growth of violence. Our attitude was the attitude of Lenin and Trotsky against Russian terrorism.

7. We have never changed our views on arrest and the methods adopted in relation to the railway strike. But we had to "discipline" our expression in view of the press guidelines.

8. The statement does not talk about an organized people's force. Your translation is wrong. The right word is "mass organizations".

9. These policies don't represent "only" a quantitative extension of the programme of the Congress. Even, on June 27, Mrs. Gandhi declared that she won't nationalize private sector by using emergency powers. In Nov. she has made it clear that her socialism will allow private sector. So our demand for nationalization give[s] or projects an alternative programme.

10. We have not become Gandhi's supporters. Yet we are not adventurists to launch movements or protest actions without mass support.

I hope this will clear your misunderstandings about us.

Yours,
R.N. Arya
for UP [Uttar Pradesh] State Committee of CLI

WV replies: In our article "Indian Pabloists Apologize for Indira Gandhi" (*WV* No. 85, 14 November) we sharply criticized the CLI for bolstering the Gandhi regime's "leftist" pretensions by refusing to expose the government's trumped up "anti-fascist" scare campaign as a pretext for the unleashing of draconian repression against both leftist and rightist opponents. By accepting Gandhi's demagogic denunciations of the CIA/fascist threat as good coin, the CLI objectively buttresses the regime's spurious "progressive" facade and legitimatizes its wholesale assault on bourgeois-democratic rights.

WV quoted the CLI's Hindi-language statement, "The Danger of the CIA":

> "We have expressed our views on the danger of fascism, about which the [pro-Gandhi] Communist Party of India and Mrs. Gandhi have warned the people. It is our strong belief that only an organized people's force can combat the danger of CIA conspiracies or even fascism and that freedom of speech and unintimidated criticism are necessary for organizing people's power in a vigorous way."

The CLI is "calling here not for a proletarian-based movement organized independently of the ruling class to oppose the Gandhi regime as well as the threat from the far-rightist forces, but for a populist mobilization against Gandhi's opponents.

Comrade Arya maintains that this is an application of the "traditional Trotskyist view" and that the CLI's concern with "the growth of violence" is fully consistent with Lenin's position on terrorism. The statement, however, bemoaned not the brutal and often murderous repression of the working masses and class-struggle prisoners by the regime, but rather the assassination of justly hated Congress Party boss L. N. Mishra and an alleged assassination plot against Gandhi. Lenin sharply opposed individual terrorism as an inexpedient and self-defeating tactic,

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Weekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

EDITOR: Jan Norden

PRODUCTION MANAGER Karen Allen

CIRCULATION MANAGER Anne Kelley

EDITORIAL BOARD: Liz Gordon (Chairman), Chris Knox (Labor), James Robertson (Advisory), Charles Burroughs (Editorial Staff), Joseph Seymour (Midwest), George Foster (West Coast)

Published weekly, except bi-weekly in August and December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 260 West Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10013. Telepone 966-6841 (Editorial), 925-5665 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, G.P.O., New York, N.Y. 10001. Domestic subscriptions: $5.00 per year. Application to mail at second class postage rates is pending at New York, N.Y.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

but the Bolsheviks always solidarized with the plebeian indignation underlying attacks on tsarist officials and other direct representatives and symbols of oppression. The CLI over this issue parallels the ultra-respectability of the American SWP, which decried the recent assassination attempts against Gerald Ford and ten years ago actually sent a message of condolence to the widow Kennedy!

Comrade Arya protests our assertion that the CLI, in calling for an "organized people's force" (the only possible translation for *sangathit jana-shakti*) against reaction, accommodates the illusions raised by the massive anti-corruption movement of Jayaprakash Narayan. Unfortunately, we have not received any issues of *Mazdūr Kisān Krānti* which separate the CLI from Narayan's "people's movement"; our examination of the December 1974 issues of *IP* has uncovered no statements at all by Hugo Blanco.

Comrade Arya declares that the "people's movement of JP" should be based "on the demands of workers and poor peasants" and "on workers and poor peasants organization instead of political parties." An authentic Trotskyist propaganda group in India, rather than pressuring the bourgeois Narayan movement to become the vehicle for workers' demands, would fight to expose Narayan and split the anti-corruption forces along class lines in the process of building a workers political party.

Our purpose in terming the CLI's positions "Pabloist" was not to offend Comrade Arya, but to characterize the programmatic liquidationism of the CLI, which limits its program to reformist demands such as a call for nationalization which leaves open the question of compensation. Comrade Arya's letter, which eschews the struggle for international democratic centralism and explicitly justifies a nationally-centered perspective, is another confirmation of our charge.

YOUNG SPARTACUS

Current issue includes:

- For a NYC General Strike Against Cutbacks, Layoffs!
- Stop CIA/NSA Recruitment on Campus!
- Schlesinger Sacking Upsets Maoists
- UN Den of Thieves "Debates" Zionism, Political Prisoners
- Campaign Puts Heat on Pinochet's "Chicago Boys"
- RSB: Going Nowhere

SUBSCRIBE NOW! $2/11 issues

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State/Zip _____

89

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street P.O.
New York, New York 10013

SPARTACIST
édition française No. 10
octobre 1975

3,00 F. $.75 US/Canada

pour toute commande s'adresser à:

Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO,
New York, N.Y. 10001, USA

BOSS/PID: Provocation Unlimited

Abolish NYC Red Squad!

DECEMBER 12—Amidst the official government revelations of CIA assassination plots and the FBI's massive disruption of left and civil-rights organizations, the day-to-day activities of local police red squads do not often catch the public eye. Yet the use of secret police agents for surveillance, harassment, provocation and entrapment of political and labor dissidents is a key weapon in the bourgeoisie's arsenal of repression.

A recent Long Island newspaper account of New York City's security expenditures for the United Nations focused on the role of the NYC Police Intelligence Division (PID), formerly the Bureau of Special Services (BOSS). Emanating from 325 Hudson Street in Manhattan, the ubiquitous red squad maintains a constant surveillance of the activities of left organizations. In the "Newsday photo" they show the uniformed cops—"only the tip of the iceberg"—watching a recent Spartacist League demonstration to free class-war prisoners in Argentina. The importance of the PID to federal intelligence agencies was described by a "police intelligence source":

> "We usually know things before [the Department of] State or the Secret Service.... They have to come to us for a lot of their information. Let's face it, New York is the seat of everything that's going on. If there's a dissident group anywhere, it's in New York."
> —*Newsday*, 7 December

The New York "red squad" routinely "covers" every public meeting or rally of a political nature. A 24-hour log book lists every such event, every picket line and demonstration, every expiring labor contract, etc., and PID agents are responsible for reporting the names of participants, the content of speeches, size of crowd and other such details. The red squad's official functions include investigation of labor disputes, guarding visiting dignitaries, deportation investigations and anti-left activities. It has gone by many names since 1912: Radical Bureau, Neutrality Squad, Bureau of Criminal Alien Investigation, BOSS, etc. The model for other red squads around the country, the New York bureau has infiltrated and spied on trade unions, leftist groups, organizations of the foreign-born, the antiwar movement, right-wing groups and, particularly in the last decade, black militant groups.

Hounded for Ten Years

The hearing on the case of veteran black activist Robert Collier, which concluded this summer, illuminates the extent of the cloak-and-dagger escapades of the local political police. Charges of conspiracy to possess explosives and illegal possession of a gun and stolen goods were dismissed on July 28 by New York State Supreme Court judge Peter McQuillan. The judge was unable to countenance the ludicrous disproportion between the intensive surveillance, aimed at intimidation and harassment, conducted over the course of two years by Oswaldo Alvarez of the PID/BOSS and the flimsy charges brought against Collier.

The judge's decision provides some insight into the magnitude and breadth of local police surveillance by citing some of the monumentally irrelevant information contained in the 534 daily handwritten reports that Alvarez submitted to his superiors between 18 May 1971 and 5 July 1973:

> "On another occasion, while visiting defendant, he [Alvarez] looked in a shopping bag that defendant's wife brought into the home and confirmed that the bag contained grocery items." "He reported to BOSS officials, seemingly, each and every movement by defendant during the two year infiltration, e.g., defendant's effort toward winning admission to college, the presence of 'political' pictures, books and leaflets in defendant's home and such minutiae as that defendant and his wife 'went to the movies,' or that they were going to Brooklyn to visit her family."

That Collier is a free man today is no tribute to the "justice" of the bourgeois legal system. For over ten years he has been the victim of a vicious police vendetta. He has been arrested three times as the result of BOSS undercover operations and has spent nearly four years behind bars. Collier's first two arrests provide a capsule history of the New York red squad's efforts to smash militant black organizations through planting *agents provocateurs* in their midst.

While somewhat moribund in the years following the McCarthyite inquisition, BOSS and local red squads across the country experienced new growth with the rise of the civil rights and antiwar movements in the sixties. Between 1968 and 1971, BOSS expanded its staff from 60 to 90 (to which must be added an estimated 55 undercover agents). The Los Angeles Police Department doubled its intelligence division in a single year, 1969-70. In Chicago and Philadelphia, according to a 1971 article by lawyer Frank Donner, more police were involved "on police intelligence assignments than are [were] engaged in fighting organized crime." To get their chosen victims as well as to justify larger budgets and staffs, cop spies repeatedly produced results in the form of "conspiracy" indictments for crimes which the agents themselves conceived, advocated and planned.

Newsday Photo /John H Cornell Jr.

NEWSDAY reported recently on activities of the NYC red squad: "The uniformed personnel are only the tip of the security iceberg—the visible portion." Photo was taken at recent SL demonstration at the Argentine Mission.

One of the first such agents to infiltrate the black liberation movement was Raymond Wood. According to a master's thesis written by BOSS member Anthony Bouza, Wood "was inducted into the Police Department secretly and no unauthorized eyes ever saw a record or photograph of his that could possibly tie him to police work." His first assignment was to join the Bronx chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality in 1964. He rapidly got himself and CORE chapter chairman Herbert Callender arrested while attempting to make a "citizen's arrest" on then-mayor Robert Wagner. Callender briefly found himself held for psychiatric examination, and Wood moved on to a new group called the Black Liberation Front (BLF), one of whose members was Robert Collier.

On 16 February 1965, Collier, Wood, two other BLF members and a member of a Quebec separatist organization were arrested in New York on charges of conspiracy to blow up the Statue of Liberty, as a symbolic act of protest against racial oppression. Wood had conceived the idea, provided a car (with BOSS money) to travel to Montreal to arrange the purchase of explosives and even made a trial run to the statue alone, telling the others about it later. As the result of this blatant entrapment, the three black militants were jailed (the woman from Montreal turned state's evidence and was sent home). Collier served 21 months of a five-year sentence. Police agent Wood was promoted to detective, given a medal and grabbed front-page headlines like "Hero Cop Infiltrates Terrorists."

Cop Provocateurs in the Panthers

Another black undercover agent, Gene Roberts, was taken like Wood directly into the red squad upon joining the police in 1964. He infiltrated the Harlem-based Organization of Afro-American Unity, formed by Malcolm X after he broke from the Black Muslims. Roberts was at Malcolm's side, ostensibly as a bodyguard, when the latter was gunned down during a speech at the Audubon Ballroom on 21 February 1965. From that assignment he passed through a Muslim mosque and the Harlem Mau Mau until the summer of 1968 when he became one of the founding members (along with at least *five* other BOSS operatives) of the New York chapter of the Black Panther Party.

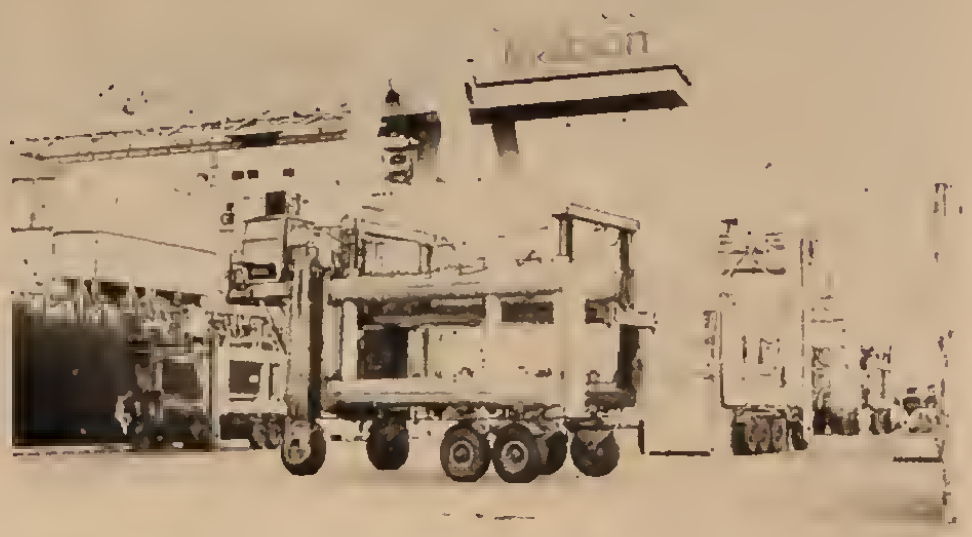
After five years of masquerading as a

continued on page 9

Reinstate the Victimized B-Men, Full Union Rights for All Longshoremen!

Stan Weir's Court Suit Threatens ILWU Local 10

WV Photo



Automation of the S.F. docks. Under modernization and mechanization contracts Bridges abandoned fight for jobs.

Don't Sue the Unions—Fight Bridges in the Labor Movement!

SAN FRANCISCO--Ever since S.F. longshoremen emerged victorious from the city's historic 1934 general strike, their union, Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU), has had no shortage of powerful enemies. Presently being hit by a massive job-cutting attack from the employers' Pacific Maritime Association (PMA), Local 10 is in imminent danger from another quarter as well. The Local is the chief defendant in a court suit filed in 1964 by the Longshore Jobs Defense Committee (LJDC), representing 51 out of a total of 82 longshoremen arbitrarily forced out of the industry by ILWU President Harry Bridges and the PMA in 1963. After years of stalling tactics by Bridges, including a libel suit aimed against some of the prominent backers of the fired longshoremen, the suit went to trial in 1974 and is now in the hands of the judge, with possible damages having escalated enormously. Depending on how its fate is weighed in the stuffy backrooms of federal district court, the Local could be held liable to pay fines and damages amounting to several millions of dollars—much more than it could possibly raise. The very existence of Local 10, one of the strongholds of West Coast labor, is threatened by this court case.

Chief responsibility for this potentially mortal blow rests with the bourgeois courts, the star chambers of capitalism. There are other culprits as well, not the least of which is Bridges himself, chief perpetrator of the 1963 atrocity and supposedly the main target of the 11-year-old suit. But the 51 victimized longshoremen made the mistake of placing their fate—and the fate of their union—in the hands of capitalist "justice," outside the house of labor. It should surprise no one that Bridges, a long-time master at cynically maneuvering within the system, solely for his personal gain, has by now all but succeeded in deflecting this misguided legal blow away from himself, and at the target marked "Local 10" instead. Yet this ominous fact has not dissuaded the initiators of the suit from their destructive course.

Mechanization and Deregistration

Harry Bridges' almost limitless willingness to betray the working class was demonstrated by the whole history of second-class "B-list" longshoremen and the arbitrary purge of several score of them in 1963. Formed in 1959, the B-list was a new category of longshoremen. Kept out of the union, and lacking benefits and protection afforded by the ILWU contract, B-men were required to be available for work 70 percent of the time and forbidden to hold other full-time jobs or attend school, on pain of deregistration. They had no guarantee of getting work. When they worked, it was to take the dirtiest and most onerous jobs, usually in the holds of ships moving cargo by hand. The B-list category was only supposed to last six months to one year, but Bridges intervened to prevent the promotion of any B-men to "A" (union member) status for four years.

The reasons for this long delay were bound up with the "Modernization and Mechanization" (M&M) contracts of the 1960's. Planning to "rationalize" the industry through containerization and automated systems, the employers demanded liquidation of longshoremen's historically won job conditions, such as load limits, which stood in the way of massive production speed-up. Bridges argued for giving up these working conditions to the employers in return for guaranteed pay as a protection against layoffs due to automation. A fund (the Pay Guarantee Plan) was set up for this purpose, but it did not stop the tremendous speed-up nor the catapulting accident rate which resulted from "M&M". Moreover, Bridges sharply restricted the traditional recourse to direct strike action on the docks to settle grievances. And now, in the throes of the current depression, with the West Coast longshore workforce reduced by over half since 1959, even the Pay Guarantee has been drastically reduced.

Under the "M & M" contracts the International controlled the size of local memberships, and Bridges used this to keep the B-men out of the union. The B-men formed a second-class labor force, without union rights, to perform the most onerous tasks at the point of production. They were thus key to jacking up labor productivity for the employers' benefit. In addition, the B-men were younger and more volatile than their older union brothers. This militancy grew over time as the B-men won the right to attend (but not participate in!) union meetings, and to have three elected officials represent their interests. After four years, the pressure to admit them to full union status was growing irresistable.

Bridges' Purge

The 1963 purge was Bridges' scheme for turning the militant B-men into more docile union members. There had been sizeable opposition to the first "M & M" contract in 1961, and Bridges had reason to fear that simply admitting the 500 B-men could block future acceptance of such sellouts. So he proposed to admit all the B-men except some, close to 100, who were to be *deregistered*. Supposedly "deregistered for cause," the 82 victimized B-men were arbitrarily selected on the basis of minor infractions of rules over a four-year period. It later came out that even the rules were phony—Bridges and the PMA cooked them up for the purge! In addition, 90 percent of the victimized B-men were black.

It was clear to the rest of the B-men that any one of them could have been picked on the basis of similar "infractions," and the result was devastating. The majority of the B-men were admitted with the fear that they had no security and could be deregistered at any time. The 82, meanwhile, were "tried" in secret, denied presentation of formal charges and slandered as "chiselers, ne'er-do-wells and men who paid their dues late." But this divisive scheme was not accepted without opposition. As most of the B-men were being admitted, Local 10 voted down Bridges' proposal to screen out some of them. Fuming, Bridges threatened to stop all the promotions to "A" status "until you quit letting a few stand in the way of the many." Making good on this threat, Bridges got his way, although Local 10 voted again to reverse Bridges' scheme and admit the fired B-men.

At this point the victimized B-men were organized into the Longshore Jobs Defense Committee (LJDC) primarily by Stan Weir, one of their former elected representatives. Described as a "long-time socialist" by the social-democratic *New Politics* (Summer 1966), to which he has been a frequent contributor, Weir has also been a featured public speaker for the International Socialists (I.S.) over many years. The LJDC filed suit in federal court against both the PMA and the ILWU in April 1964, ten months after the firings. Weir described the suit in two articles in *New Politics* (Winter and Summer 1964). It sought "full registration, full union membership, lost wages and $600,000 in damages."

The suit's initiators claim to be only going after responsible individuals such as Bridges, and not after the union itself. "No damages are sought from the union," said Weir. But Weir has proven unable to control this even if he wanted to. When the trial was held last year, the lawyer for the PMA argued that the deregistrations were not the responsibility of either the PMA or the International, but of Local 10, which had held the hearings to screen the B-men through its Labor Relations Committee. Despite Bridges' responsibility in ordering the deregistrations, lawyers for the International and Local 10 accepted the PMA's argument, leaving Local 10 the main defendant. Since the judge has the power to allocate guilt among the defendants, it is likely that Local 10 will bear the brunt of any decision favorable to the plaintiffs. Thus the Local 10 members who voted several times against Bridges' purge will be victimized for it, and the original victims have joined the perpetrators, through the courts, to help bring this about!

Bridges has no lack of reasons to want to see Local 10 victimized as a result of this suit. For several years, Bridges' friend, San Francisco mayor Joseph Alioto has been trying to gain control of valuable waterfront real estate where the Local 10 hiring hall is located. Bridges' forces supported a Labor Department legal action to have the property of Local 10, held by the independent Bay Area Longshoremen's Memorial Association (BALMA), declared an asset of the Local rather than a separate legal entity. Bridges supporters within Local 10 have also worked strenuously to bring this about.

The fight in Local 10 came to a head in late 1973 when Frank Stout, then president of BALMA, engaged in legal action against Bridges to retain the independent legal status of the property. Partly on the basis of this jockeying back and forth, Stout was elected president of the Local and his ally Herb Mills become secretary-treasurer. The Stout/Mills regime immediately moved to keep the hall ownership with the BALMA trustees. With an oppositional regime in office, Bridges' desire to curb the Local only increased. It was about this time that the Weir suit finally went to trial. Since the B-men's suit settlement could bankrupt Local 10, leading to seizure of the latter's assets, it has now become part of Bridges' attempts to beat down a politically volatile local while doing a favor for his pals in city hall, eventually transferring the property to Alioto interests.

Don't Sue the Union—Fight Bridges in the Labor Movement!

Weir never had any intention of drawing a distinction between suing the officers of the union for damages and suing the union, nor did he pursue the struggle for reinstatement within the union. Weir admits that when the LJDC was formed, it "immediately began investigating ways of using the law to get back [the] jobs" (*New Politics*, Winter 1964). He reduces efforts to get help from the union ranks to a single, brief parenthetical comment. Noting that Local 10 had "overwhelmingly" demanded the return of the frame-up victims, he reports that "this demand was killed when it reached the area committee of the ILWU-PMA apparatus," by the traitorous vote of one union official. This occurred at a rump meeting, excluding representatives of several locals, and should have been immediately exposed in an ongoing campaign to enforce the will of the membership. But not for the impatient Weir! His parenthetical effort to fight within the union ended with this setback.

The suit itself—resorting to the courts of the class enemy to settle a dispute within the labor movement—had a disastrous effect on efforts to support the cause of the fired B-men within the union. Bridges has been able to cover his own treachery by references to the

continued on page 11

Angola . . .

(continued from page 1)

Vietnam all over again," says Frank Church (*New York Post*, 16 December). The liberals are mainly worried that, like Vietnam, Angola will become a fruitless and costly venture. There are certain superficial similarities (the military/political vacuum created by a departing colonial power, the presence of Soviet-backed troops), but there the analogy stops.

Unlike in Vietnam, where despite the Stalinists' popular frontism the worker and peasant masses were lined up against the forces of imperialism and a brittle but real domestic bourgeoisie, in Angola the defeat of the imperialist-led troops will not lead to the end of capitalist rule. Nor is there an immediate question of "falling dominoes," for the white supremacist South African regime is immeasurably more powerful than Indochina's neighbors. Moreover, in the limited Angolan theater and with the presence of South African forces, massive direct U.S. military intervention would represent an absurd "overkill" and is not being considered even by the anti-Moscow hawks.

In Vietnam the U.S. spent hundreds of billions and lost; in Angola a mere $50 million in CIA funds is sufficient to produce a major military impact. Those who, like Senator John Tunney, oppose funds to Angola "for anything except intelligence gathering" are simply engaging in a cynical cover operation. Revolutionaries, too, are against "another Vietnam intervention," but not, like the liberals, because Angola is a "bad investment" for American imperialism (unlike the Near East, where Vietnam "doves" become Israel "hawks"). Rather we demand that the U.S. get out of Angola—and call for the defeat of the U.S./South African-led forces because we want to smash imperialism, not modify its policies.

L'Express

MPLA soldier in Luanda.

Internationalization of the Angolan Civil War

Kissinger chose to escalate. Beginning in late October, a rapid-fire succession of events transformed the three-cornered civil war between competing, generally tribally based formations into a "proxy battlefield between the major powers" (*Economist*, 15 November). Evidence emerged of the decisive subordination of UNITA and FNLA to imperialist and neo-colonial forces eager to oust the Russians and fill the power vacuum left by the removal of the Portuguese army.

In the weeks immediately preceding the November 11 termination of colonial rule, a motorized column of about 500 white soldiers, mostly South African and Portuguese, appeared at the head of a joint FNLA UNITA force. The column entered Angola from South West Africa (Namibia) and swept up the coast, driving MPLA from key ports. As the joint column pushed north, FNLA forces, led by pro-Spinola Portuguese reactionaries and supplied by U.S. arms channeled through Zaïre, moved south in a coordinated pincer attack on Luanda. To create a credible neo-colonial regime in competition with the MPLA's "People's Republic of Angola," the U.S./South Africa axis effected a paper unification of FNLA and UNITA in a puppet "Democratic People's Republic" with its capital in Huambo (formerly Nova Lisboa).

Simultaneously the South Africans more shamelessly admitted their intervention (now estimated at more than 1,000 regular troops). In early December General Jack Dutton, South African army chief of staff, visited his troops in Angola (referred to in Johannesburg newspapers as the "zone of operations") taking along foreign newsmen. The Pretoria government is claiming as its pretext the need to protect the Cunene River dam and thereby "ensure the irrigation of South West Africa's cattle pastures" (UPI dispatch, 5 December).

On the other side, internationalization of the conflict has also proceeded apace as the MPLA was reinforced by several thousand Cuban troops and equipped with Soviet tanks and rockets. These forces and materiel have already begun to turn the tide. On three fronts the MPLA has pushed back its opponents, retaking key positions, especially along the central stretch of the Benguela railroad in south central Angola.

Mercenaries from Zaïre and France captured by the MPLA. Augusta Conchiglia

Thus the recent confirmations by State Department and other government sources do more than expose Kissinger's cynical claims that the U.S. is opposed to "outside interference" in Angola and favors an "African solution" to the conflict; they also underline the decisive internationalization of the Angolan civil war. It is no longer simply the Soviet-backed MPLA versus the virulently anti-communist, Zaïre-based FNLA and the pro-colonialist, South Africa-supplied UNITA. Massive American aid to FNLA/UNITA and direct South African intervention have turned the country into a battlefield between the U.S. and USSR.

In this conflict—as opposed to the previous three-way struggle between competing petty-bourgeois nationalist forces—revolutionary Marxists call for *military* victory of the MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition, without placing the slightest *political* confidence in the radical petty-bourgeois nationalists. The Moscow Stalinists, in contrast, support the MPLA only because they seek a *bourgeois* Angola in the Russian orbit, or at least a pawn to be bargained away in the interests of "détente." In turn, groups which claim to stand to the left of the Stalinists, such as the fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat" majority, call for "all power to the MPLA" (i.e., political support), sowing illusions in the revolutionary pretensions of the MPLA.

Running Dogs Run for Cover

Other forces besides the imperialists have aided the right-wing nationalists in their drive to "flatten" Luanda and "kill every single Communist" in the Angolan capital. The Maoist bureaucracy in China supplied military advisors to FNLA troops in Zaïre and joins Kissinger in denouncing Russian "interference" and "expansionist policies" in Angola.

At a press conference in New York on October 24, MPLA spokesman Saydi Mingas accurately characterized the thrust of China's position:

> "The Chinese use the term 'superpowers', by which I understand they mean the U.S. and the Soviet Union. They say they are against both. But the Chinese are cooperating with the Americans and with the American Central Intelligence Agency. I suppose this is what the Chinese call 'fighting social-imperialism' or something."

The question of Angola was reportedly on the agenda for Ford's talks with Chinese leaders during his recent trip to Peking. The U.S., too, noticed it had a "mutual interest...in countering any expansion of Soviet influence in Western Europe, Angola and the Pacific," as the *New York Times* (5 December) reported.

China's bloc with South Africa and the CIA has evoked deep revulsion among many black and "third-world"-oriented groups, and is causing major problems for U.S. Maoists. Some, like the Revolutionary Communist Party (formerly Revolutionary Union), have maintained an embarrassed silence, although its support to the racist anti-busing movement in Boston and Louisville should be adequate preparation for a bloc with *apartheid* South Africa. Others, notably the October League (Mao's most loyal American sycophants), simply rubber stamp China's stance.

But the *Guardian*, always acutely sensitive to radical petty-bourgeois public opinion, has been forced to openly criticize Peking's obscene policy, although in the most obsequious manner. In its November 26 "Viewpoint," it writes:

> "The Guardian respects, but differs with, the position of People's China on this issue. China insists that the only solution to the Angolan crisis is for the three sides to join together in a united government, as requested by the OAU [Organization of African Unity]."

MPLA military/political training camp in Cabinda. Augusta Conchiglia

If the *Guardian* were honest, it would note that at a November 25 news conference in Detroit, Henry Kissinger was singing exactly the same tune to cover up naked imperialist aggression. It is the vile Washington-Pretoria-Peking axis which the *Guardian* apologizes for.

These weak-hearted sometime Mao backers are not the only ones who "respect" China's counterrevolutionary policies. The press in white-supremacist South Africa is increasingly interested in the possibilities opened up for a China alliance. The *Rand Daily Mail* wrote that, "In principle there is no reason why we cannot talk to the Chinese. A Pretoria-Peking dialogue would be very beneficial to South Africa." It noted "enthusiasm" in ruling Nationalist Party circles for such a proposal (quoted in the *Daily World*, 5 December).

Today Peking intimates that the 200 Chinese military advisors to the FNLA have been withdrawn and Chinese military aid to FNLA and UNITA is terminated. There is no reason to disbelieve this report, for the U.S. has now stepped into the breach on a far larger scale. But CIA aid to the FNLA has been known ever since the early 1960's, and FNLA leader Roberto's anti-communism has never been a secret. With the logic of bureaucrats irrevocably hostile to world proletarian revolution, the Chinese leaders have shown themselves always willing to kiss the imperialist jackboot whenever it aids them against their Kremlin rivals.

Revolutionaries must resolutely break politically with both Moscow and Peking brands of Stalinist class collaboration, and with their respective petty-bourgeois nationalist allies. Military support to the Soviet-backed MPLA against the imperialist-led coalition is a necessary tactic in the context of our fundamental strategic aim: the struggle to build an independent working-class Trotskyist party. Such a party, basing itself on the powerful South African and copper-belt proletariat and the fledgling working class in Luanda, and supported by the peasant masses, must be built in order to wipe out capitalist exploitation and the oppression of the black masses and construct a socialist federation of southern Africa. ■

CORRECTION

In the article, "Charges Dropped Against Michael Zinzun" (*WV* No. 88, 5 December) we indicated that Zinzun was part of the "Pasadena Seven" arrested on August 21. In fact, although the seven were arrested in a police attack on Zinzun's Pasadena Community Information Center, the charges against him stemmed from earlier police harassment.

I.S.: "Way Off Base" on Portugal

Their Corrections and Ours

Recent events in Portugal have been giving the tinker-toy radicals of the International Socialists (I.S.) nothing but trouble. First their 24-carat "Portuguese soldier and revolutionary" António Silva unexpectedly announced to a Seattle audience that "the MFA [Armed Forces Movement] does not exist" and later echoed General Otelo de Carvalho's call for "councils without parties" in Portugal to put an end to the deplorable political struggles of the Communists, Socialists and others within the workers commissions.

As if things were not bad enough, last month the I.S. newspaper *Workers' Power* ran a front-page article heralding the outbreak of proletarian revolution in Portugal at the very moment that the Portuguese working class was suffering its worst setback in the last 19 months!

On 28 November *Workers' Power* wrote:

> "The first shots in the Portuguese civil war have been fired. The lines have been drawn and there can be no turning back. It is only a matter of time.
> "There is just one question left who will win, the workers or their exploiters.
> "Right now, in the working class quarters of Lisbon, Oporto and Setubal, arms are being distributed. The revolutionaries are mobilizing....
> "...There can be no hesitation. In Portugal, everything is at stake....
> "...All power to the workers. Long live the revolution."

On the inside pages readers learned that in Portugal, "Today, there is no effective capitalist government." Whoops! When they woke up the next morning I.S. leaders were already regretting this bombastic announcement.

In its 5 December issue *Workers' Power* was compelled to print a small correction box explaining: about that revolution in Portugal...well, it was a "mistake"; in fact, the real situation is "very different"; and actually, as a result of tremendous confusion in Portugal "much of what we said was way off base."

It is incumbent upon a Marxist organization to maintain the highest standards of accuracy in its press, including the public acknowledgment and correction of previous errors. But an "error" consisting of the failure to distinguish between an abortive revolt of "left-wing" soldiers in Lisbon unsupported by a single significant section of the Portuguese working class and a mass revolutionary insurrection of that class understandably raises as many questions about the organization's political integrity as it resolves.

How could such an "error" have been made? The I.S. assures us that it is not to blame. After all, it points out in its correction box (as it does in each and every one of its articles on Portugal), "*Workers' Power* coverage of Portugal is based on information we receive by phone directly from Portugal."

But, comrades, who is on the other end of the line? And why are they feeding you such misinformation? And above all why are you swallowing it?

In fact, the "error" which appeared in *Workers' Power* was due neither to the "confusion" in Portugal nor to some faulty telephone connection, but to the I.S.'s shameless tailing after the Proletarian Revolutionary Party (PRP) which was itself tailing after the "left-wing" officers upon whom it relied for leadership particularly its hero, General Carvalho.

The PRP had written of Carvalho: "We underline the courage of this soldier who is always ready to advance without fear" (*Revolução*, 8 May 1975). Apparently carried away by its own rhetoric and illusions in the "revolutionary generals," on November 25 the PRP put forward the slogan of immediate insurrection. What a surprise when "fearless Otelo" not only refused to give the slightest encouragement to the "left-wing" regiments which waited for his orders, but stood at the side of President Costa Gomes when he appeared on television to denounce the leftists and appeal to the insurgent troops to surrender!

So now we are treated to a deeply cynical rewrite of the November 25 military revolt. Instead of the beginning of the workers revolution, the I.S. now claims it was a "Communist Party Adventure" as the 5 December *Workers' Power* headline declares. This article is a deliberate lie from beginning to end. It claims the revolt was started by militant paratroop units "under CP officers' leadership." No one else –not even the right-wing Lisbon newspapers who are trying to saddle the CP with responsibility for the revolt –claim the Stalinists led the paratroops.

Workers' Power (5 December) says the events were a "planned, cynical maneuver" by the CP, that the PRP was "not taken in" and "does not support trying to take power with a military coup." The Communist Party does bear a major responsibility for the defeat suffered by the Portuguese workers in the wake of the collapse of the November 25 paratroop revolt. It actively sabotaged efforts to organize a general strike against the state of emergency and the elimination of civil liberties decreed by the victorious generals, instead counseling "serenity." But the PRP bears a large measure of responsibility as well. It had lulled the workers' vigilance toward the "left" officers, particularly Carvalho, whose support for General Costa Gomes aided the breaking of the rebellion. It sowed illusions that the Armed Forces Movement, i.e., the bourgeois officer corps, could and would abolish capitalism. And during late October and November the PRP was deliberately playing at a left-wing coup with its repeated calls for "insurrection."

Moreover, *Workers' Power* (28 November) reported proudly that, "The PRP and the Socialist Left Movement (MES) issued a joint statement at 6 AM Tuesday. [i.e., at the beginning of the revolt]....The statement called for a workers insurrection...." Needless to say, this joint communiqué is conveniently forgotten in the next issue's transparent attempt to absolve the "heroic" PRP of blame for the setback.

Unlike the I.S., the Spartacist tendency has proven consistently capable of predicting significant developments in Portugal and of offering correct and unambiguous political leadership. Our success is principally attributable to the fact that our vision of reality is not distorted by an appetite for political compromise and that our concern for truth and principled leadership is a central part of our struggle for international workers revolution.■

WV Photo

Left to right: Mattie Shepherd, Ellery Allen, Joyce Calhoun and PDC spokesman Martha Phillips.

Stop Racist Police Terror!

Bay Area Defense Forum Unites Allen, Calhoun, Guyton Cases

WV Photo

OAKLAND, December 6—Under the slogan "Stop Racist Police Terror!" three of the most important recent defense cases on the West Coast were brought together last night for the first time. The speakers at the Partisan Defense Committee-sponsored forum here were relatives of three well-known victims of California cop "justice": Joyce Calhoun—sister of Floyd Calhoun, the 23-year-old black youth gunned down last August on the streets of Oakland's ghetto by trigger-happy police; Mattie Shepherd—mother of Tyrone Guyton, the 14-year-old black junior high school student shot in the back by Emeryville cops in November 1973; and Ellery Allen—mother of Philip Allen, the 20-year-old black college student now out on bail and fighting frame-up charges that he killed and wounded Los Angeles county sheriff's deputies. Of the three, only Philip Allen is alive; the Calhoun and Guyton families have brought court suits against the murderous cops.

Among the 100 people who attended the forum at Laney College were many from left and black organizations, including the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, the Communist Party/Young Workers Liberation League, International Socialists and Black Muslims. The forum raised over $150 for the three defense committees represented by the speakers: Justice for Calhoun Family Committee, Justice for Guyton Family Committee, Philip L. Allen Defense Committee. All agreed more broadly based efforts like this one were needed to build a powerful defense of the victims of police savagery. Emotions ran high as the speakers told their stories of cop brutality and courtroom injustice. Ellery Allen sounded the call for unity in defense without factional regard: "This has been a dark year, but it has been illuminated by people like you, and by organizations like the PDC who say, 'With solidarity there is strength!'"

Workers Fed Up With Strikebreaking Government

NDP Swamped in British Columbia Election

Excerpted from Spartacist/Canada *No. 3, January 1976*

VANCOUVER—On December 11 British Columbia's first New Democratic Party government was swept out of office by the bourgeois Social Credit Party after three years of social-democratic rule. The NDP lost 20 of the 37 seats it had held in the 55-seat Provincial Assembly, as the right-wing Socreds capitalized on the collapse of the provincial Liberals and Progressive Conservative organizations to grab 36 seats and return to power. NDP Premier Dave Barrett suffered the personal embarrassment of losing his home riding [election district] of Coquitlam to one George Kerster, an unknown Socred used-car dealer.

Barrett and the NDP chose to fight the election on their demonstrated ability to provide "strong leadership for B.C."—i.e., their ability to control the province's volatile trade-union movement. Gone was the anti-capitalist rhetoric of the old oppositional days, as the NDP fastidiously cultivated a campaign image of such "reasonableness" as to compel even the bourgeois media to encase the party's "socialism" in quotation marks.

The Socreds and the big-business dailies no longer sought to play out their usual anti-labor theme against the NDP in this election, however—and for good reason. After the government's passage on October 7 of Bill 146 which smashed the strikes of 60,000 workers in the biggest single strikebreaking act in B.C. history, no one in the province (least of all those unionists legislated back to work!) would have swallowed the old story about Barrett being a "puppet" in the hands of the trade-union leadership.

...In addition, the NDP's anti-labor policies undercut its support among its historical electoral base, the B.C. working class. Where the 1972 campaign featured widespread active campaigning by trade-unionists on the NDP's behalf, this year endorsement by the union bureaucracy was formal and unenthusiastic, while rank-and-file support was passive and cynical at best....

TL: No Vote to the NDP Strikebreakers

The Trotskyist League propaganda in the elections was aimed at those advanced workers who were disgusted by Bill 146 and the other strikebreaking activities of the NDP government. The TL's intervention in the campaign, which included mass leafletting and a public forum in Vancouver on December 6, centered on the call for *no* electoral support to the NDP strikebreakers and clearly posed the necessity of a revolutionary alternative to the social democrats' anti-working-class treachery.

Revolutionaries approach bourgeois elections with the perspective of breaking workers from their loyalty to reformist betrayers like the NDP in order to win them to a revolutionary program. In the 1972 elections, when the masses of workers believed that the NDP would rule in their interests and because the party was running organizationally independently of the bourgeoisie, the best way of exposing its true nature would have been through a tactic of critical support aimed at putting it in office and exposing its betrayals in practice.

The recent election, however, took place under very different circumstances. The NDP had been in power for three years, during which time it repeatedly attacked the most elementary rights of the trade-union movement. Following Bill 146, the true nature of the social-democratic NDP has been amply demonstrated—the B.C. working class has today very few illusions in the NDP's capacity or intention to consistently defend workers' interests and only voted NDP in the absence of a genuine alternative. NDP campaign speeches at many union meetings, notably the B.C. Federation of Labor convention, were marked by walkouts of militant workers who only three years ago were greeting Barrett with standing ovations.

Barrett himself put his finger on it: "What we want to know is if the people are ready to back us on tough action" (*Vancouver Province*, 10 November 1975)—the crucial issue in the B.C. elections was strikebreaking. A call for a vote to the NDP on December 11 could only have been seen as a call to give the Premier the mandate he sought—*to continue to enact anti-labor legislation and break strikes.* Support to the social-democracy in this election would have been a position of mindless tailism, having nothing in common with the Marxist tactic of critical support.

Opportunists Cover for Barrett

Predictably, most of the ostensibly socialist organizations in B.C. did fall mindlessly into line behind the B.C. Federation of Labor bureaucracy in supporting the re-election of the NDP. The largest of these organizations, the pro-Moscow Communist Party (CP), ran 13 candidates on its familiar anti-monopoly program which essentially amounts to a call for the creation of a popular-front government composed of the CP, the NDP and the "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. The TL gave no support to these Stalinist reformists nor to their class-collaborationist program.

Both wings of the dis-"United Secretariat" in Canada, the centrist Revolutionary Marxist Group (RMG) and the reformist League for Socialist Action (LSA) also ran candidates in the elections, at the same time calling for a vote to the NDP.

As a small social-democratic propaganda group in a country which already has a mass social-democratic party, the small-time Kautskyites of the LSA had to content themselves with being the best waterboys for the treacherous NDP bureaucrats. The LSA's program highlighted a call to "win the NDP to a socialist course," and also contained a list of reforms intermingled with vague references to the desirability of achieving socialism at some point in the indefinite future. The LSA's electoral campaign boiled down to an attempt to convince the workers of B.C. that socialism could be achieved by a two-stage struggle: first, replacement of the current leadership of the NDP with a more "progressive" set of fakers and, second, to vote these new improved social-democrats into office.

The RMG's election campaign reflected its strategic perspective of tailing the episodic motion of various non-proletarian and reformist "mass movements." The RMG election program was a compendium of specially tailored reformist programs for each of the "sectors" to which they were hoping to appeal (women, students, immigrants and native people), garnished with a few references to a "democratically-controlled workers government."

In so far as the RMG addressed the working class it was to counsel that the capitalist offensive against the labor movement could best be met by pressuring the trade-union bureaucracy: "...the B.C. union brass will have to be pushed very hard [!] to adequately [!] respond to federal and provincial anti-labor policies" (*B.C. Militant*, December 1975). In a willful capitulation to the anti-communist prejudice of the masses, the RMG roundly denounced the ruling Stalinist bureaucracies of China and the USSR while omitting the Trotskyist call for defense of these states against imperialist attack.

While pointing out that neither the LSA nor RMG represented a revolutionary alternative, the TL called for critical support to their candidates as the only way in which working-class militants could register both an anti-capitalist and anti-strikebreaking vote in the election. However, as TL noted throughout the campaign, these groups, with their reformist electoral programs and support to the NDP strikebreakers, can in no sense provide the necessary revolutionary alternative to social-democratic cretinism. Only a Trotskyist vanguard party, forged in hard programmatic struggle against the current reformist misleaders of the working class and their opportunist hangers-on, can show the way forward for the working class in B.C. and across Canada. ■

SPARTACIST
Canada

Issue No. 2
Nov.-Dec. 1975

Subscription: $2/year
(11 issues)

Make payable/mail to:
Spartacist/Canada Publishing Association
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

"At root, Landy never really broke from his 20 years of Shachtmanism."

the *Torch* on Landy's expulsion, 1975

•••

"For the past fifteen years, Landy has been fighting as a Shachtmanite against Trotskyism. Now he comes here and claims he was born two months ago."

SL spokesman in SL-RSL debate, 1973

Eureka! A Shachtmanite in Their Midst

Sy Landy Expelled from RSL

The current issue of the *Torch* (15 December-14 January 1976), newspaper of the Revolutionary Socialist League (RSL), stridently proclaims the expulsion of Sy Landy, one of its founding leaders. In the two and a half years since its split from the social-democratic International Socialists (I.S.), the RSL's history has consisted of a seemingly endless succession of bitter organizational squabbles between rival cliques. The ultimate recourse in these clique battles has been the technique of political expulsion, for which documented instances of indiscipline are not considered necessary. The Landy expulsion is certainly no exception.

The self-righteously bureaucratic RSL apparently sees no irony in purging Landy for the crime of Shachtmanism. Yet this is surely a sublime example of the pot calling the kettle black. The RSL founding cadre, led by Ron Taber and Sy Landy, broke to the left from the I.S.

continued on page 8

Sy Landy — WV Photo

Chicago Strike Enters Fifth Month

Victory to the Capitol Packaging Strike!

MELROSE PARK, Illinois, December 15 After 19 weeks on the picket line, some 200 Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-507 strikers at the Capitol Packaging plant here remain spirited and determined in the face of repeated strikebreaking efforts by the giant Alberto-Culver Corporation, owners of Capitol. Virtually ignored by the do-nothing leaderships of their own and other unions, the strikers face local police, federal government and judicial attacks, and one striker has been killed on the picket line. The story is typical of many small strikes, and the union at Capitol hangs in the balance.

The plant continues on partial operation as the company speeds salaried personnel through the strike lines under the watchful eyes of Melrose Park police. The cops have loyally protected A-C's scabs, arresting and harassing strikers, but when Local 7-507's black vice president, David Watson, was run down and killed by a truck breaking through the picket line, the driver was released on $25 bond, charged with "failure to yield to a pedestrian"! An inquest recently concluded with a ruling that this bloody slaying was an "accident," and no charges were pressed against the driver.

In a clear threat directed at the many Chicano strikers, agents of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service two months ago arrested an allegedly undocumented Mexican striker, Angelo Claudio, who had been working at the plant for the previous year and a half. A legal fight has won this worker a three-month stay of deportation, during which time he may acquire "legitimate papers," but the threat of federal persecution of the strikers remains.

The strikers have gotten only the barest minimum of support from their union, the OCAW. Not a single outside local has contributed a cent to the strike, and the International office has threatened to cut off the strikers' meager $25 weekly strike benefits for a second time on the grounds that its strike fund is depleted. Strike benefits were cut off once already for several weeks. The OCAW leadership of Al Grospiron in Denver has gone no further than to pass tepid convention resolutions mourning the death of Watson and calling for a consumer boycott of A-C products, which it has done nothing to build or publicize.

The real attitude of the OCAW tops was reflected in the *OCAW News* (October 1975), which said that Watson had been "assigned to Capitol Packaging strike duty to be sure the pickets were maintaining an orderly and peaceful line." In this the bureaucrats are clearly in agreement with the bosses' court, which recently issued an injunction limiting picketing to four pickets per gate. Previously pickets had numbered from 12 to 20 at the main gate, including some supporters from other unions.

Three unions in the area have made financial contributions to the strike United Auto Workers Local 6, at the Melrose Park International Harvester plant; United Steel Workers Local 1033, at Republic Steel; and Boilermakers Local 1247. A small but positive step was taken last week when a union-endorsed strike support committee was set up. In addition to strikers and strike leaders, officials from two United Steel Workers locals and members of the Labor Struggle Caucus of UAW Local 6 were present at the first meeting. Also represented were the Revolutionary Communist Party, the October League, the Revolutionary Socialist League, the Spartacist League/Spartacus Youth League, and several individuals and smaller left groupings.

A steering committee composed of a representative of each group was selected. Noticeably absent when the steering committee was selected were two supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, who had observed an earlier part of the meeting. Today the support committee led a militant march of 80 strikers and supporters to the plant. In addition, plans have been laid, chiefly on the initiative of the strikers, the Spartacist League and members of UAW Local 6, to carry the as yet unpublicized consumer boycott to downtown department stores with militant picketing.

The strike support committee has the delicate task of initiating militant support for the strike in the face of massive conservative resistance from the union leaderships. It must refuse to kowtow to this conservatism while also avoiding futile attempts to substitute itself for the mobilized power of the organized workers, who alone can conduct and win strike actions. The Labor Struggle Caucus called for smashing the injunction through mobilizing the power of the Chicago Federation of Labor. A Spartacist League spokesman noted in agreement that it was necessary to extend the strike and suggested that the strike leadership call on transport workers to refuse to handle A-C products (which include several nationally known brands of deodorant and hair spray.)

Silent throughout the lengthy discussions on support strategy, the Maoist RCP and OL have had essentially only one suggestion: the support committee should do "only what the strikers want us to do." The RSL, on the other hand, wanted the strike support committee *itself* to attempt to break the injunction through mass picketing and organizing A-C plants in other areas, thereby completely ignoring the ability of the official union leaderships to isolate and smash such actions.

After lengthy discussion, the steering committee adopted the SL suggestion to urge the strikers' leadership to call on transport workers to refuse to handle A-C products, and to request support from other unions, including for smashing the injunction. The strike committee, some members of which have been critical of their official leaders at support committee meetings, is open to suggestions for militant, class-struggle strike support work. Thus the strike support committee has a role to play, neither tied to the conservative "strategy" laid down by the trade-union bureaucrats, as desired by the Maoists, nor launching into adventuristic substitutionism, which would quickly become suicidal. The decisive battle lies within the unions themselves, for class-struggle leadership.■

Spartacus Youth League Pamphlet

The Fight to Implement Busing

For Labor/Black Defense to Stop Racist Attacks and to Smash Fascist Threats

Price: 75¢

Order from/pay to:
Spartacus Youth Publishing Co.
Box 825, Canal Street Station
New York, New York 10013

Wipe Out All the Convictions!

Free Martin Sostre Now!

Martin Sostre's case is likely to be considered by Governor Hugh Carey in late December. Urgent protests must try to prevent Carey from taking only half-measures that would place Sostre's life in immediate danger. Besides his original frame-up conviction Sostre has been sentenced to an additional term for allegedly attacking prison guards who in fact assaulted him. Sostre, now in federal custody, must not be sent to New York Penitentiary where prison guards have made threats against his life. All *the convictions against Martin Sostre must be wiped out.*

TELEGRAM

Governor Hugh Carey
Executive Chambers, State House
Albany, New York

A vicious frame-up in 1967 placed Martin Sostre behind bars for a crime he did not commit. For his defense of prisoners' democratic rights Sostre has been subjected to more than four years of solitary confinement since his unjust conviction. We continue to stand by Martin Sostre in his struggle against this frame-up and insist that he is innocent. We demand that Martin Sostre be granted freedom!

Partisan Defense Committee

Sy Landy Expelled from RSL

(continued from page 7)

but in fact never even approached, much less transcended, the leftist face of early Shachtmanism.

The I.S. founding cadre, led by Hal Draper and including Landy, made its way in the early 1960's out of the moribund cold-warrior Socialist Party into which Max Shachtman (who had broken from Trotskyism in 1940) had liquidated his organization in 1958. Under the pressure of the deepening disaffection of the left-liberal milieu with U.S. imperialism's losing Indochinese adventure, the I.S. gradually slid toward an increasingly leftist facade: a "harder" approach to organizational functioning; a call for military victory for the Stalinist-led forces in Vietnam (in flat contradiction to its "third camp" line that no qualitative difference can be discerned between Stalinism and imperialism); a downgrading of its congenitally petty-bourgeois approach in order to implant forces in industry.

The I.S. left turn reflected an attempt to accommodate the shift in radical public opinion toward anti-imperialism and workerism. Some of the more impatient forces in the organization, however, wanted to go faster and further than the I.S. as a whole. This was the left bulge which subsequently became the RSL—a more leftist version of the I.S. which still incorporated the politics of Shachtmanism and the endemic cliquism of its parent organization.

The newly emerged RSL smugly claimed to be more Trotskyist than Trotsky himself. But it quickly proved itself incapable of examining its own political family tree. Its refusal to repudiate the "third camp" theories—the theoretical means whereby Shachtman himself passed definitively from the camp of Trotskyism to eventual reconciliation with imperialism—exemplified the RSL's affinity for the fundamentals of Shachtmanism despite its sloughing off of Shachtman's cold-warrior excrescences as no longer opportune.

According to the *Torch* account, Landy charged the RSL leadership with "being a clique" of "corrupt individuals" pursuing policies of "bureaucratism and opportunism." The article rails that "he described the organization's increased intervention in and leadership of the struggles of the proletariat as a drastic turn to the right." The *Torch* accuses Landy of a "pathological fear of the working class" and terms him a "house intellectual" who wanted "a talk shop where he could freely spout any idea that wandered into his head." Essentially, the article paints Landy as an irresponsible dilettante.

Perhaps the shameless illogic of expelling Landy for never having "really" broken from Shachtmanism bothered the RSL a bit, for the *Torch* finds it incumbent to assert that Landy even "stood in the right wing" of the old Shachtmanite organization—a charge which is simply factually a slander. The RSL has hacked out Landy's apparent political obituary with an obviously factional ax. We are certainly in no position to render an informed verdict on this latest falling out among opportunists. But it seems to us that Landy is a personally inoffensive Shachtmanite who gradually fell by the wayside in the viciously personally invidious, politically unprincipled and clique-ridden neo-Shachtmanite swamp which is the RSL. Chewed up in the service of class collaboration, Sy Landy has now become the victim of the unprincipled political creature he helped to create.■

NYC Red Squad...

(continued from page 3)

black militant in various organizations. Roberts was instrumental in the indictment of 21 Panthers on 2 April 1969, on charges of conspiracy to bomb subways, police stations and other targets. One of the defendants in that mass trial was Robert Collier. Although in 1971 the defendants were all acquitted by a jury which refused to believe the fabrications of Roberts and the other police *provocateurs*, the majority of them, including Collier, spent two full years in prison before the trial concluded. And five days after Collier's acquittal, BOSS dispatched Oswaldo Alvarez to move into the Lower East Side and establish a reputation as "another guy on the street...a guy that was game...."

The same pattern of infiltration, provocation and entrapment, a technique perfected by the tsarist secret police, the Okhrana, marked other cases engineered by the red squad during the late sixties. The alleged plot of the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), a tiny black nationalist group, to kill moderate civil rights leaders in Queens was hatched by a BOSS agent in 1967. The trial of the Harlem Five, accused of a conspiracy to kill a cop a week, was concluded the day after the mass Panther trial. Unlike the earlier trials of RAM and BLF members, the Harlem Five were acquitted by a jury which concluded that the two BOSS agents involved were responsible for the "conspiracy" which they invented.

Cops and Rebels, a book by civil-liberties lawyer Paul Chevigny, deals with the little-known case of three Brooklyn Black Panthers tried at the same time as the Panther 21. Alfred Cain, Jr., Ricardo De Leon and Jerome West were charged in August 1969 with conspiracy to commit robbery, attempted robbery, illegal possession of weapons and attempted murder. The Black Panther Party leadership repudiated the three men and refused to lift a finger in their defense.

The three defendants were arrested in a car driven by Wilbert Thomas, a BOSS operative, while allegedly on their way to rob the New Dunston Hotel in Harlem. The car contained an M-1 rifle, a knife, a canister of red-pepper spray, a sawed-off shotgun hidden in a bag by Thomas and a sketch of the hotel drawn by Thomas. The state's case rested almost exclusively on the police agent's testimony that the four men were en route to rob the hotel when they were stopped by a small army of police in a pre-arranged ambush. The jury responded to the blatantly obvious evidence of police entrapment by finding the defendants not guilty of the conspiracy charges but convicted on several other counts. West got an indefinite term of up to three years. De Leon was sent up for seven years. After spending a year in jail during the trial, Cain was released on five years' probation.

While the Black Panther Party was the most militant expression of the black liberation movement during this period, it was also an organization rent by political contradictions and ripe for the sordid activities of *agents provocateurs*. The glorification of lumpen violence, the paramilitary mode of organization and the amorphous Panther program permitted agents like Wood, Roberts and Thomas to push their adventurist schemes and even to play leading roles in the party.

Persecution of Leftists

Red squad agents were not infiltrated solely into black nationalist groups. The frame-up conviction of Progressive Labor Party (PL) leader Bill Epton on charges stemming from his courageous opposition to the July 1964 Harlem police riot was largely the result of a BOSS agent, Abraham Hart. In November 1965, Epton was sentenced to a year in prison for conspiracy to commit riot and two counts of criminal anarchy. Every one of the prosecution's witnesses was a cop, including Hart who had infiltrated PL and was expelled for provocative activities at the time of the riot.

During Epton's trial the bourgeoisie initiated a witchhunt against PL, setting up a grand jury to find proof of a "communist conspiracy" behind the resistance of black people to police terror. As the repressive net widened, *Spartacist* editor James Robertson was called before this grand jury. The subpoena was served by a member of the red squad while Robertson was in a picket line protesting the grand jury investigation. The Spartacist League was dragged into the investigation because of our detailed exposure of the police role in the riots; our determined defense of PL against legal intimidation and persecution; and our initiation of the militant Harlem Solidarity Committee which rallied working-class support in New York's garment center for the embattled people of Harlem.

One New York-based antiwar group, the Veterans and Reservists Against the War (V&R) actually went out of existence as the direct result of persecution by BOSS. The group was infiltrated by agent Richard Lyons almost from its founding in 1967. Lyons aroused suspicion by constantly advocating adventurist acts during antiwar demonstrations. He was allowed to remain in the group, however, and was primarily responsible for the arrest of three other members during a demonstration against presidential candidate Hubert Humphrey. Lyons' cover got blown during the trial, and the red squad moved to direct harassment of V&R. Members were visited at their jobs and at home late at night by BOSS agents. Red squad member John Finnegan threatened some V&R people that they would be physically attacked if they showed up at any more demonstrations. The group folded up as the result of this outrageous campaign.

Labor Spies

The existence of BOSS and other red squads is a constant menace to the labor movement. The notorious labor spies of the twenties and thirties are still around, many of them in the employ of police departments. BOSS insider Bouza testifies to this in his thesis:

> "The character of the Bureau of Special Services was stamped most indelibly by the original mandate to inquire into radical activities. This has, from the first, been the organization's raison d'être and, as such, the threat posed by the Trojan Horse of Communism vis a vis the union movement became automatically the concern of the Bureau. As this threat faded, the function of inquiring into labor disputes shifted in emphasis from an investigation into the nature and extent of communist infiltration to an enforcement oriented philosophy that centered on the dislocations created by a strike and the potential law violations existing in a given labor dispute."
>
> —"The Operations of a Police Intelligence Unit," February 1968

Bouza cites as a case history a bitter dispute between the Social Service Employees Union and the Welfare Department in 1967. Red squad spying proved "the value of advance intelligence. By this is meant anticipating the work stoppage, discovering the tactics to be used (the 'work-in'), determining vulnerable locations and guarding them and generally anticipating the law enforcement problems posed by the strike." The massive police presence in that strike, orchestrated by BOSS, helped the Welfare Department to wear down the militancy of the strikers and, aided by the treachery of the union leadership, to make major inroads into the 1965 contract.

Numerous court suits have been brought against red squads across the country, charging consistent violations of democratic rights. In response, some police departments—among them New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and the Michigan state police—have been subject to legislative hearings or cosmetic reforms, such as destruction of their massive files of information on "subversives." Such court suits, in the post-Watergate period, have the support of bourgeois elements uneasy over the growing public awareness of the criminal practices of U.S. imperialism's spy network. While the measures which make it more difficult for these swine to carry out their dirty work are supportable, the key task is to build a political struggle, especially mobilizing the ranks of labor, to abolish the capitalist secret police root and branch, from the high-powered international operatives of the Central Intelligence Agency to the relatively amateurish thugs of the New York red squad.■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE LOCAL DIRECTORY

ANN ARBOR ..... (313) 995-9245
c/o SYL, Box 592
Ann Arbor, MI 48107

BERKELEY/
OAKLAND ..... (415) 653-4668
Box 23372
Oakland, CA 94623

BLOOMINGTON .. (812) 332-3235
Indiana 47401

BOSTON..... (617) 492-3928
Box 188 (617) 436-1497
M.I.T. Station
Cambridge, MA 02139

CHICAGO ..... (312) 427-0003
Box 6441, Main P.O.
Chicago, IL 60680

CLEVELAND ..... (216) 621-3379
Box 6765
Cleveland, OH 44101

DETROIT ..... (313) 881-1632
Box 663A, General P.O.
Detroit, MI 48232

HOUSTON
Box 26474
Houston, TX 77207

LOS ANGELES .... (213) 485-1838
Box 26282, Edendale Station
Los Angeles, CA 90026

MADISON..... (608) 257-4212
c/o SYL, Box 3334
Madison, WI 53704

NEW YORK ..... (212) 925-2426
Box 1377, G.P.O.
New York, NY 10001

PHILADELPHIA ... (215) 667-5695
Box 25601
Philadelphia, PA 19144

SAN DIEGO
P.O. Box 2034
Chula Vista, CA 92012

SAN FRANCISCO . (415) 564-2845
Box 5712
San Francisco, CA 94101

TROTSKYIST LEAGUE OF CANADA

TORONTO ..... (416) 366-4107
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ontario

VANCOUVER ..... (604) 299-5306
Box 26, Station A
Vancouver, B.C.

The Struggle Continues—Stop the Frame-Up!

Philip Allen Out On Bail

LOS ANGELES After two long months in Chino State Penitentiary, Philip Allen has been released on bail. On Thursday, December 11, Judge Lawrence Rittenband reversed his earlier decision to revoke Allen's bail and set bail at $25,000, with no restrictions on Allen's activity or travel.

Release of the victimized black youth from prison was enthusiastically welcomed by his supporters. A delegation from the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee, including a representative of the Partisan Defense Committee, attended the court session. Rittenband only reversed his earlier ruling when, in light of a massive legal counterattack, it became clear that it would be overturned on appeal. The delegation heard the judge attribute his new decision to "the Christmas spirit," while noting that the legal brief filed on behalf of Allen by the American Civil Liberties Union was "enlightening."

Allen's bail was revoked in the first place because he dared to speak in behalf of his own innocence. Now that he is out of jail, he continues to tell the truth about the frame-up conviction. The Los Angeles City College campus, which had planned a day of fund-raising activities—"Philip Allen Day"—on Monday, December 15, celebrated his release from jail with a rally. Over 100 attended the event, but the LACC Philip Allen Defense Committee marred the occasion by a sectarian refusal to allow the Spartacus Youth League, active defenders of Allen, a speaker.

Philip spoke briefly to the crowd inside the student center, thanking everyone for the work which made his release possible and stating that he had a long fight ahead: "City College hasn't united around anything in a long time. This might mean the shock that gets something going."

Philip Allen's release from jail is a victory. Now mass protests must be built to squash the entire racist frame-up conviction and free Philip Allen!

To send messages of support and greatly needed donations, contact the Philip L. Allen Defense Committee, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, CA 90005.■

WV Photo

Demonstrators in Los Angeles demand freedom for Philip Allen.

Argentina Arrests 13 Pinochet Foes

No Extradition to Chile—Free the Prisoners!

WV photo

NYC Demonstration at Argentine Mission to the UN

NEW YORK, December 5 – More than 70 demonstrators marched today outside the Argentine mission to the United Nations protesting the arrest in Buenos Aires of ten Chileans, two Argentines and a British citizen on charges of providing arms and money to Chilean resistance groups. The protesters demanded that the 13 be immediately freed, chanting vehemently that there must be "no extraditions" to the blood-soaked Pinochet regime. The Chilean junta has already murdered more than 30,000 leftists.

Allegedly members of a Chilean Revolutionary Coordinating Committee ("formerly Chilean Resistance in Exile"), the prisoners are accused of gun-running, smuggling funds from Europe and spiriting "subversives" back and forth across the Andean cordillera (*La Nación* [Buenos Aires], 3 December). The 13 arrested are: Sergio Muñoz Martinez, Gabriel Salinas Alvarez, Guillermina Alicia Galiazzo Gavilán de Pizarro, Luis B. Moreno, Ximena Savala San Martin, Sergio Letelier Sottomayor, Catalina Palma Herrera, Roberto Pizarro Hofer, Juan José Bustos Ramirez, all Chileans. Also Rafael Mario Toer and Cristina Elvira Lange de Whitecross, Argentines; and Richard Whitecross, a British citizen.

The demonstration was called on one day's notice by the Spartacist League (SL) and the Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) in an effort to stave off threatened extradition to Chile by registering immediate international protest. Placards carried by the marchers included "Free class-war prisoners" and "Boycott all military goods to Chile." Among the chants were, "No extraditions—Junta's 'justice' means workers' death" and "Abajo la junta—Obreros al poder" ("Down with the junta—Workers to power").

A statement by the PDC protesting the arrests was delivered to the Argentine mission during the demonstration. It demanded immediate release of the prisoners and no extradition: "To turn them over to the murderous Pinochet junta is to pronounce their death sentence." The mission official who received the statement sought to assuage the protesters, remarking that "the judicial system in Argentina is quite a good one. There won't be any problem." As to extradition, he said, "it couldn't be done."

The demonstrators were not swayed by mealy-mouthed assurances. A Spartacist League speaker recalled the 1972 Trelew massacre of 13 leftist prisoners to illustrate Argentina's bloody class "justice." The regime has since changed but political murders continue daily, with more than 600 killed by anti-communist death squads during the last year. Referring to the sadistic torture which awaits the prisoners if handed over to Chile, the speaker pointed to the case of folksinger Victor Jara. Jailed in the National Stadium shortly after the 1973 coup, Jara's hands were cut off and his tongue ripped out before he was finally killed.

The SL spokesman emphasized the continuing massive repression in Chile, which has reached the point that two top leaders of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR), including its general secretary Andrés Pascal Allende, recently fled to the Vatican and Costa Rican embassies in Santiago. Previously the standing policy of the MIR was to automatically expel any member who left the country without permission or sought asylum in an embassy.

International protests by labor and socialist forces can exercise real leverage in the defense of class-war prisoners such as the 13 recently arrested in Argentina. An earlier campaign initiated by the international Spartacist tendency brought attention to MIR leaders Bautista Van Schouwen and Alejandro Romero at a time when most of the left was ignoring their plight in favor of concentrating on more "respectable" victims of the junta's terror. Militant demonstrations of international solidarity and protest are vital to publicize the barbarities of Pinochet's hangmen and to prevent further slaughter of valiant working-class militants. ■

Racists Riot...

(continued from page 1)

other lack of support by the predominantly white faculty and staff of that school." He agreed that the NAACP had proved by "a clear preponderance of the evidence" that black students in the high school are subject to constant verbal abuse and physical attacks by white students.

The ruling indicated that Garrity is now pursuing a strategy of limited confrontation with the School Committee while maneuvering for support from other elements in the school system. He stripped the lame-duck committee of much of its power, forbidding any last minute patronage appointments and setting up desegregation implementation and safety departments responsible to superintendent Marion Fahey rather than the committee. At the same time, he expressed his "enormous respect" for Fahey. In assuming jurisdiction over South Boston High School, he appointed assistant school superintendent Joseph McDonough as receiver. McDonough is a well-connected administrator, the brother of two anti-busing politicians who sit respectively on the City Council and School Committee.

Garrity's order also called for transfer of the South Boston High School headmaster and full-time academic administrators by the first school day in January, and for the transfer of the school's football coach, Arthur Perdigao. The "Southie" football team, said the judge, was deliberately "kept segregated": interested black students were not sought out, none were recruited until after the first week of practice, and when they did try out Perdigao "removed them [from the team] at the first available instance." The charges against the football coach were extensively documented; action against other teachers was dropped because of conflicting testimony.

However, two days after his initial ruling in the case, Judge Garrity added another dimension to the furor by granting the new court-appointed receiver authority to make sweeping changes in the school's teaching staff. After he reviews the qualifications and performance of all faculty, McDonough has blanket powers to transfer from South Boston High "such persons as he may determine." The teachers' wishes and seniority rights are to be ignored, and no provisions for hearings are mentioned.

The Boston Teachers Union (BTU) reacted to Garrity's decision by completely ignoring the blatantly racist conditions which motivated the NAACP suit to close the school. A BTU meeting on Wednesday voted (without discussion) to endorse the report of the South Boston faculty. The union condemned the court ruling and voted to consider a work action against it. The union has demonstrated that it wants to whitewash the racist actions of some of its members (Perdigao is a BTU member) while lining up with the School Committee. Similarly, on the question of busing the BTU has sought to block desegregation by calling for a one-year delay of Phase Two.

The court order does, however, pose a potential threat which should not be ignored. Forced transfers must be opposed as an arbitrary incursion on teachers' job rights. At the same time, the BTU has the responsibility to clean its own house, investigate (in cooperation with parents and students) the serious charges made by black students against some teachers at the high school and take firm *union* action against those teachers who have been guilty of racist actions.

It was significant that the judge's ruling simply skipped over charges that police in the school have actually aided racist assaults. There were allegations that in interracial fights the cops held black students while white youths continued to hit and kick them. However, Garrity did admit that black students "continue to be subject to physical attacks by groups of white students," and "more often than not, school and police authorities detain and suspend all the black students involved in the incident, but only one or two whites" (*Boston Globe*, 10 December).

The latter admission only begins to scratch the surface of the racist nature of the police. While Garrity's move has incensed the racists, the bourgeois courts cannot stop their offensive. At most Garrity can maintain a precarious hold on the situation by increasing the already massive police presence in the school. But the cops, as black students at South Boston High can and did testify, are part of the problem. Cops are not neutral in class and race conflicts—enforcers for bourgeois "law and order," they are the enemies of the exploited and oppressed.

Black people and class-conscious unionists in Boston must place no confidence in the capitalist authorities. Liberal Judge Garrity shows his class bias by his silence on cop participation in racial attacks and his anti-union order for arbitrary transfer of teachers. The court order will not eliminate racist practices in Boston schools, and its provision for forced transfers of BTU members must be opposed. A real struggle to implement desegregation and undercut the racial polarization in Boston requires winning labor support to implement the busing plan. The BTU must play a leading role in this struggle and must organize integrated defense teams of teachers, aides, parents and students to put an end to the racist violence and get the cops out of the schools. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

89

includes SPARTACIST

☐ Enclosed is $5 for 48 issues (1 year)

☐ Enclosed is $2 for 16 issues (4 months)—INTRODUCTORY sub

order from/pay to: Spartacist Publishing Co./Box 1377 GPO/NY, NY 10001

Weir Court Suit

(continued from page 4)

treachery of the suit. He was able to secure a denunciation of the Weir group as "enemies of labor" at an ILWU convention, and screams that the court suit is an attack on the union treasury. Weir gave his cynical response to this in another article in *New Politics* (Winter 1969): "...Bridges barrages the members with the urgent news that it [the suit] will cost them money. And it well may if the members allow Bridges to pass the costs on to them...." So it is up to the members to attempt to dodge the damages! Such footwork might not even be possible under the terms of the ruling.

Supporters of the Communist Party (CP)—faithful lapdogs of the Bridges regime for decades—followed the same tack as Bridges, denouncing the suit as "an attempt to destroy the union hiring hall procedures that were won in the bitter maritime strike of 1934" (*People's World*, 26 September 1964). As late as 1970, well-known CP supporter and Local 10 member Archie Brown helped beat back a resolution critical of Bridges' B-man purge at a Northern California Rank and File Action Conference. Although the suit was not aimed against the hiring hall and the hypocrisy of the CP in supporting the vicious purge knows no bounds nevertheless legal restrictions on the union's control of hiring could result from the suit, since official Local 10 committees in charge of deregistration of longshoremen are charged with conducting the purge.

Some members of Local 10, caught up in the B-men struggle at the time, have subsequently drawn important lessons from the experience of suing the union. One of these, Howard Keylor, was a leader of B-men and casual workers in Stockton in the early 1960's. Supporting the Weir suit at the time, Keylor has since repudiated this action. In 1974 Keylor, together with Stan Gow, issued a statement on the Weir case in their local newsletter, the *Longshore Militant*:

> "The question of the B-men and the [Local 10 hiring] hall has to be fought out within the union. To rely on the government to come in and do it for us is worse than futile: it ignores the lesson taught by the Taft-Hartley [injunction] in the 1971 strike and the government's early attempts to break the ILWU and deport Bridges. Opening the door to government is opening the door to smash us."

Now that the danger of massive damage to the union is clear, and the smokescreen of seeking damages "only from responsible individuals" has been blown away, Weir reveals his true colors by persisting. His "strategy" has always consisted of finding friendly, anti-communist labor bureaucrats and government agencies to "help" the workers. His attitude toward Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers was typical. While critical of Reuther's actions in specific situations, Weir hoped that Reuther's "program" had new possibilities for progress as late as 1966! He praised Reuther's "list of reforms...against poverty, communism and all forms of totalitarianism..." (*New Politics*, Summer 1966). Thus the Draper group continued the social-democratic policies of the SP from which they emerged.

Weir's suit quickly took on the characteristics of an anti-communist crusade through its prominent backers and its focus on Bridges, the famous pro-CP bureaucrat. The suit's defenders included A. Philip Randolph, an AFL-CIO vice president and Kennedy supporter; James B. Carey, chief hatchetman of the anti-communist purge which led to the split in the United Electrical Workers union during the late 1940's; Michael Harrington, SP hack who supported Johnson in 1964; and Norman Thomas.

The disastrous consequences of going to the capitalist courts to settle disputes within the workers movement—even the most obvious cases of victimization—have been made clear by the Weir suit. The labor laws under which suits must be conducted were written to hamstring the unions, not reform them or eliminate corruption and bureaucratism, and the courts which interpret them are equally instruments of capitalist class rule. The outcome of the B-men suit, if a "victory" for the purge victims, could mean there will be no local union for them to be admitted to! The only road forward is a class-struggle fight *within the unions* to oust traitorous bureaucrats like Bridges and mobilize the ranks for struggle against the companies and their government.

—Demand that the Weir suit against the ILWU be dropped! Reinstate with full seniority the 82 victimized B-men! Demand that the PMA provide back pay lost! Full "A" status for all B-men now! ■

CLUW...

(continued from page 12)

clause produced self-righteous outbursts from the majority. UAW International representative Edith Van Horne complained that CLUW can't be expected to take in just anyone who signs a union card. "We can't swallow the Atlantic Ocean," she said. To the job-trusting labor bureaucracy, any real move to organize the unorganized and build a working women's movement which reaches beyond the limits of narrow trade unionism would set in motion the possibilities for the militant labor action it most dreads.

Majorityites in the AFSCME caucus railed that the South in particular is full of reactionary anti-union women whom CLUW simply would not want in the organization. Minority supporters pointed out that the women under question were members of *union organizing committees*! In the CWA caucus, when a militant worker spoke against CLUW's vicious red-baiting policies, Chairman Cathy Conroy responded by holding up a copy of *Workers Vanguard* in one hand, the *Call* in the other, and testified how she had to "save" the young people in her local from corruption by reds. She said CLUW should not be taking up questions like "the price of vegetables in Chile, which war we are fighting, or what kind of governments other countries should have," but should get down to the "real issues" of the constitution.

Jane Margolis, member of the Militant Action Caucus (MAC) of the CWA and former executive board member of CWA Local 9415, who has been fired by the phone company for her political activities, rose to protest the idea that the unions are not involved in politics. "The CWA is knee-deep in international politics," she said. "In Chile it supports the American Institute for Free Labor Development, a joint union/corporation/CIA organization founded by the late CWA president Joe Beirne which was active in toppling the Allende government and slaughtering thousands of trade unionists. At every CWA convention, there is a whole packet of foreign policy resolutions. This union supported the war in Vietnam. You can 'get down to business' and pass any constitution you want and it won't make any difference—as long as the Olga Madars, the Lorraine Pauls and the rest of the sellout bureaucrats control this organization, it will go nowhere!"

Affirmative Action Issue Dodged

With the help of OL supporters, the bureaucracy managed to completely sidestep the controversial "affirmative action" question which has divided CLUW chapters across the country in a three-way split. Ruth Ryan, member of the Committee for a Militant UAW explained the issue. "The bureaucrats say, 'lay off the women.' Most of the left says, 'lay off the men.' We say, 'don't lay anybody off'."

Usually the October League campaigns for a group of women workers at the Fremont, California, GM plant who brought the bosses' courts into the UAW by a suit demanding that male workers be laid off before women. But its supporters were inhibited by the presence of CMUAW members who had organized a petition campaign signed by 700 workers at Fremont to stop the court suit and instead fight *all* layoffs. At two open houses called by Washington, D.C., CLUW (a chapter influenced by the OL), attending unionists were interested to hear CMUAW's account of the Fremont events and were appalled to learn that OL supporters in the plant had voted *against* a CMUAW motion at a union meeting calling for sit-down strikes against layoffs! After the sorry experience at this open house, the OL was reluctant to rehash the question on the convention floor.

So after hours of stalling, when the bureaucrats could no longer delay discussion on Article I, CLUW's statement of purpose, members of D.C. and Atlanta CLUW rushed to the mikes, elbowing out many leftists who were lined up to place political motions on the floor. Anne Galloway from Atlanta CLUW and member of the "CLUW Fight Back Group" supported by the OL got the floor and called for moving the agenda. This was immediately passed by a relieved bureaucracy. When a *WV* reporter told her she would appear in the press as chief lackey of Olga Madar, Galloway said, "You just don't understand the dialectics of the struggle."

With political discussion permanently sealed off, speakers from the MAC and the CMUAW took the floor to denounce the rigged conference while the remaining "opposition" geared up for the upcoming delegate fight. Fight Back supporters who had been virtually invisible during the fights over the agenda, membership and affirmative action began crawling out of the closet. Active in several CLUW chapters, particularly in the South, they had a lot to lose by passage of a majority motion limiting seats on the National Coordinating Committee to one delegate per 75 chapter members. Largely because of support from majorityites seeking similar organizational weight in their own chapters, the Fight Back group won a motion for one delegate per 50 members.

Having only hours before betrayed rank-and-file women by closing debate on Article I, the Fight Back supporters burst into choruses of "Solidarity Forever," joined by SWP backers who had just voted to exclude from CLUW women in organizing drives!

Boycott Bella's Breakfast!

Chanting "Open CLUW to the Working Class—Kick Out the Ruling Class," about 30 militants picketed the Sunday "Breakfast with Bella." Protesting the honorary CLUW membership of the Democratic Party congresswoman, the picket was organized by CMUAW and supported by MAC, the Militant Solidarity Caucus of UAW Local 906, supporters of the Spartacist League and the Revolutionary Socialist League, and auto workers from the Detroit area. Pickets jeered "Out Now! Out Now!" as SWP supporters crossed the line, and prevented IS supporters from sneaking in a side door, forcing them to cross the line to enter the hall for their breakfast with the bourgeoisie.

In a leaflet distributed at the breakfast the Committee for a Militant UAW said, "To wives of striking miners, CLUW is closed. To women struggling desperately for union recognition, CLUW is closed. To striking nurses in Houston, CLUW is closed. But to Bella Abzug, spokesman for the class enemy, CLUW rolls out the red carpet. This breakfast is a monument to the union bureaucracy and their policy of collaboration with the enemies of the working class. It is a gross insult to the millions of oppressed and exploited women that CLUW falsely claims to defend."

In Detroit this year, only 1,200 women attended the convention as opposed to over 3,200 in Chicago one year ago. In 1974 there was present a layer of independent union women who thought they were joining an organization dedicated to working-class struggle against women's oppression. With a strong grasp on reality, unlike much of the "socialist" left and without its bureaucratic appetites, these women are no longer around CLUW. At the first convention, although the organization was even then totally dominated by the bureaucracy, it was possible for a floor fight to break out over support to the United Farm Workers, albeit one marked by grotesque back-stabbing and much delayed. That this independent layer is now totally absent, that not one single political issue could be raised on the floor, confirms that CLUW is now completely moribund. The bureaucrats and their apologists have failed to coopt into their private CLUW sandbox the just anger of women workers; this tremendous potential reservoir of working-class militancy remains to be organized by a programatically based class-struggle opposition which can shatter the stranglehold of the Meanys and the Madars and mobilize the union movement to fight on behalf of all the exploited and oppressed. ■

NOTICE

During December WORKERS VANGUARD is published biweekly. Beginning with the 2 January 1976 issue WV will resume weekly publication.

SL/SYL PUBLIC OFFICES

Revolutionary Literature

BAY AREA

Friday and Saturday } 3:00-6:00 p.m

330-40th Street
(near Broadway)
Oakland, California
Phone 653-4668

CHICAGO

Tuesday 4:00-8:00 p.m.
Saturday 2:00-6:00 p.m.

650 South Clark
Second floor
Chicago, Illinois
Phone 427-0003

NEW YORK

Monday through Friday } 6:30-9:00 p.m.
Saturday 1:00-4:00 p.m.

260 West Broadway
Room 522
New York, New York
Phone 925-5665

WORKERS VANGUARD

Fake Lefts Grovel at Detroit Convention

Bureaucrats Slam Lid on CLUW

DETROIT, December 7 The second annual convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) opened in Coho Hall yesterday as a female chaplain invoked divine intervention to "give Olga the strength, Lord, to recognize these infiltrators, these disruptive forces that are with us today." So with god on its side, as well as a hefty goon squad of UAW officials, CLUW's leadership successfully carried out the ultimatum handed down by George Meany in October. The AFL-CIO convention in San Francisco had refused to endorse CLUW, making it clear that the Detroit meeting had to either smash the "reds" and bring CLUW firmly in line with official policy or suffer continued denial of the labor tops' official support.

Every conceivable means of stacking the convention was taken to ensure the bureaucrats a six-to-one majority over the dissidents. Detroit—home base of CLUW's president Olga Madar, a former vice president of the UAW—was deliberately picked to guarantee the presence of hundreds of Madar loyalists. The credentials committee systematically "lost" membership records of known trade-union militants. And while "reliable" unionists had transportation costs subsidized by their respective bureaucracies, many rank-and-file members who could not write off the plane fare and registration fee on union expense accounts were kept away.

The mood at the convention was apparent by Friday evening at the UAW "hospitality" caucus where juiced-up goons had to be physically held back from clobbering United National Caucus member Edie Fox when she tried to speak for a minority proposal to increase local chapter autonomy. With the collapse of the touted "Houston opposition" even before its alternate agenda hit the convention floor, the majority railroaded through its schedule of constitutional trivia, neatly managing to avoid a single discussion on key issues such as layoffs or discrimination. A bottomless bag of parliamentary tricks, a squad of thugs at every microphone and a liberally-applied microphone cut-off switch on the stage ensured the defeat of all attempts to raise politics from the floor. With a little extra margin provided by the votes of supporters of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), the major convention challenge—an amendment to open CLUW membership to women in organizing drives and to laid-off women workers—was easily defeated. Without discussion, the convention voted to reaffirm the bureaucracy's racist, job-trusting position on minority employment. By refusing to take up the fight against layoffs, the convention blatantly turned its back on the last-hired, first-fired minority and women workers.

After nearly making it home free in a weekend of political suppression and bureaucratic abuse, the bureaucrats were enraged when their grand finale—the Sunday morning "Breakfast with Bella Abzug"—was disrupted. Practically going into a fit, Madar screamed "Get them, Get them!" as she and her cronies kicked the demonstrators and

WV Photo

WV Photo

CLUW officers taking oath at Detroit convention, left. Chaplain opened convention with a prayer for CLUW president Olga Madar, right, to ferret out "infiltrators" and "disruptive forces."

WV Photo

Ruth Ryan of the CMUAW.

tried to tear leaflets out of their hands. As in 1973 when she was part of a squad of bureaucratic goons who smashed a wildcat strike at Detroit's Mack Avenue auto plant, at Bella's breakfast "Mad Dog" Madar rushed around trying to organize a flying wedge to charge the picket line. She was physically restrained by fellow bureaucrats who soothed her with assurances that the security cops were on their way.

In contrast to the Committee for a Militant UAW (CMUAW) which initiated the militant picket—one protester carried a sign demanding "Break with the Democrats, Build a Workers Party"—the spineless supporters of the International Socialists (IS), October League (OL) and SWP were not only vastly outnumbered, but by their failure to mount a real opposition only aided Madar's steamroller tactics. While criticizing the CMUAW for "splitting the opposition" by its insistence on waging a hard programmatic fight against the labor bureaucracy, these phony unity mongers were busy stabbing each other in the back. Olga Madar did not need her goons when she had OL supporters to lead the fight to close debate on CLUW's statement of purpose. SWP supporters, in turn, *voted down* a proposal to include a discussion on busing in the minority agenda (a betrayal which may not go down so well with the few independents left in the SWP-led National Student Committee Against Racism). As for the IS, in the "Rank and File Action Caucus" meeting Friday evening, Barbara Winslow, author of recent *Workers Power* articles on CLUW, was down on the floor pummeling an RSLer who had tried to raise a criticism! While servilely kowtowing to get a piece of the action from a bureaucracy which had no need to make any deals, the fake lefts took out their frustrations by going after each other.

During CLUW's brief but truly sordid existence, these avowed "socialists" have perpetrated the fraud that the organization was something other than a rabid anti-communist obstacle to the growth of a fighting movement of women workers. Long schooled in opportunism, they were incapable of breaking out of the bureaucrats' trap at the convention and confined their demands to useless organizational amendments to the CLUW constitution. Instead, it was the Committee for a Militant UAW which put forward a program proposal for an all-out political fight against the sellout labor fakers.

Houston Opposition

For weeks prior to the convention, the SWP's *Militant* had been publicizing a challenge to the leadership agenda. Centered in the Houston CLUW chapter, the minority had the support of the SWP, IS, RSL, Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) and Radical Women. Billed as an "alternate agenda," the proposed Houston motion called only for a three-hour discussion on "affirmative action," the Equal Rights Amendment and jobs for all, handing over the bulk of convention time to discussion of the Madarite constitution.

At the Friday evening "Houston caucus" called to assemble a joint opposition, the Committee for a Militant UAW proposed its countermotion, "A Real Alternate Agenda for CLUW." CMUAW called for totally overturning the majority agenda and substituting for it discussion of an action program for CLUW including black/labor defense of school busing; defense of union seniority combined with union action against discrimination; strike action against layoffs; a fight to break labor from the Democratic Party; and a campaign to smash the AFL-CIO/CIA American Institute for Free Labor Development.

For over an hour participants in the caucus debated the Houston agenda vs. the "Real" alternative, as it was called. Speakers for "Real," while stressing the need for discussion of affirmative action, insisted on the need to develop a class-struggle program for working women. But "Real" was voted down as too likely to enrage Madar. "We're willing to compromise anything as long as we can get out discussion on affirmative action," said an SWP supporter.

The actual number of supporters for the Houston motion who showed up in Detroit was far smaller than expected and it was soon clear that there was no chance of winning a fight on the convention floor. Midway through the Houston caucus, SWP honchos Linda Jenness and Carol Lipman decided to call off the challenge and go for a deal with Madar. Lipman told the opposition they would have "the best bargaining power with Olga" by going into the conference with an amendment to the majority agenda rather than fight for an alternate motion.

The SWP leadership pulled its motion off the caucus floor, to the dismay of its bloc partners. Disoriented SWP supporters who were completely unprepared for the change in line started splitting their votes right and left. RSL supporters had only minutes earlier voted against the "Real" agenda, criticizing it as "unserious" because it called for discussion of political resolutions that "nobody could be expected to stay up all night and prepare." Now they were stuck with putting the Houston motion back on the floor, only to have it defeated by the SWP supporters who had the controlling votes! At the close of the caucus Darlene Fujino, spokesman for the Committee for a Militant UAW announced, "It is clear that this 'opposition' is collapsing, but we have no intention of withdrawing the 'Real' agenda. We intend to go ahead with a fight for it on the convention floor!"

Fight to Open CLUW

In virtually every union workshop challenges to the restrictive membership

continued on page 11

SUBJECT INDEX

Workers Vanguard—3 January to 19 December 1975 (Issues Nos. 59-89)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1975, beginning with Issue No. 59 (3 January) and ending with issue No. 89 (19 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly from issue No. 59 through Issue No. 75 (29 August) and weekly beginning issue No. 76 (12 September).
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Court Covers Up Attica Massacre, #67, 25 Apr. (2, 9)

  means the headline of the article, Issue No. 67, 25 April 1975, pages 2 and 9.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semi-colon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Unemployment—See **Auto Workers: Layoffs; Labor: General, History**

  means that articles on unemployment can be found by going to the subject head AUTO WORKERS and looking under the subcategory Layoffs and by going to the subject head LABOR and looking under the subcategories General and History.
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Articles dealing with the Arab-Israeli conflict and directly related countries and issues (e.g., Egypt, Lebanon) will be found under the major subject head: NEAR EAST.
- Specific defense cases (e.g. Joan Little) will be found as subcategories under CIVIL LIBERTIES: Cases.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

C:	Correction	R:	Review
L:	Letter	Sup:	Supplement
S:	Series		

ABORTION
Abortion Witchhunt in Boston, #63, 28 Feb. (5)
Setback for Women's Rights in Canada: Morgentaler Jailed for Abortion, #66, 11 Apr. (9)

Affirmative Action—See **Autoworkers: Layoffs; Construction Workers; Labor: General.**

Algeria—See **United Secretariat.**

AFL-CIO—See **Busing; Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee; Labor: General; Soviet Union.**

AFSCME—See **Public Employees: General, New York City.**

American Federation of Teachers (AFT)—See **Teachers: General, Boston.**

ANGOLA—See also **Portugal: U.S. Demonstrations; United Secretariat.**
Smash Imperialist Power Play in Angola!, #85, 14 Nov. (1, 9, 10, 11)
Maoists Bloc with CIA "Anti-Imperialists" in Angola, #85, 14 Nov. (9)
Stop Imperialist Drive on Luanda!, #87, 28 Nov. (12, 10, 11)
Smash CIA-Led Forces in Angola!, #89, 19 Dec. (1, 5)

ARGENTINA
SWP "Translates" Juan Carlos Coral, #62, 14 Feb. (5, 11)
Union Militants Murdered in Argentina, #66, 11 Apr. (4, 5)
The Reformist Tricks of Juan Carlos Coral, #66, 11 Apr. (5)
Perón Regime Collapses, #74, 1 Aug. (12, 10, 11)
Argentine Socialist Militants Murdered, #77, 19 Sept. (3)
Isabel Perón's Last Hurrah, #82, 24 Oct. (2)
No Extradition to Chile—Free the Prisoners!, #89, 19 Dec. (10)

ATTICA
Courts Cover Up Attica Massacre, #67, 25 Apr. (2, 9)

AUSTRALIA
Maoist Thug Attack in Melbourne, #75, 29 Aug. (11)
For a General Strike to Restore Labor Government!, #86, 21 Nov. (8)

AUSTRIA
Anti-Fascist Demonstration in Austria, #59, 3 Jan. (6)*
Anti-Fascist Demonstration (C), #64, 14 Mar. (5)
Socialist Party Wins Majority in Austrian Elections, #81, 17 Oct. (9)

AUTO WORKERS
• **General**
Fremont UAW Protests Deportations, #63, 28 Feb. (9)
Maoists Oppose International Organizing, #64, 14 Mar. (2)
Three-Year Term Defeated in UAW Local 6, #64, 14 Mar. (9)
Class-Struggle Candidate Polls 17% at Harvester, #69, 23 May (4, 5)
Anti-Woodcock Sentiment in Detroit UAW Elections, #70, 6 June (8, 9)
UAW "Shorter Work Time" Hoax, #78, 26 Sept. (8)
UAW Clamps Receivership on Eldon Local, #83, 31 Oct. (3)
• **Defense/Workers Democracy**—See also *Guardian.*
Socialist League (DC) Slanders Militant Auto Workers: Cagle's Red-Baiting, #73, 18 July (9)
CMUAW Open Letter, #73, 18 July (9)
UAW Local 6 Demands Campaign to Free Swenson, #77, 19 Sept. (2)
UAW Militants Win Right to Leaflet, #88, 5 Dec. (7,11)
• **Labor/Black Defense**
UAW Local Sets Up Labor/Black Defense Guard, #67, 25 Apr. (12, 10)*
UAW Local Sets Up (C), #68, 9 May (9)
Build the UAW Labor/Black Defense Guard in Chicago!, #68, 9 May (12)
Labor/Black Defense Guards (L), #69, 23 May (2)
UNC Backs Busing, Union Defense Guards, #71, 20 June (5, 10)
• **Layoffs**
Militants Fight Layoffs in West Coast Auto, #60, 17 Jan. (12, 10)
Fremont Newspaper Interviews Committee for a Militant UAW, #60, 17 Jan. (12)
UAW Demonstrates in Washington, #62, 14 Feb. (1, 11)*
UAW Demonstrates (C), #63, 28 Feb. (5)
PL Gangster Attacks in River Rouge: Militants Fight for Program in UAW Unemployment Committee, #63, 28 Feb. (2)

BANGLADESH
On Bangladesh (L), #65, 28 Mar. (3)
Palace Coup Establishes "Islamic Republic" in Bangladesh, #75, 29 Aug. (4, 7)

Baraka, Amiri—See **Black Question; Congress of Afrikan People.**

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Ex-Panther Speaks on Black Struggle in U.S., #71, 20 June (2)
Panthers Rot in Prison Hellholes, #88, 5 Dec. (6)

BLACK QUESTION—See **Black Panther Party; Busing.** See also **Attica; Auto Workers: Labor/Black Defense; Civil Liberties: General, specific cases; Congress of Afrikan People; Fascism; Gun Control; Labor: General; specific occupations and organizations.**
Democratic Rights and Socialist Revolution, #61, 31 Jan. (6, 7)
Democratic Rights (L), #62, 14 Feb. (3)
Protest Popeye Jackson Assassination!, #73, 18 July (11)
Black Youths Riot Against Detroit Cops, #75, 29 Aug. (8, 11)
National Black Assembly: Another Deed End for Black People, #84, 7 Nov. (3, 8, 9)
"Two-Line" Squabble in National Black Assembly, #87, 28 Nov. (3)

BLANCO, HUGO
Let Hugo Blanco into the U.S.!, #79, 3 Oct. (3)
Telegram, #79, 3 Oct. (3)
Bay Area Demo Demands Visa for Blanco, #82, 24 Oct. (8)

Boycott, Labor—See **Canada: Longshore Workers; Labor: General; Seamen.** See also **October League.**

BRIDGES, HARRY—See **Longshore Workers.**
Harry Bridges and the Communist Party, #66, 11 Apr. (6, 7, 8)
Bosses Throw a Party for Bridges, #89, 19 Dec. (2)

BRITAIN—See also **Fascism; Workers League.**
Witchhunt Against IRA in Britain, #60, 17 Jan. (6, 7)
WRP Split in Britain (L), #62, 14 Feb. (3)
After Healy, What? WSL Adrift, #69, 23 May (8, 9)
Britain and the Common Market, #71, 20 June (6, 7, 10)
An Exchange: Marxist Policy Toward the British Labour Party (L), #81, 17 Oct. (4, 8)
Gerry Healy's Legalistic Underbelly, #81, 17 Oct. (10)
The WRP Roars Gently, #84, 7 Nov. (10)

BUSING—See **Teachers: Boston.** See also **Auto Workers: Labor/Black Defense; Fascism; Public Employees: General; Revolutionary Communist Party; Revolutionary Socialist League; Socialist Workers Party.**
Impotent Liberal Protest Rally in Boston, #59, 3 Jan. (1, 8, 9)
Busing Yes, Troops No!, #62, 14 Feb. (4, 11)
No Retreat! Extend the Busing!, #68, 9 May (12, 11)
Court Retreats on Boston Busing, #69, 23 May (12, 11)
Boston on the Brink of Race War, #75, 29 Aug. (12, 8)
Racist School Boycott in Boston, #76, 12 Sept. (1, 11)
Boston School Committee Obstructs Integration, Attacks Teachers, #77, 19 Sept. (12, 9)
Anti-Racist Militants on Trial in East Boston, #80, 10 Oct. (3)
Anti-Racist Militants Framed in East Boston Police Court, #81, 17 Oct. (8)
Racists Fuel Boston Cauldron, #83, 31 Oct. (3)
Jim Crow Bills in Congress, #86, 21 Nov. (2)
Racists Picket AFL-CIO in Boston, #87, 28 Nov. (7)
NAACP Asks Courts to Close South Boston High, #88, 5 Dec. (4, 5)
Racists Riot Against Court Takeover of South Boston High, #89, 19 Dec. (1, 10)

Cambodia—See **Indochina.**

Camejo, Peter—See **Socialist Workers Party.**

CANADA
• **General**—See also **Abortion.**
"Socialist" Strikebreaking in British Columbia, #63, 28 Feb. (8, 9)
Quebec Government Seizes Construction Unions, #70, 6 June (6, 7)
Trotskyist League of Canada Founded, #77, 19 Sept. (7)
NDP: From Trudeau to the Tories, #79, 3 Oct. (4)
British Columbia NDP Breaks Forest Workers' Strikes, #81, 17 Oct. (5, 11)
Trudeau Slaps Wage Strait Jacket on Canadian Labor, #82, 24 Oct. (12, 11)
NDP Swamped in British Columbia Election, #89, 19 Dec. (7)
• **Longshore Workers**—See **Longshore Workers: General.**
Vancouver Dockers Walk Out, #64, 14 Mar. (12, 10)
Strike Wave in British Columbia, #65, 28 Mar. (12, 11)
Canadian Longshore Strike Scuttled, #66, 11 Apr. (4)
• **Postal Workers**
Solidarity and Betrayal in Canadian Government Employees' Strike, #64, 14 Mar. (3, 10)
Trudeau Assault on Postal Unions, #72, 4 July (8)
CUPW Strikes Canada P.O., #82, 24 Oct. (11)
Break Trudeau's Wage Controls!, #83, 31 Oct. (5)
On CUPW and the RMG (L), #87, 28 Nov. (3)
• **Revolutionary Marxist Group**—See **Internationalist Tendency.**
Canadian RMG Expels Trotskyists, #66, 11 Apr. (12, 11)
RMG Expulsions (L), #68, 9 May (9)
Canadian Spartacists Hail Martyred Vietnamese Trotskyists, #69, 23 May (9)
A Letter to the *Old Mole* (L), #71, 20 June (4)

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY (CIA)—See also **Angola; Portugal.**
Down with the CIA/FBI!, #59, 3 Jan. (1, 10)

Published by: Spartacist Publishing, Box 1377, GPO, New York, New York 10116

CIA's Murder, Inc., #65, 28 Mar. (1, 9)
Uncover the CIAI, #71, 20 June (2, 11)
Liberals Whitewash CIA Assassinations, #88, 5 Dec. (1, 10)
What Is the World Peace Foundation?, #88, 5 Dec. (3)
Berkeley Students Protest CIA/NSA Recruiters, #88, 5 Dec. (11)

Ceylon—Sae **Sri Lanka.**

Chamical Workars—See **Oil Workers.**

Chicano Ouestion—See **Farm Workers.**

CHILE—See also **Argentina; Communist Party (USA); Friedman.**
Open the Borders to All Persecuted Chilean Refugees!, #71, 20 June (9)
Appeal: Release Class-War Prisoners from Junta's Jails!, #72, 4 July (4)
Chile: Two Years of Junta Terror, #76, 12 Sept. (3, 8, 9)
New York Picket Protasts Banquet for Chilaan Butchers, #84, 7 Nov. (5)

CHINA—See **Angola**. See also **Puerto Rico.**
On Chinese Trotskyists (L), #61, 31 Jan. (3)
Chinese Old Guard Patched Up, #62, 14 Feb. (7)*
Chinese Old Guard (C), #63, 28 Feb. (5)
Wildcat Strikes in Hong Kong: Peking Props Up British Colony, #62, 14 Feb. (7, 10, 11)
Mao's Jails for Revolutionaries, #63, 28 Feb. (6, 7)
Mao's Army Smashes Workars' Strikes, #79, 3 Oct. (2, 3)

CIVIL LIBERTIES
- **General**—See also **Argentina; Chile; Longshore Workers: General; Police; Socialist Workers Party: Defense.**
  Savage Anti-Communist Violence in L.A., #62, 14 Feb. (3)
  U.S. Bars Cuban Official, #74, 1 Aug. (8)
  On the McCarran-Walter Act (L), #79, 3 Oct. (10)
  Woman Judge Banned from Prostitution Cases, #84, 7 Nov. (9)
  Smash S-1!, #85, 14 Nov. (2, 3)
- **Cases**—See also **Abortion; Attica; Auto Workers: Defense/ Workers Democracy; Blanco; Busing; Fascism: S.F. State; Portugal: Defense; Puerto Rico.**
  Free the San Quentin Six!, #71, 20 June (3)
  Free Pat Swinton!, #78, 26 Sept. (12)
  Defend Delbert Tibbs!, #87, 28 Nov. (9)
  Support Calhoun, Guyton Suits: Police Terror in the Streets of Oakland, #88, 5 Dec. (4)
  Free Martin Sostre Now!, #89, 19 Dec. (8)
- **Allen, Philip**
  Defend Philip Allen!, #69, 23 May (4)
  Protest Philip Allen Conviction!, #77, 19 Sept. (4)
  450 at Los Angeles Defense Rally, #80, 10 Oct. (12, 11)
  Bail Revoked, Allan's Life in Danger, #81, 17 Oct. (12, 5)
  NSCAR Conference Backs Philip Allen, #81, 17 Oct. (12)
  Build Philip Allen Defense!, #82, 24 Oct. (8)
  CMUAW Statement of Support to Philip Allen Defanse Committee, #82, 24 Oct. (8)
  Philip Allen Frame-Up: The Facts Speak for Themselves, #83, 31 Oct. (4)
  Transcripts of Philip Allan Bail Procaeding, #84, 7 Nov. (4)
  200 at LACC Rally in Support of Philip Allen, #86, 21 Nov. (9)
  Bay Area Defense Forum Unites Allen, Calhoun, Guyton Cases, #89, 19 Dec. (6)
  Philip Allan Out on Bail, #89, 19 Dac. (9)
- **Carter, Hurricane**
  Free Carter and Artis!, #63, 28 Fab. (3)
  Demonstrators Demand Freedom for Carter and Artis, #84, 7 Nov. (7)
- **Jha, Jagadish**
  Defend Jagadish Jha!, #65, 28 Mar. (6)
  Support Grows for Jha Dafensa Campaign, #69, 23 May (2)
  PDC Campaign for Jagadish Jha a Success, #78, 26 Sept. (8)
- **Little, Joan**
  Save Joan Little from Death Row!, #72, 4 July (2)
  Free Joan Little! (L), #73, 18 July (8)
  Joan Littla Acquitted, #75, 29 Aug. (9)
- **Rosenbergs**
  In Defense of the Rosenbergs!, #86, 21 Nov. (12, 10, 11)*
  In Defense (C), #87, 28 Nov. (8)
- **Zinzun, Michael**
  Charges Dropped Against Michael Zinzun, #88, 5 Dec. (10)*
  Charges Dropped (C), #89, 19 Dec. (5)

CLASS STRUGGLE LEAGUE (CSL)
CSL: Family Life Among the Trotskyoids, #71, 20 Juna (4)

Cleaver, Eldridge—See **Black Panther Party.**

Platsky/Varga: Anti-Spartacist Odd Couple, #79, 3 Oct. (2)

COALITION OF LABOR UNION WOMEN (CLUW)
Boston CLUW Slams Door on Unorganized Workers, #64, 14 Mar. (2, 5)
Houston CLUW (L), #68, 9 May (9)
Open Up CLUW Convention!, #88, 5 Dec. (12, 3)
Bureaucrats Slam Lid on CLUW, #89, 19 Dec. (12, 11)*
Bureaucrats Slam Lid (C), #90, 2 Jan. 1976 (2) [see volume 4]

Common Market—See **Britain.**

Communications Workers of America (CWA)—See **Phone Workers.**

COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY (CLP)
CLP Embraces Détente, #74, 1 Aug. (8)

Communist Parties: International—See **specific countries.**

COMMUNIST PARTY (USA)—See **Bridges; Longshore Workers.** See also **Labor: General; Seamen.**
Stalinists Cop-Bait Class-Struggle Militants, #68, 9 May (5)
Militants Polarize Labor Confarence on Chile, #72, 4 July (5)
Archie Brown's Recipe for Defeat in Portugal, #80, 10 Oct. (3)

CONGRESS OF AFRIKAN PEOPLE (CAP)—See **Black Question.**
Baraka: From Mayor Gibson to Mao-Thought, #69, 23 May (7, 10, 11)
CAP Unites with Urban League in Albany, #80, 10 Oct. (9)

CONSTRUCTION WORKERS—See also **Canada: General.**
Bloody Battle over Construction Jobs at CCNY, #69, 23 May (12, 10)

Coral, Juan Carlos—See **Argentina.**

Cuba—See **Civil Liberties: General.**

Defensa—See **Civil Liberties.**

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZING COMMITTEE (DSOC)
"Socialist" Labor Fakers Back Democrats, #67, 25 Apr. (6, 11)

Deportations—Sae **Immigration.**

Détente—See **Communist Labor Party; U.S.: International Relations.**

Dissidents—See **Soviet Union.**

Dockers—See **Longshore Workers.**

ECONOMICS—See **U.S.: General.**
Marx vs. Keynes, #64, 14 Mar. (6, 7, 8)

EDUCATION—See **Busing; Public Employees: New York City; Teachers.**
SYL Demands, "Seize the Campuses", #86, 21 Nov. (3)
Anti-Communism at Cutbacks Rally, #87, 28 Nov. (4)

Elections: International—See **specific countries.**

ELECTIONS: U.S.
SWP Says "Patronage for Everyone!": Daley Routs Opposition in Chicago Election, #67, 25 Apr. (5)
Cop Candidate Re-Elected Mayor: Rizzo Strongarms Philadelphia Elections, #85, 14 Nov. (5)*
Cop Candidate (C), #87, 28 Nov. (8)
'75 Elections: Politicians Move Right, #86, 21 Nov. (1, 9)

England—See **Britain.**

Eritrea—See **Ethiopia.**

ETHIOPIA
Ethiopian Troops Out of Eritrea, #63, 28 Feb. (1)

Equal Rights Amendment—See **Woman Question.**

FARM WORKERS—See **Immigration.**
The UFW and Workers' Self-Defense, #61, 31 Jan. (3)
Chavez Submits to Government Arbitration, #70, 6 June (3)
Chavez Denounces Texas Farm Workers' Strike, #75, 29 Aug. (6)
Farm Workers Convantion: Fighting for Survival, #75, 29 Aug. (7)
Grower Vigilantes Terrorize Farm Workers, #78, 26 Sept. (6, 10)

FASCISM
- **General**—See **Auto Workers: Labor/Black Defense.** See also **Australia; Busing; Portugal: General.**
  Fascists Fight Integration in Midwest, #68, 9 May (4)
  Fascism: How Not to Fight It, #70, 6 June (4, 5)
  Chicago Rally Against Nazi Provocetion, #82, 24 Oct. (3)
  Houston NSCAR Demands Frae Speech for "Imperial Wizard": Hostile Crowd Confronts Klan Laader, #84, 7 Nov. (5)
  Hundreds Demonstrate Against Nazi Swine in Pasadena, #84, 7 Nov. (12, 10)
  Hundreds Demonstrate (L), #85, 14 Nov. (11)
  Stop Nazi Demonstrations in Chicago!, #88, 5 Dec. (5, 11)
- **S.F. State Case**
  Charges Brought Against Anti-Nazi Demonstrators, #66, 11 Apr. (3)
  SYL Defensa Campaign Victory at S.F. State, #69, 23 May (5)

Fedaral Bureau of Investigation (FBI)—See **Central Intelligence Agency.** See also **Phone Workers.**

Feminism—See **Woman Question.**

Firemen—See **Public Employees: General.**

FRANCE—See also **United Secretariat.**
French LCR Aims at Fusion with PSU Social Democrats, #60, 17 Jan. (5)
LCR Centrel Committee Member Purged, #69, 23 May (3,11)
Paris Printers Defend Closed Shop, #80, 10 Oct. (6, 8)
Meurice Thorez: The Making of a Stalinist, #85, 14 Nov. (6, 8)

FRIEDMAN, MILTON
SYL Leads Campaign Against Pinochet's Acadamic Lackeys, #80, 10 Oct. (12, 11)

Garment Workers—See **Immigration.**

GERMANY
"Anti-Terrorist" Repression in West Germany, #60, 17 Jan. (3, 11)
Trotskyists Expelled from Spartacusbund, #64, 14 Mar. (5)
German Centrists Call for Stopping Revolution in Portugal, #82, 24 Oct. (4)

GUARDIAN
Auto Militants Hit *Guardian* Red-Baiting, #62, 14 Feb. (2)
SL Challenges *Guardian* to Indochina Debate, #67, 25 Apr. (2)

GUN CONTROL
Racism and Gun Control, #80, 10 Oct. (7, 10)
On Gun Control (L), #81, 17 Oct. (2)
Gun Control and India (L), #84, 7 Nov. (2)

Healy, Gerry—See **Britain; Wohlforth.**

Helsinki Accords—See **U.S.: International Relations.**

HISTORY OF THE MARXIST MOVEMENT
Lenin and German Gold, #70, 6 June (7, 10)
Long Live the October Revolution!, #85, 14 Nov. (7)

Hong Kong, BCC—See **China.**

Hungary—See **International Workers Party.**

IMMIGRATION—See also **Auto Workers: General; Chile; Indochina.**
Stop the Deportations!, #60, 17 Jan (1, 8, 9)
Full Citizenship Rights for Foreign Workers, #63, 28 Feb. (1)
Union-Busting Roundups in L.A., #63, 28 Feb. (3)
¡Alto a las deportaciones!, #63, 28 Feb. (12)
Stop the Deportations (L), #65, 28 Mar. (3)

Imperialism—See **U.S.: International Relations.**

INDIA—See **Civil Liberties: Jha case.** See also **Bangladesh; Gun Control.**
India in Crisis, #72, 4 July (1, 2)*
India in Crisis (C), #73, 18 July (3)
Stop Indira Gandhi's Repression!, #73, 18 July (2)*
Stop Indira (C), #80, 10 Oct. (3)
India and Democracy (L), #78, 26 Oct. (3)
Indian Pabloists Apologize for Indira Gandhi, #85, 14 Nov. (8)
India and Pabloism (L), #89, 19 Dec. (2, 3)

INDOCHINA—See also **Canada: Revolutionary Marxist Group; *Guardian*; Revolutionary Communist Party; Revolutionary Socialist League; Seamen; United Secretariat.**
Cambodian Government Crumbles, #64, 14 Mar. (1, 9)
Take Saigon!, #65, 28 Mar. (1, 8, 9)
No Coalition Governments!, #66, 11 Apr. (1, 2, 3)

Victory to the Indochinese Revolution!, #67, 25 Apr. (1, 10, 11)*
Victory (C), #68, 9 May (9)
Capitalist Class Rule Smashed in Vietnam, Cambodia!, #68, 9 May (1, 8, 9, 10)
No Asylum for Indochinese Reactionaries!, #68, 9 May (8)
SYL Demonstrations Call for Communist Indochina, #68, 9 May (10)
U.S. Hands Off Indochinese Revolution!, #69, 23 May (1, 10)
Pathet Lao Taking Over, #70, 6 June (1, 11)
Vietnamese Refugees: SL vs. WPIX, #70, 6 June (2)
Indochina: Deformed Revolution, #72, 4 July (6, 7, 11)

International Committee—See **Britain; Wohlforth; Workers League.**

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALISTS (I.S.)—See also **Longshore Workers: General; Truck Drivers.**
Joe Johnson's Fatal Fusion Maneuver, #62, 14 Feb. (4)
I.S. Launches "Agitational" Turn, #72, 4 July (10)
I.S. Promotes Portuguese Syndicalists, #77, 19 Sept. (7, 8)
I.S. Chases General Carvalho, #80, 10 Oct. (5)
I.S. "Impressive Demos" Fizzle, #82, 24 Oct. (3)
I.S. "Way off Base" on Portugal: Their Corrections and Ours, #89, 19 Dec. (6)

INTERNATIONAL SPARTACIST TENDENCY (iSt)—See **Canada: General; France; Spartacist League; Varga.**
Forward to the International Trotskyist League!, #74, 1 Aug. (2)

INTERNATIONALIST TENDENCY (I.T.)—See also **Socialist Workers Party: General.**
"Break with the SWP", #59, 3 Jan. (2, 3, 11)
Mandelites Falsify History to Attack SL, #59, 3 Jan. (3, 10)
"The SWP is Finished as a Revolutionary Force", #65, 28 Mar. (2, 11)

INTERNATIONAL WORKERS PARTY (IWP)
Detroit Unemployed Conference Ends in Confusion, #66, 11 Apr. (10)
Hungary 1956: IWP Supports Khrushchev's Tanks, But Not Very Well, #81, 17 Oct. (2)

Ireland—See **Britain.**

ITALY
Elections: Report from Italy, #73, 18 July (5)
Italian Elections: A Step Toward the Popular Front, #74, 1 Aug. (5, 10)

LABOR
• **General**—See **Coalition of Labor Union Women; specific occupations.** See also **Communist Party (USA).**
Preferential Layoffs: A Dangerous Hoax, #59, 3 Jan. (4, 11)
Fight Unemployment—Break with the Bosses' Parties!, #67, 25 Apr. (3, 9)
Bureaucrats Lose Control of Washington Jobs Rally, #68, 9 May (6, 7)
SWP, CP, Bureaucrats Denounce "Disrupters", #68, 9 May (7)
Call Off Anti-Soviet Grain Boycott!, #76, 12 Sept. (2, 10)
• **History**—See also **Bridges.**
Organizing the Unemployed in the Great Depression (S)
Part 1, Fighting for Unity, #73, 18 July (6, 7, 10)
Part 2, Mobilizing Union Power, #74, 1 Aug. (6, 7, 9)
Teamster Politics: Trade Unionists and Trotskyists (R), #83, 31 Oct. (8, 9)

Labor/Black Defense—See **Auto Workers: Labor/Black Defense; Busing.**

Laos—See **Indochina.**

Lenin—See **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Ligue Communiste Revolutionaire—See **France; United Secretariat.**

LIRQI —See *Truth* **group; Varga.**

LONGSHORE WORKERS
• **General**—See **Bridges.** See also **Communist Party (USA); Labor: General; Socialist Workers Party: Workers Democracy.**
Bridges Plans to Decimate ILWU Ranks, #59, 3 Jan. (12, 10)
Longshore Militants Confront I.S. at "Rank and File" Conference, #60, 17 Jan. (4, 11)
Workers Vote for Class-Struggle Candidates in ILWU Local 10, #61, 31 Jan. (12, 11)
Warehouse Ranks Back Militant, #63, 28 Feb. (12, 11)
Bridges on the Ropes, #67, 25 Apr. (12, 4)
ILWU Bureaucrats Push Pay Cuts, #72, 4 July (3)*
ILWU Bureaucrats (C), #73, 18 July (3)
Bridges Power Play in S.F. Longshore Union, #76, 12 Sept. (4)
Strike for Jobs for All Longshoremen!, #81, 17 Oct. (6)
Bridges Strongarms ILWU Local 10, #82, 24 Oct. (5)
Stan Weir's Court Suit Threatens ILWU Local 10, #89, 19 Dec. (4, 11)
• **Contract**
Bridges Prepares Longshore Deregistrations, #63, 28 Feb. (10, 11)
For a Militant, Coast-Wide ILWU Longshore Strike!, #64, 14 Mar. (12, 11)
Bridges Moves to Void Contract Vote!, #65, 28 Mar. (12)
ILWU Contract Sellout Rejected Again, #68, 9 May (5)
Bridges Orders Dockers to Work Without Contract, #72, 4 July (3)
Bridges Finally Gets His Contract, #74, 1 Aug. (3)
Hard Times Under Bridges' "Depression-Proof" Contract, #79, 3 Oct. (12, 10)
• **Strikes**—See **Canada: Longshore Workers.**
ILWU Strikers Fight Scabs, Cops, #60, 17 Jan. (2, 11)
Labor Solidarity Helps Union-Busting in Oakland Strike, #61, 31 Jan. (12, 11)
KNC or Boron—Victory or Defeat?, #62, 14 Feb. (12, 9)
Bridges Crosses Picket Line, #64, 14 Mar. (11)

Mandel, Ernest—See **Socialist Union; United Secretariat.** See also **Internationalist Tendency.**

Maoism—See **China; specific organizations.** See also **Angola; Australia; Portugal; Puerto Rico.**

McCarran-Walter Act—See **Bianco; Civil Liberties: General.**

MINE WORKERS
Miners Fight for Right to Strike, #76, 12 Sept. (12, 9)
Arnold Miller Breaks Coal Wildcat, #78, 26 Sept. (3)
Keep the Labor Department Out of the Mine Workers Union!, #86, 21 Nov. (6, 7)*
Labor Department Out (C), #87, 28 Nov. (8)

Municipal Assistance Corporation (MAC)—See **Education; Public Employees: New York City; Teachers: New York City.**

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)—See **Busing.**

NATIONAL LAWYERS GUILD
Lawyers Guild Tramples on Workers Democracy at Berkeley "Extravaganza", #79, 3 Oct. (7)*
Lawyers Guild Tramples (C), #80, 10 Oct. (3)

National Maritime Union (NMU)—See **Seamen.**

National Student Coalition Against Racism (NSCAR)—See **Busing; Civil Liberties: Alien cases; Fascism; Socialist Workers Party.**

Nazism—See **Fascism.**

NEAR EAST—See also **U.S.: International Relations.**
Workers' Protests Erupt in Egypt, #60, 17 Jan. (4)
Near East Realpolitik, #61, 31 Jan. (1, 8, 9)
Militants Demonstrate Against Zionist Butchers, #67, 25 Apr. (11)
Kissinger's Sinai Pact: Imperialist Fist, #76, 12 Sept. (8, 9)
Communal Terror in Lebanon, #78, 26 Sept. (7, 9)

New York City Fiscal Crisis—See **Education; Public Employees: New York City; Teachers: New York City.**

OCTOBER LEAGUE (OL)—See also **Auto Workers: General, Layoffs.**
Grain Boycott: Maoism and Anti-Communist Protectionism, #78, 26 Sept. (8)

Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW)—See **Oil Workers.**

OIL WORKERS
Scab Training in Houston Refineries, #59, 3 Jan. (7)
OCAW Tops Prepare Sellout, #59, 3 Jan. (12)
Scab Trucker Runs Down OCAW Official, #80, 10 Oct. (5)
Victory to the Capitol Packaging Strike, #89, 19 Dec. (8)

Organisation Communiste Internationaliste (OCI)—See **Socialist Workers Party: Portugal; United Secretariat.**

PARTISAN DEFENSE COMMITTEE (PDC)—See also **Blanco; Civil Liberties: General, specific cases.**
Support the Partisan Defense Committee, #74, 1 Aug. (4)

Perón—See **Argentina.**

PHONE WORKERS
• **General**
Company/FBI Crackdown in N.Y. Telephone, #65, 28 Mar. (4, 11)
800 Long Lines Workers Suspended, #65, 28 Mar. (4)
"National Bargaining" Disputed at CWA Convention, #72, 4 July (9)
For a City-Wide NYC Phone Strike!, #83, 31 Oct. (11)
Break Phone Lockout in NYC!, #84, 7 Nov. (2)
• **Detenee**
CWA Abandons victimized Militants, #62, 14 Feb. (5)
Pacific Telephone Fires Militant, #77, 19 Sept. (3)
S.F. CWA Tops Slam Door on Fired Militant, #83, 31 Oct. (4)*
S.F. CWA Tops (C), #84, 7 Nov. (2)

POLICE—See also **Black Question; Civil Liberties: Cases.**
Cop Vendetta Against Bay Area White Panthers, #84, 7 Nov. (11)
Abolish NYC Red Squad!, #89, 19 Dec. (3, 9)*
Abolish (C), #91, 9 Jan. 1976 (3) [see volume 4]

PORTUGAL
• **General**—See **Socialist Workers Party: Portugal.** See also **Angola; Communist Party (USA); Germany; International Socialists; Spain; Workers League.**
Military Tightens Grip in Portugal, #63, 28 Feb. (4, 5)
Portuguese Left in Crisis, #65, 28 Mar. (6, 7, 10)*
Portuguese Left (C), #66, 11 Apr. (3)
Mock Elections in Portugal, #67, 25 Apr. (7, 8)
For Workers Power in Portugal!, #73, 18 July (1, 8)
Smash Rightist Threat in Portugal!, #74, 1 Aug. (1, 11)
Rightists Head for Showdown in Portugal, #75, 29 Aug. (1, 9)
Portugal Facing Bloodbath?, #76, 12 Sept. (1, 11)
Portuguese Workers Demand Arms, #77, 19 Sept. (12, 10, 11)
Turmoil in Portuguese CP, #78, 26 Sept. (2, 5)
Showdown in Portugal, #79, 3 Oct. (1, 8, 9)
Program for Workers Power in Portugal, #80, 10 Oct. (1, 10)
Defend Porto Barracks Revolt!, #81, 17 Oct. (1, 10, 11)
Crush Fascists in Portugal!, #82, 24 Oct. (1, 10, 11)
Soviets and the Struggle for Workers Power in Portugal (S)
Part 1, #82, 24 Oct. (6, 9)
Part 2, #87, 28 Nov. (6, 7, 8)
Fight MFA Suppression of Left Media in Portugal!, #83, 31 Oct. (2, 11)
"MFA-People Alliance" Tightens Workers' Belts, #84, 7 Nov. (6, 7, 10)
Lisbon: Split in Army, #87, 28 Nov. (1, 9)
Lisbon Under Siege: Eyewitness Account, #88, 5 Dec. (1, 8, 9)
• **Defense**
Protest Portugal MRPP Ban, #70, 6 June (2)*
Protest (C), #72, 4 July (2)
Dead End for Portuguese Maoists, #71, 20 June (12, 11)*
Dead End (C), #72, 4 July (2)
• **U.S. Demonstrations**
Demonstrate Against Spínola!, #86, 21 Nov. (3)
"Spínola Assassino!", #87, 28 Nov. (2, 9)
S.F. Demonstration Against Spínola, #88, 5 Dec. (3)

Preferential Hiring/Layoffs—See **Auto Workers: Layoffs; Labor: General.**

PRESS WORKERS—See also **France; Portugal: General.**
Macmillan Strike Defeated, #59, 3 Jan. (7)
Stop the Scabs at *Washington Post*!, #81, 17 Oct. (3)

Progressive Labor Party (PL)—See **Auto Workers: Layoffs.**

PUBLIC EMPLOYEES
• **General**
AFSCME Local Elects Militant, #65, 28 Mar. (3)
Berkeley Firemen Defeated After 25-Day Walkout, #78, 26 Sept. (9)
Vote No on Anti-Labor S.F. Charter Amendments!, #83, 31 Oct. (12)*
Vote No (C), #86, 21 Nov. (3)
• **New York City**
Beame Lays Off Thousands in NYC, #59, 3 Jan. (5)
For a Citywide Strike Against Layoffs!, #70, 6 June (12, 10)
Gotbaum Accepts NYC Layoffs, #72, 4 July (12, 11)*
Gotbaum Accepts (C), #73, 18 July (3)

Sanitation Strike Rocks NYC, #73, 18 July (12, 11)
Big MAC Moves to Break NYC Unions, #74, 1 Aug. (1, 4)
TWU and UFT Can Lead the Way: For NYC Strike to Smash Big MAC!, #75, 29 Aug. (3)
Labor Must Mobilize to Shut Down NYC!, #81, 17 Oct. (1, 6, 7)
NYC Faces Default, #84, 7 Nov. (1, 11)*
NYC Faces Default (C), #86, 21 Nov. (3)
MAC Goes After Pension Funds, CUNY, #85, 14 Nov. (12, 11)

PUERTO RICO
NYC Bomb Atrocity Paves Way for Repression, #61, 31 Jan. (2)
Puerto Rican Maoists Stabbed in the Back by China's U.N. Vote, #83, 31 Oct. (6, 7)
Free the Five Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners!, #83, 31 Oct. (7)
FALN Bombs Symbols of Colonial Rule, #83, 31 Oct. (7)
Free the Five!, #85, 14 Nov. (3)

Racial Discrimination—See **Black Question; Busing; Fascism.**

REVOLUTIONARY COMMUNIST PARTY/ REVOLUTIONARY STUDENT BRIGADE (RCP/RSB)—See also **Auto Workers: General.**
Maoists and Cops Exclude Communist Banners at Anti-Thieu Demonstration, #66, 11 Apr. (12)
Condemn RSB Gangsterism!, #66, 11 Apr. (3)
RCP: Jim Crow Maoism, #81, 17 Oct. (7)

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE (RSL)—See also **Black Question.**
RSL: "Separate but Equal" Socialists, #60, 17 Jan. (8)
Clique Fights Shatter RSL, #65, 28 Mar. (5)
On Vietnam: State-Cap Muddle, #84, 7 Nov. (8, 10)
Sy Landy Expelled from RSL, #89, 19 Dec. (7, 8)

Revolutionary Union (RU)—See **Revolutionary Communist Party.**

Russia—See **Soviet Union.** See also **History of the Marxist Movement.**

Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP)—See **Seamen.**

Samarakkody, Edmund—See **Sri Lanka.**

Sanitation Workers—See **Public Employees: New York City.**

Schools—See **Busing; Education; Teachers.**

SEAMEN
Militant Seamen Protest U.S. Vietnam Intervention, #66, 11 Apr. (2)
NMU Chiefs Railroad Contract Deal, #71, 20 June (8)
Hands Off the NMU!, #73, 18 July (4, 10)
Stalinists Slander NMU Militants, #74, 1 Aug. (3, 9)
NMU Militants Blast Protectionist Grain Boycott, #75, 29 Aug. (6)
Scabbing, Raiding and Union-Busting in West Coast Sailors' Strike, #75, 29 Aug. (10)

Social Democrats USA—See **Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee.**

Socialist Collective—See **International Socialists.**

Socialist League (Democratic Centralist)—See **Auto Workers: Defense/Workers Democracy.**

SOCIALIST UNION
Socialist Union: Mandel's Orphans, #80, 10 Oct. (4, 8)

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (SWP)
• **General**—See **Busing; Internationalist Tendency; United Secretariat.** See also **Argentina; Education; Elections: U.S.; Labor: General; Wohlforth.**
SWP Renounces Revolution in Court, #59, 3 Jan. (6, 8)
Socialism through Constitutional Amendment?, #61, 31 Jan. (2)
SL Helps Fend Off Gusano Goons, SWP Waits for Cops Again, #64, 14 Mar. (5)
SWP in the Camp of Social Democracy, #68, 9 May (2, 3)
SWP 20 Years Ago: "No Confidence in the Bosses' Parties! Confidence in a Workers Defense Committee!", #68, 9 May (3)
On Camejo (L), #73, 18 July (3)
SWP For and Against Integration, #80, 10 Oct. (4)
• **Portugal**
SWP/OCI Tail Counterrevolution, #75, 29 Aug. (2, 11)
SWP Tops Provoke USec Majority, #77, 19 Sept. (11)
SWP Fronts for "State Department Socialism", #79, 3 Oct. (5)
• **Workers Democracy**
SWP Gangster Attack on Union Militants, #68, 9 May (2)
Denounce SWP Gangsterism!, #69, 23 May (6)
SWP Harassment of SL/SYL (L), #69, 23 May (6)
Statements on SWP Gangsterism, #69, 23 May (7)
SWP "Explains" Gangster Attacks, #70, 6 June (9, 10)
Statement on SWP and NPAC, #70, 6 June (9)
ILWU Militants on YSA (L), #70, 6 June (10)

SOUTH AFRICA—See **Angola.**
Pax South Africana?, #62, 14 Feb. (8, 9)

SOVIET UNION—See also **History of the Marxist Movement.**
Tsar-Lover Feted by AFL-CIO Tops: Solzhenitsyn Fuels Anti-Soviet Crusade, #73, 18 July (4)
Sekharov Gets Imperialist "Peace" Prize, #82, 24 Oct. (4)
Roy Medvedev on Soviet Dissidents (R), #82, 24 Oct. (7, 11)

SPAIN
Franco Dictatorship Totters, #62, 14 Feb. (1, 11)
On Spain (L), #69, 23 May (2)*
On Spain (C), #70, 6 June (2)
Free All Victims of Franco's Terror!, #78, 26 Sept. (9)
Avenge Martyred Spanish Militants!, #79, 3 Oct. (1)
Basque Strikes Rock Franco Regime, #80, 10 Oct. (1, 10)
For Workers Revolution to Smash Francoism!, #83, 31 Oct. (1, 10)
For a Workers Republic in Spain!, #88, 5 Dec. (2, 11)

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE (SL/SYL)
SL/U.S. Summer Camp Marks International Growth, Prepares for Weekly *Workers Vanguard*, #75, 29 Aug. (5)*
SL/U.S. Summer Camp (C), #76, 12 Sept. (9)

Spartacus Youth League—See **Spartacist League.** See also **Education; Fascism: S.F. State; Friedman; Indochina.**

SRI LANKA
Harsh Sentences for Ceylonese Youth Rebels, #62, 14 Feb. (6, 10)
Bandaranaike Coalition Dumps LSSP, #79, 3 Oct. (6, 11)
SWP Rewrites History of Betrayal by Ceylonese LSSP, #79, 3 Oct. (7, 10)

Stalinism—See **specific countries and organizations.**

State Capitalism—See **International Socialists; Revolutionary Socialist League.**

STEEL WORKERS
U.S. Steel's Answer to Pollution: Layoffs, #61, 31 Jan. (9)
Sadlowski Can't Fight Layoffs, #77, 19 Sept. (5)
Courts No Answer to Discrimination Against Black Steel Workers, #86, 21 Nov. (4, 5)

Students—See **Busing; Education.**

Symbionese Liberation Army—See **U.S.: General; Workers League.**

TEACHERS
• **General**
College Union Head Jailed, #77, 19 Sept. (2, 9)*
College Union Head Jailed (C), #82, 24 Oct. (2)
Liberal Union-Busting in Berkeley, #77, 19 Sept. (2, 11)
One-Day State-Wide Strike Backs Delaware Teachers, #79, 3 Oct. (8)
Berkeley Teachers Back to Work with No Contract, #81, 17 Oct. (2, 8)
Ninety Teachers Jailed in New Haven Strike, #87, 28 Nov. (11)
• **Boston**—See **Busing.**
Boston Teachers' Union Election, #71, 20 June (5, 10)
Victory to Boston Teachers' Strike!, #78, 26 Sept. (12, 10)
Black-White Unity in Boston Teachers' Strike, #79, 3 Oct. (12, 11)
• **New York City**—See also **Public Employees: New York City.**
Victory to NYC Teachers' Strike!, #76, 12 Sept. (12)
Big MAC Goes After UFT, #77, 19 Sept. (1, 4, 5)
UFT Ranks Inflamed over Shanker Sellout, #78, 26 Sept. (4, 5)
Shanker Bankrolls Big MAC Boondoggle, #82, 24 Oct. (1, 11)

Teamsters—See **Truck Drivers.**

Telephone Workers—See **Phone Workers.**

Thorez, Maurice—See **France.**

Transit Workers—See **Public Employees: New York City.**

TRUCK DRIVERS—See **Farm Workers; Labor: History.**
The Hoffa Myth, #76, 12 Sept. (5, 10)
Another Lesson from the I.S. School of Labor Reformism, #87, 28 Nov. (5)

***TRUTH* GROUP/TROTSKYIST ORGANIZATION**—See **Varga.**
"Truth" Lies, #64, 14 Mar. (4)
The Invisible LIROI, #79, 3 Oct. (2)

Unemployment—See **Auto Workers: Layoffs; Labor: General, History.**

United Auto Workers (UAW)—See **Auto Workers.**

United Farm Workers (UFW)—See **Farm Workers.**

United Federation of Teachers (UFT)—See **Teachers.**

United Mine Workers (UMW)—See **Mine Workers.**

United National Caucus (UNC)—See **Auto Workers: Labor/Black Defense; International Socialists.**

United Nations—See **U.S.: International Relations.**

UNITED SECRETARIAT (USec)—See **France; Internationalist Tendency; Socialist Workers Party: Portugal.** See also **Argentina; China; India.**
OCI/SWP/LCR Meneuvers Multiply, #60, 17 Jan. (5)
Appeal of the Bolshevik-Leninst Group of Vietnam, #72, 4 July (7)*
Appeal (C), #73, 18 July (3)
USec on Angola and Algeria: They Never Learn, #86, 21 Nov. (5, 11)

UNITED STATES
• **General**—See **Labor: General.** See also **Central Intelligence Agency; Elections: U.S.**
Ford's Cure: More Layoffs, #61, 31 Jan. (1, 10)
The Politics of Crazy, #78, 26 Sept. (1, 10, 11)
• **International Relations**—See **Angola; Indochina; Near East.**
Imperialists Retrench, #71, 20 June (1, 8, 9)
From Yalta to Helsinki...The Diplomacy of Betrayal, #77, 19 Sept. (6, 8)
Imperialist Hypocrisy at the U.N.: Throwing Stones from Glass Houses, #83, 31 Oct. (1, 10)

United Steelworkers of America (USWA)—See **Steel Workers.**

VARGA, MICHEL—See **Class Struggle League; *Truth* group.**
A Workers' Commission Must Try Varga, #64, 14 Mar. (4)
A "Highly Dubious Figure", #85, 14 Nov. (4, 8)

Vietnam—See **Indochina.**

WOHLFORTH, TIM
Wohlforth Terminated, #61, 31 Jan. (4, 5)
Wohlforth Crawls Back, #86, 21 Nov. (7)

WOMAN QUESTION—See **Abortion; Auto Workers: Layoffs; Coalition of Labor Union Women.** See also **Civil Liberties: General, Cases.**
"Socialist-Feminist" Conference: Nothing Learned, Going Nowhere, #73, 18 July (3, 11)
"Sisterhood is Powerful", #73, 18 July (3)
Pass the New York ERA!, #83, 31 Oct. (9)

WORKERS LEAGUE (WL)—See **Wohlforth.**
Workers League Bitten by Seven-Headed Cobra, #80, 10 Oct. (2)
Workers League "Dialectics" on Portugal, #80, 10 Oct. (8)

WORKERS VANGUARD—See also **Spartacist League.**
Toward the Weekly *Workers Vanguard!*, #66, 11 Apr. (3)
Workers Vanguard Goes Weekly, #75, 29 Aug. (1)
Eleven Years of Spartacist Press, #76, 12 Sept. (6, 7)
Greetings to the Weekly *WV*, #76, 12 Sept. (2)
Greetings to the Weekly *WV*, #77, 19 Sept. (9)
Subscription Drive Starts, #77, 19 Sept. (10)
Propaganda Groups and the Press (L), #80, 10 Oct. (2, 3)
Halfway Through—Sub Drive Hits 86%!, #80, 10 Oct. (9)*
Halfway through (C), #82, 24 Oct. (2)
Greetings to Weekly *WV*, #81, 17 Oct. (5)
Sub Drive Success!, #82, 24 Oct. (10)
WV, the Press and the Left (L), #84, 7 Nov. (2)
Congratulations to the Weekly *WV* (L), #85, 14 Nov. (11)

World Politics—See **specific countries; U.S.: International Relations.**

Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)—See **Socialist Workers Party.**

Young Socialists (YS)—See **Workers League.**